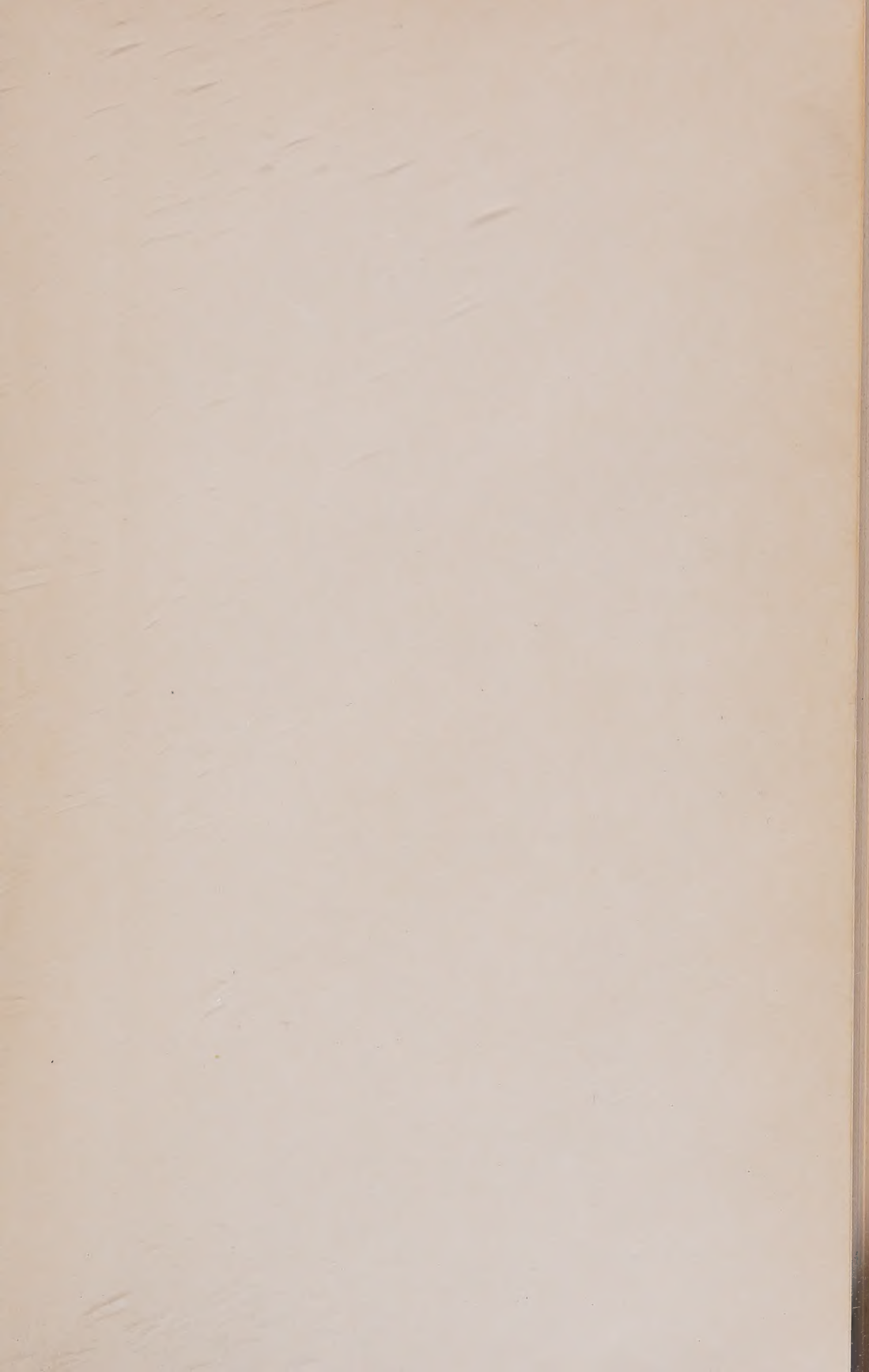
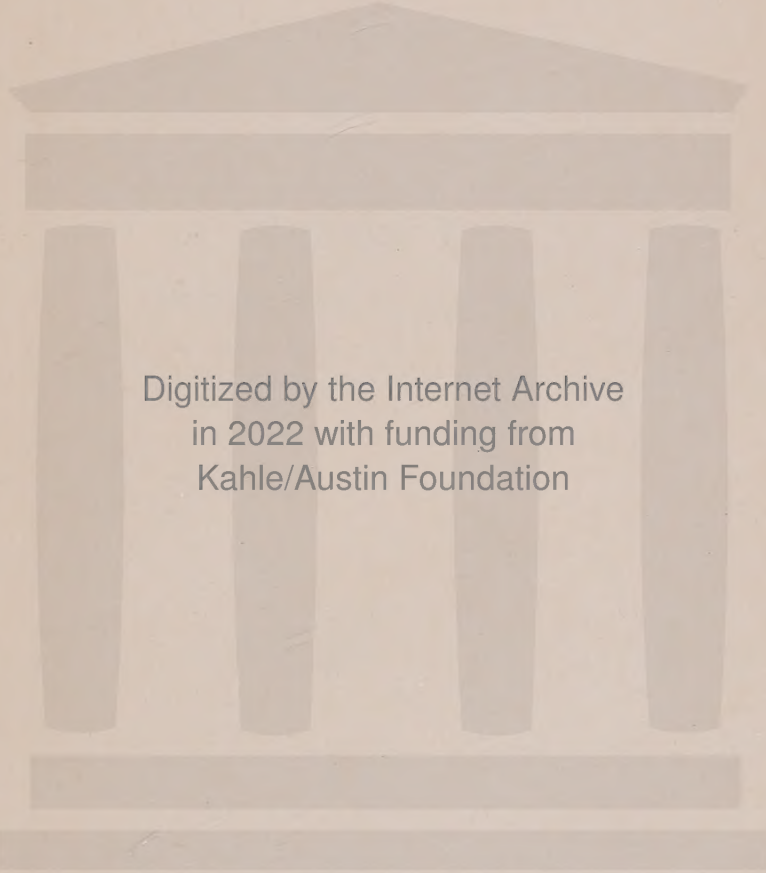


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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, U. S. A.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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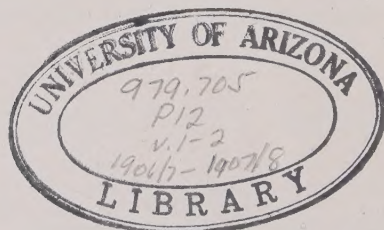
THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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do, in order to accomplish and carry out all or any of the objects or purposes or exercise any or all of the powers aforesaid, to the same extent that an individual or natural person might or could do in the premises; as well as each and every of the powers expressly or impliedly conferred in or by the laws of the State of Washington relating to the organization and management of such associations.—Article III. of the Articles of Incorporation.

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

WASHINGTON NOMENCLATURE.

A Study.

The geographical names in the United States are derived from two great sources: Indian and European. Among the first explorers and settlers the former dominated; with the second generation of colonists the European names began to dominate. These early colonists looked to their European homes and personages for Plymouth, Boston, Albemarle, St. Mary's, Ft. Christina, New Rochelle, New Orleans, St. Louis, Santa Fe; or else from their own languages derived names indicative of local conditions or feelings: Providence, Philadelphia. When these settlements themselves began to send off scions to the upper waters of the Atlantic streams or into the transallegheny country, new names were taken from a variety of sources; from the old European places and personages, from Greece, Rome, or from classical compositions, e. g. Louisville, Athens, Rome, Oxford, Gallipolis. The Indian names were taken from the local Indian designations, and today stand as monuments to the natives' haunts and homes and as milestones to their westward movement before the coming white man. As the white man came his names told of the fond recollections of his distant home; but as he penetrated the wilderness and the mountains, these recollections dim and finally fade, to be replaced from the new native home in the old Atlantic colonies. Yet the names scattered from the Alleghenies to the Pacific by the constant stream of colonizing immigrants tell of the nomenclatural geneology; the Swede, Italian and German, the Russian, Dutch and Pole, even in our own days repeat the christening of the cavalier and Puritan.

The great bulk of the earlier and elemental names of the United States is derived, aside from the Indian, from those Euro-

pean natives first settling on the Atlantic coast: England, Spain, France, Holland and Sweden. The distribution of these names, according to nationalities, varies with different parts of the country. The New England states lead in number with six, mixing with the Indian the names from Holland, Sweden, England, France, and the later America; the south Atlantic states and the Pacific Northwest both have five: Indian, English, American, Spanish and French. The central states find four in the Indian, English, American and French. Like the Indians, in their westward and reservation movement, most of the European names in turn have been superceded by the newer American, and the scattered immigrant.

In the Pacific Northwest—composed for historical purposes of Oregon, Washington and Idaho—Washington is the most representative of them all. She has practically as many Indian and American names, and more English, Spanish and French names than either of the other two states. Oregon has a few Spanish names; Idaho has none; both Oregon and Idaho have a few French terms. Owing to the presence and activity of the Hudson's Bay Company, Washington has more designations of English and Indian sources due to the Englishmen than either of the other states. Indian names are well scattered through them all; while both Indian and American, in their proportion in the three states, depend upon the demand for names by the increasing population.

Washington is still a coast and river state. Excepting the broad plains about the head of the Cowlitz, Chehalis and Puyallup rivers, and about the Palouse and Spokane, the pioneer has as yet but scattered settlements in the interior. On the Sound and Grays Harbor, on the Columbia and its numberless branches Washington's population still resides. It must be noted, however, that the railway, penetrating the territory inaccessible by steamers, has expanded the settled lands, especially east of the mountains, and widened the country about the few centers heretofore drained by the trails and packroads. It is along the shores and river banks that the elemental nomenclature of Washington must be studied; on the trail and the railroad the settler is planting new American and immigrant names, or those derived from the aborigines.

The Indian, in naming rivers or parts of rivers, mountains, falls, villages and burial places, has scattered his names for the white man fairly regularly on both sides of the Cascades, yet

with an evident majority on the side of the west. 'Today' the east has 124 Indian names, the west 175; the former being 11 per cent. of the whole list of names from all sources, the latter 13 per cent. In 1891² the number was somewhat less: 111 east and 116 west of the Cascades, with a result that of the sum total of names from all sources the east had 23 per cent. and the west but 19 per cent. The difference in these two readings seems to be due to two reasons. The Century Atlas of 1891 is no doubt incomplete, even though it is a representative map of the state and as accurate as any accessible map of that date. Again, in the settlement of new locations in the last decade and a half, the Indian names are frequently retained.

It is interesting to note the peculiar way in which the names of the passing race have been retained by the white man. The Lower Sound counties—composed of the Sound-bordering counties northward to Snohomish and Island inclusive, and those counties on the Strait—have a majority of 96—23 more than the nearest competitive section. Here is where the white man first made his home and first met the Indian as the possessor of the soil: Here is Tumwater, Nisqually, Alki Point, Seattle, Steilacoom, Puyallup, Chehalis; the Cowlitz, the Snohomish, the Skokomish, the Dwamish, the Skukum Chuck. In this same section the Indian played his principal part west of the mountains, and defined the historical geography of the Indian wars of the fifties. This but reiterates the truth, true the country over, that the Indian—in names—had his greatest influence, where he had influence at all, either in the first decade of the pioneering or, which is rather evident in the Western states, in the period stretching from the settlement to the first boom. As second stands the district composed of those counties between the Columbia river and the Cascades. The Yakima valley, the rivers entering the Columbia from the mountains and those flowing from their sources in British Columbia, give the great majority of these names. As third stand the southwest counties—those bordering on the Pacific and the Columbia west of the Cascades; as fourth, the Upper Sound—composed of Skagit, Whatcom and San Juan counties; as fifth, the counties between the Columbia, the Snake and the Idaho line. As last, with 20, the southeastern counties between the Snake, and the Idaho and Oregon lines.³

¹ Rand-McNally, Map of Washington, 1905. The figures are given in round numbers.

² Century Atlas, 1891.

³ The Lower Sound, 96; the Cascade-Columbia, 73; the southwest, 44; the Upper Sound, 35; the eastern, 31; the southeast, 20.

In the distribution of the English-American names, the Lower Sound again vastly dominates; then the eastern, centering around Spokane and the Palouse country. Then the territory in the Yakima valley and along the right bank of the Columbia; followed by the southwest. The Upper Sound has almost twice as many as the counties in the opposite corner of the state.¹

No Spanish name is found east of the mountains. All but one of the fifteen Spanish names in the state are found in the Upper Sound country; and the single exception in the Lower Sound. With the French names it stands differently, in that of the 24 found on the map of 1905, 22 are east of the mountains and the other two in the Lower Sound territory. East of the Cascades 11 are located in the eastern division; 10 in the Columbia-Cascade lands, especially in the Okanogan country, and one in the southeast. There seems to be no Russian reliques of nomenclature in the state. The early attempt of 1806 to settle on the Columbia was defeated by the breakers on the bar at the mouth of the river; the successful settlement on Bodega Bay was too far south to effect the Pacific Northwest in other way than through the Monroe Doctrine; and the fur traders' activity in its southern course was stayed by the treaties with America and England in 1824 and 1825, wherein a limitation was placed at 54° 40'.

The manner and the periods in which these names came into existence varies with the peoples giving them origin. The Indian, as the original inhabitant, gave to favorite places many names which the explorer, the trader and the settler retained. Among the whites the names find their origin in three great sources: The explorer, the trader and the settler. Galiano and Valdez, Meares and Vancouver, Lewis and Clark, Gray and Wilkes left the earliest and most abiding names along the Straits, in the Upper and Lower Sounds, along the Coast and the Columbia. The fur trader of the old Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company either gave new names or gave permanence to the native designations. Especially is their activity seen between the Sound and the Columbia, and along the latter, naming the posts, factories, rivers and lakes. Their names follow the hunters' and trappers' trails, radiating in all directions and connecting with the central factory on the shores of Hudson's Bay. In the service of the Hudson's Bay Company were the French-Can-

¹ The Lower Sound, 631; the eastern, 443; the Columbia-Cascade, 359; the southwest, 297; the Upper Sound, 215; the southeast, 110.

dians, who, as voyageurs, mingled freely with the Indians. He blended his own tongue with the Chinook about the lower banks of the Columbia, and left his name at The Dalles, on the Sans Poil river, with the Coeur d'Alene Indians, and their spelling in the Wallamette and the Couteuais. The settler succeeded the trapper and trader; he continued and increased the list of names of the Indian, explorer and hunter, and with his natural increase in population and expansion our territory has found demand for new names. These he has supplied by drawing upon his memory of his old home, his own experiences, or his impressions of local features.

It may seem that the missionary has been unjustly omitted. The missionary, in Washington as well as in the whole Pacific Northwest, has been so closely bound up with his activity as settler that in the question of nomenclature he loses his identity in the latter. Where he located at Waiilatpu, Chimikane and Nisqually he accepts the names of the natives or of his forerunners, the Hudson's Bay Company men. Scarcely has he turned the soil as settler, and as missionary taught the natives to repeat the Lord's Prayer, than he is driven from his cabin-home by Indian outbreaks or is discouraged by Indian indifference; ere he returns to resume his work the settler, per se, is on his trail. The missionary then becomes the pastor of the settlers' church, the "sky-pilot" of the ranges, or the missionary-chaplain on the reservations. The age of transition through the missionary from the trader to the settler is short, indeed; and shorter on the Sound than east of the mountains.

I.

Indian Names. The native names as they are now found in the state came into origin by either of two ways. Where the Indian had names for definite places, mountains, rivers, etc., the white man, in the person of the early settler and trader, was content to retain the native terminology.¹ But the white man was not content with the localization of the Indian; his culture demanded more generic terms, names for whole river courses rather than parts, whole bodies of waters rather than villages on their shores, for new towns and sections rather than the tribal village and range. To supply these needs he frequently drew from the tribes

¹ Whatcom Creek and Lake; Puyallup, Walla Walla; Cowlitz, Palouse; Spokane, Okanogan; and Nooksack, rivers; Orcas Island.

near at hand or applied a name according to his own usage. In this way the early explorers named Tatouche and Neah bay; the early trader and the Hudson's Bay Company designated Ft. Okanogan and Spokane House in the north; Ft. Walla Walla; the Cowlitz Farm, not far distant from Ft. Nisqually. Where the traders in the forties ended their work, the early settlers began in the fifties. The towns of Chehalis, Seattle, Whatcom, Tacoma, Walla Walla arose; counties were christened Snohomish, Spokane, Skagit, Kitsap, Wakiakum; and a section named The Palouse. The missionary, in his zeal for the Indian, did not disturb the native ear with foreign names, but baptized his missions Wailaptu and Chimikane. These four—the explorer, the trader, the settler and the missionary—have given new meaning to the native terms. The Indians' rivers, mountains, and a few villages, have been supplemented by the white man's cities, counties and sections.

English Names. Captain Cook, two years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, christened the first English name found within the State of Washington. Cape Flattery, the name he used to designate that hazy and indistinct point of land where he thought he had found the Fucan Straits, as the first born of English names, has become permanent. Meares left Cape Shoalwater, Shoalwater Bay, Cape Disappointment, Mt. Olympus, etc. But the early explorer, Vancouver, was the most prolific of names. He made use of ten of the designations of his predecessors; he retained the "Columbia" as the American term for the Oregon. Five Indian and three Spanish names find places within his volumes; but when he entered the Straits and coasted the shores of his "Gulph of Georgia," which so often reminded him of his English home, he lavished sixty-eight names upon its waters, points, bays and mountains. Baker and Rainier, near Hood's Canal, and Bellingham Bay, stand as monuments over Vashon Island and Gray's Harbor. After these explorers the Hudson's Bay Company and its men scattered a few English names among their greater number of Indian origin. Vancouver, on the Columbia, seems to be the only name within the present State of Washington that is left of that long list stretching from Ft. George on the Pacific to Ft. Nelson on Hudson's Bay; and Franchere's name, the Great Basin of the Columbia, too, has passed away.

American Names. Gray, in the year of the inauguration of Washington, was the first American on the Northwest coast, as

well as the first to unfurl the national flag to all the breezes around the globe. After the ship, **the Columbia**,¹ was named the River of the West, the Oregon of Carver and Bryant; and the southern point of its mouth, Point Adams, still bears witness to his few days' sojourn in Baker's Bay. His name, Bulfinch, for that harbor, which the English named Gray's in his honor, is found on but a few of the early maps. Lewis and Clark were profuse in names, but most of them were the designations of the Indians. Lewis river has disappeared; Clark's river is still sometimes used; and even of the Indian names he used, it seems that Chinook river is the only one on his map that finds a place on the more modern atlas. The Wilkes' expedition, in its careful examination, used the terms so familiar to the Indian and trader.¹ Yet within the state limits the nine places which he named still bear his designations. The American traders, in their westward course from St. Louis to the upper Columbia and the territory to its south, were unable to compete with the old Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies. Within the lands north of the River of the West they have not left a single name to mark their presence. The American settler, however, more than retrieved the ill-showing of the trapper. From Smithfield, now lost, to the latest name of Benton of the newly-created county, he has generously named after himself, places, people and local conditions, the mills, rivers, and lakes where he erected his cabin, and the visionary sites of boom towns.

Spanish Names. These names were left for the most part by the early explorers themselves within the present limits of Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The latter, however, was named by the Englishman, Meares, after the legendary Greek who sailed for Spain. The American has given the name of San Juan to a county, and in some instances has transferred some of the Spanish names to other places.

French Names. No names mark the presence of La Perouse, Marchand or Saint Amand. It was the voyageur from French Canada in the services of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies who named The Dalles, the Petit Dalles, the Nez Perce, the Coeur d'Alene, the Pend d'Oreille, the Sans Poil.

II.

The substitution of names occurred with frequency among the explorers and traders; only occasionally since the advent of

¹ Within Washington 71 English names were retained; four of American origin; four of Spanish; and eight of French.

the settler has this taken place. English-American Mount Baker has succeeded Kulshan; Rainier, Tacoma; Bellingham, Whatcom; and Columbia has usurped both the Oregon of Carver and the Tacoutche Tessé of the Washington-Oregon tribes. Even the English-American form of Indian names has taken the place of the original: Tahoma is now Tacoma; 'Isqually became Nisqually; Chi 'Keeles, Chehalis; and Wainape and Pischous are but slightly recognizable in Wenatchee. But, on the other hand, Orcas has persisted over Hull; Lewis has gone before the Shoshone, or rather its translation, the Snake; and the local pride of Tacoma encourages the passing of Rainier for the original name. English names have also been at war with the Spanish, and in some instances have been victorious. Bellingham Bay has overcome Sino del Gaston; Mount Baker, Montana del Carmel; Vancouver, Quadra and Vancouver's Island. The Americans have been busy with the English names. Oregon has succeeded New Georgia; Commencement Bay took the place of Puget Sound when it was raised by the Americans to the place occupied by the English Gulphe of Georgia. On the other hand, the Americans failed to make Bulfinch permanent on Gray's Harbor.

III.

Spelling, and in some instances pronunciation, have undergone changes, often quite a struggle, before the present forms were adopted. The dropping of the "s" as possessives is quite evident in the middle of the century, excepting where it has been retained for the sake of euphony. One now reads and hears Puget Sound; yet on the other hand, Gray's Harbor. Spokane of today was written Spokan by Simpson, Greenhow and Franchere, and Spokein by Parker. The present Palouse Wilkes wrote Peluse, and Simpson, Paaylops. Walla Walla was written Wallawalla by Franchere, Simpson and Wilkes; Wallahwallah by Bonneville; and Walla Walla by Greenhow. Okanogan Greenhow finds to be Okinagan; Simpson and Nicolet, Okanagan; and Ross, Oakinacken. The Cowlitz is read Cowalitz by Parker, Cowelitz by Ross and Greenhow, and by Franchere both Cowlitzk and Cowlikt. Nisqually became with Greenhow Nasqhally; 'Squally—but Ft. Nisqually—with Simpson; and Nosqually with Ross. Chehalis is written Checayles by Simpson, Chekelis by Greenhow; Chickeeles by Wilkes, and Tschikeyles by Franchere.

Among the Spanish names Haro is sometimes written Aro; and Comaño no longer bears its native marking.

In pronunciation some of the changes follow the spelling. In the case of Chehalis, with its peculiar guttural "Chi," it has been simplified in both. 'Squally was changed in speech by the Hudson's Bay Company. Sealth in the white man's mouth became Seattle, and Tahoma became Tacoma. The old Spanish names of Lopez, Comaño, Rosario, have all been Americanized in speech. The greatest change, perhaps, is in the name of the united names of Whatcom and Fairhaven; Bellingham in England drops the "h," shortens the "a" and accents the ante-penult, while in the English town of Bellingham and the old family of that name it becomes Bellingjem, accented in the usual English way.

IV.

Some names have taken on a new meaning, either increasing or decreasing' their range. Bellingham Bay was enlarged to include the older Spanish Sino del Gaston; Puget Sound, since the forties, designates the whole Sound. The Gulphe of Georgia, as defined by Vancouver, has become the small body of water north of the San Juan Islands. Upper and Lower Sound have changed places so that they now follow the cardinal points of north and south as located on the map. The old Northwest has become the Pacific Northwest, and this shrinks gradually in meaning to the State of Washington and then to Whatcom county. Old Oregon became the state of that name. East and west of the mountains are now fixed terms, synonymous in part with the Sound country and the Inland Empire.

It is to be hoped that in the future numbers of this magazine an extensive study of this subject may be made, and these few observations from a few of the sources may be corroborated or corrected.

J. N. BOWMAN.

June 28, 1906.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC.*

The event which we celebrate today was only an incident in the life of the distinguished man whose name this monument will bear through future ages, but looked at in the perspective of history it assumes a significance worthy of the consideration of every thoughtful American. When in 1841 Captain Wilkes with his fleet was exploring the Pacific ocean and this coast of North America, the ocean upon which he sailed was almost an unknown sea. It was an ocean of mystery, of unfathomed vastness, of a peace which was the peace of stagnation. Its value to the world was undiscovered, and its meaning lay wholly in the future. Since that first celebration of the Fourth of July upon the Pacific coast this ocean has acquired a meaning and a value scarcely dreamed of at that time. That it is destined to play an ever greater part in the drama of human life I firmly believe, and instead of discussing the topic which I learned only yesterday had been assigned me, "The Patriotism of the Washington Pioneers," I propose to discuss what seemed to me most significant of the day when first the brief invitation of your committee came to me by telegraph, namely the "World Problems of the Pacific"—its place in the future and the relations of the United States to it.

In the life of the nations since Captain Wilkes' voyage, three great developments stand out conspicuously; the first was the birth of the new Japan so-called, the emergence of the Empire of Nippon into a world power. Not until fifteen years after Wilkes' voyage did another great representative of the American navy, Commodore Perry, open the gates of Japan to the world's civilization. Trained for 5,000 years into an isolation such as the world has never known, Japan had shut herself in against contact with foreign powers, and by law visited with death the Japanese subject who left her shores and the foreigner who landed upon them. You are all familiar with the marvel of the new Japan. They say that grains of wheat buried in mummy cases of Rameses II. and lying dormant for 4,000 years will, when brought to the light of today and properly nourished, germinate and bring forth their destined harvest. So Japan,

* Address at the Commemorative Celebration at Sequelitchew Lake, July 5, 1906.

buried in an equal aloofness from the world, has come forth as from the tomb and blossomed into an unexpected life of power and promise to the world. As at the beginning of the last century the United States, making its steady way westward, reached at last the Pacific on its eastern shore through Lewis and Clark, and brought the light of Christian civilization across the mountains to the misty sea, so at the end of the century the western shores of the great Pacific were illuminated with the light of the new Japan, and a century of progress showed that the portentous and gloom-enshrouded sea had light upon its eastern and its western coasts. An empire of forty million had won the respect and fear of the western world by its swift progress in the arts and sciences, and by its successful grapple with one of the great world powers of the west.

And now at the beginning of another century another and still greater Oriental nation is waking from its sleep. The Chinese empire, whose antiquity is even greater than that of Japan, is fast arousing from its age-long lethargy, and 400,000,000 of people are threatening the world with their potential power and potential needs. I think that we must pause for thought when we reflect how this great sea is being opened to a new world life. The war between China and Japan in 1898 was the galvanic touch of a living hand upon an apparent corpse, and since then China has been stretching itself with signs of real strength. To be sure, it was in 1842, the year after Captain Wilkes' visit to this spot, that Great Britain first battered at the door of China by the opium war, and secured permission by imperial edict that thereafter foreigners might reside in Shanghai, but though year after year more foreigners on business bent have invaded the Chinese empire, and more treaty ports have been opened to them, yet it is true that still China is largely a closed land and its life remote from Western thought. Such at any rate it has been until within the last few years, but now her great walls are crumbling into eternal uselessness and the nation is stretching out its hands for the gifts of the West. Foreign armies have marched upon its soil, foreign cannon have battered at its portals, foreign railroads and telegraphs and telephones have penetrated its domain. Christianity with the open Bible in one hand and the merciful ministrations of the medical physician has softened Chinese hostility to Western learning, and has brought the dawn of a new day into the gloom of a world-old empire.

And if the resurrection of Japan has brought into the arena

of the nations a great world power whose prowess and capacity are already honored, how much greater the future honor and influence of the far greater empire, China, now coming to the front. I remind you not only of her 400,000,000 of people as compared with Japan's 40,000,000, but of her vast area of fertile lands and treasure-laden mountains. We pride ourselves upon the fertility of the Mississippi valley and the wheat lands of the West, but China has a greater productive area whose fertility is not less, and has besides in coal and iron, in gold and silver and all the precious metals incalculable resources which European experts say are unequaled elsewhere in the world. If you are of those who believe that resources and commercial shrewdness make a nation great, and that the progress of the United States is to be explained in terms like these, then you will herald as greatest of the nations the future China, with its illimitable resources and its long-trained business ability. It seems to me that the awakening of these two Oriental powers, Japan and China, is to change the fate of the world, and to alter the complexion of human history. Heretofore the Mediterranean and Atlantic have been the sites of the world's conflicts and the world's trade; hereafter the Pacific will wrest supremacy from the Atlantic, and the ocean which has been peaceful in its loneliness will become busy with the commerce of the world.

It is significant that the three great wars of the past ten years have been fought in the main upon the Pacific, and Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila, Japan's victory over China on the Yellow sea, and the overwhelming victory of Japan over Russia within recent years have stained with blood the waters of this peaceful ocean in prediction of future conflicts which shall mar its surface, conflicts, let us hope, of peace and not war. These two Oriental nations stand side by side on the western shore of the Pacific, animated with a common life, common religion or lack of it, and a blood relationship which manifests itself in the deeper psychological resemblances which make Japan and China one at heart. If the past forty years have given Japan an apparent leadership and impressed her people with a quickness and versatility which justify their being called the "French of the Orient," nevertheless China has no less capacity, and as the best observers think, a deeper moral earnestness, a stronger fiber of character, an indomitableness which will make her influence upon the world's life greater, perhaps, than that of Japan. In these two awakened nations we see the spirit of the Orient first claim-

ing a part in the world's life and demanding a share of the world's responsibilities. A new era in human history has begun. Heretofore Asia has been a passive continent, self-sufficient, isolated, remote; now Asia is meeting Europe and America with a youthfulness of energy to be explained perhaps by her sleep of centuries, and hereafter the world forces which must be reckoned with will be not England, France, Germany, Russia and the United States, but Japan and China as well. One in spirit as in blood, greedy for new life, but insistent upon new justice and no longer content to sit passive under the contempt of the Western world. The Orient has taken its place as a world power, and it seems to me that the twentieth century is teeming with portent when in its first decade the giant powers of China and Japan launch their fleets upon the western shores of the Pacific and invade the domain of the world's commerce and the world's life.

But I had said that there were three developments since 1841 in the world's life as affecting the Pacific. The third is no less momentous. It is the birth of a national consciousness in the United States, with the assumption of national responsibilities. The West has had much to do with this. The conquest of the Pacific coast has enlarged the national horizon and the problems of the Pacific have penetrated the nation's mind. When at Manila Commodore Dewey raised the flag of the United States upon the Philippine islands, America unwittingly and unwillingly entered upon a new epoch, the epoch of international relations and a part in the world's life. The first century of our national existence had been one of isolation; our aim had been self-development; our problems were the problems of the interior. Despite the glorious achievements of our navy, the United States had not claimed to be a world power, but thought that she could live her life alone, untroubled by European politics, unfettered by alliances with other nations. We had developed a national self-consciousness, which was self-satisfied and self-admiring, and now, against our will, in large degree, and by a sudden change of events, which makes it look as though it were a matter of destiny, of divine over-ordering, we are brought into sudden relations with the nations of the world and compelled to take our place in the lists with them. Our enlarging manufactures have made us seek for foreign markets. Our industrial supremacy developed by a hundred years of isolation has itself compelled us to abandon our national policy of exclusion, and at the beginning of the twentieth century we are standing facing

the Pacific ocean, no longer with the mere sense of national self-sufficiency and our national bigness, but with the troubled conviction that a new age has come and that we must struggle with the nations of the world for the supremacy which we have been idly hoping was to be ours by divine decree.

Of the commercial and industrial greatness of America I need not speak. We lead the world in manufactures, in railroads, in the application of science to the needs of human life, in the productivity of our fields and the richness of our forests. In wealth, which is potential greatness, we stand unrivaled. The per capita riches of our inhabitants exceed those of any other nation upon earth. And yet here is where I would bid you pause to consider whether America is ready to take her part in the world's life. In the developments of the future not wealth alone will count, though there will be a long struggle for industrial supremacy and our merchants will need to set their wits and skill against the skill and wits of Germany and England and Japan, yet in the long run other features will enter into the contest, and it is of these which I would remind you. Who shall be entitled to the leadership of the West against the growing power of the Orient? Who shall be worthy of the hegemony of the nations facing the imminent peril of a militant orientalism? Shall the conflict between the West and the East, which is to be waged, I believe, upon the Pacific, brought 10,000 miles closer to Europe by the opening of the Panama canal, be a conflict of antagonism or a conflict of peace? It seems to be that the question must be settled in large measure by the attitude of the United States toward China and Japan.

If, in the recklessness of selfish power, with the advantage of position which possession of the Hawaiian islands and the Philippine islands now gives us, we rush at the East in the lust of new riches and careless of our nation's honor and our Christian name, then the Pacific ocean will cease to bear that name worthily, but will be stained, if not with the blood of battle, yet with the blackness of dishonor. In her new-found sense of international responsibility, I would charge America that she remember first of all that justice and judgment are the foundations of an unending existence, and that in the spirit of fairness, of open-heartedness, of brotherly kindness, she must meet the new nations, China and Japan. We of the Pacific coast have not hidden our intolerance and contempt of these yellow-skinned Asiatics. If Japan has compelled our admiration, we have all the more dis-

played our narrow and unphilosophical contempt for the patient and unresisting China.

We are confronted by the problems of the Pacific, and the powers of the Pacific, China and Japan, are met before us face to face. If we wish to enter worthily into the world's life, if we wish to be worthy of leadership in the new relations between the Occident and Orient then we shall be obliged to abandon the self-conceited and intolerant contempt, unjust, disdainful, cruel, with which we have regarded heretofore the oldest of the nations of the world. And if as merchant princes we wish to win the riches which China has for the world, if we desire our share in the commerce of the future, which in scarce imagined measure is to fill the coffers of the world as China's four hundred millions demand their part of the world's produce, and open an unimagined market for the world's manufactures, if American ships under the American flag are to carry American lumber and manufactures to the great markets of the new China, then we must disavow the mental attitude of the past, we must recognize the Chinaman as of the same blood as ourselves. The spirit of the Declaration of Independence, which we say that we celebrate today, must enter more deeply into our national conscience, and we as a nation come to believe that in reality and not in pretense all men are created free and equal.

But if the United States thinks that it can meet England and Germany in the markets of China and win Chinese friendship and Chinese trade while still our heart is bitter with contempt, and our shores are barred in manifest hostility to every Chinaman, merchant, or traveler or student, then we might as well recognize the fact that the new markets, which are our present great commercial need, will be closed to us forever, and the Panama canal will be a pathway not for American ships sailing from New York, and Philadelphia and Baltimore for Shanghai and Hongkong, but rather a pathway for ships of other European nations, which by justness and fairness and brotherly kindness shall win the friendship and open the markets of that proud and ill-understood people.

We commemorate today the first celebration of the Fourth of July upon the Pacific coast. How rapidly in these sixty-five years since then has the Pacific ocean developed in its relation to the world's life! How portentous these new nations loom upon the earth's horizon! How weighty the problems of international responsibility which burden our national consciousness

as we look westward across the Pacific, and feel the impending duty. And yet the spirit of the Declaration is what we need; nay, more, back of the spirit of the Declaration that spirit which was in the minds of the founders of our nation, the spirit not only of freedom for all but of justice to all. And back of that, the Christian spirit of brotherhood for all mankind, without which no nation shall forever endure. The moral character of the United States is then the chief consideration which I would leave with you at this time. If in the spirit of justice and tolerance, in the spirit of the "square deal" and the brotherly right hand, we go forward to our new tasks, this celebration in 1841 will not have been in vain, and the great ocean which it ennobled will continue to bear fittingly the name Pacific.

STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE.

JASON LEE'S PLACE IN HISTORY.*

That faith which foresees and believes and is the prophecy of all things, was the inspiration of the Oregon missions and the creative power of the growth of our great states of the Pacific Northwest.

The history of the origin of each of our states lies in the biography and character of the few who were first actors in the history. It is a record, therefore, of the individual lives of men and women rather than of great events. Such were the opening scenes of the history of Oregon.

I refer now, not to the first discoveries and explorations, but to the conditions that started the permanent settlement and began the continuous social and political life of Oregon. But when we are able to take up the history of a commonwealth from its very beginning, and in particular when that beginning was in smallest things, of recent development, almost wholly under our own eyes, there is obvious advantage. We are able to see clearly, assign the founders to their proper places and to accord them severally their meed of fame.

There is something unsatisfactory in beginning a history with the mature state of a country. As in biography, so in history, we desire to go back to the cradle and see the growth of social and political life from the first small beginnings. There is, moreover, not a little difficulty in finding a later moment which will afford a real starting point. In a mature state each condition is the result of what went before, and the human mind feels compelled to seek causes for this as for every other effect.

The absence of written documents in the early ages obliges us to form all our ideas of primitive history from oral traditions, handed down from generation to generation. These become more or less changed by lapse of time and are accompanied with superstition and a belief in the miraculous intervention of the divinity—a doctrine which it enhances while it envelops the pride of a people with a halo of glory.

But we have for the origins of the history of Oregon abundance of written and printed contemporary material; and we

* Address at the Memorial Service in honor of the Methodist missionary, held at Salem, Friday, June 15.

know, therefore, we are on the sure and solid ground of historical truth. Here, however, are disadvantages, because there is little room for play of the imagination. The poetry is lost.

One who stands as an actor on the threshold of such a new movement has great advantage in this, that though his labors may be arduous, he has a chance, a certainty almost, of reaching a place in the memory of posterity. And after all, fame is something, and it is something to win even remembrance among men. Though a great poet declares the desire of fame "the last infirmity of the noble mind," yet the desire is one that justifies itself in the lives of men, and even at the bar of human history. For none would live without notice or praise, if he could gain it, nor pass to the infinite unknown leaving no mention or memorials of his name.

I am not now intending to give a sketch of the early history of Oregon, but shall attempt some account of estimate of one of the leading actors in it, incidentally only referring to others. I avoid claims made for one and another, and all controversy as to who "saved Oregon;" for in my conception Oregon was secured to the United States by a train of events in which numerous persons were important actors. Nevertheless, I must give chief credit for our beginning as an American state to the missionary effort, of which Jason Lee was the protagonist.

Attempts were made prior to the coming of Jason Lee, but they were failures. I need not speak of Astor's unsuccessful undertaking; nor of the failure of succeeding adventurers, Wyeth and Bonneville, whose enterprises were those of traders; nor of the attempted colonization by Hall J. Kelley, which ended even more disastrously. It was not until the American missionaries entered and possessed the country neither as traders nor as secular colonizers, though in reality willing to become both, that a foothold was gained for the occupation of Oregon by American settlers. With exception of Felix Hathaway, who had come by ship in 1829, of Solomon Smith, of Clatsop, and perhaps one or two more who had come with Wyeth's first expedition in 1832, there were, so far as I am able to ascertain, no Americans in Oregon when Jason Lee and his four companions came in 1834. Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young, coming from California, arrived the same year a little later.

A word here about the members of this first missionary party of five persons, beginning with Jason and Daniel Lee. Jason Lee was a man of earnest and energetic character. He was

devoted to ideals, yet one could not say that he was a man of great original genius. Such, indeed, are not numerous in our world. But he was sincere, strong in his convictions and in himself. He was a man of sincere piety, of settled beliefs and was fit for the work in which he was to engage. It was a hopeless scheme, indeed—that of educating and civilizing the Indians of that time, but he didn't know it, and therefore didn't trouble himself with doubts. He believed fully in the future of this great country, yet was scarcely aware that the Indian could not be a factor in it. On the contrary, he thought the Indian might be. This was a mistake. But what he did was to lead the way to American colonization.

The second man was Daniel Lee, nephew of the former, thoroughly devoted to the idea of the mission, young and ardent, not idealistic, but practical, with a world of good common sense and with a willingness to work. He labored in the missionary cause in Oregon until August, 1843, when he left the country, never to return. The ill health of his wife required his departure with her. They left by sea. Daniel Lee continued in the ministry in the Eastern states during many years, and died in Oklahoma in 1895.

With the Lees from New York came Cyrus Shepard, from Lynn, Mass. He was thoroughly devoted to the work for which he was engaged, but had not the physical constitution necessary for his hardships. After his arrival in Oregon he married a Miss Downing, who came out by sea in the *Hamilton*, with the White party, arriving in 1837. Shepard died in January, 1840. His wife and two children survived him.

Jason Lee, Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard were the original party. In Missouri they engaged two young men for their adventure—Philip L. Edwards and Courtney M. Walker.

Edwards was a native of Kentucky. In his early boyhood his father removed to Missouri. Here at the age of 22 he joined the Lee expedition to Oregon. He taught a school at Champoege in 1835, and in 1836 went to California to obtain cattle for the settlers in Oregon. With Ewing Young he returned with a band of nearly 1,200, which laid the foundation for rapid accumulation of the comforts of life and future wealth. In March, 1837, Edwards took the trail for the East, over the plains, with Jason Lee and two Indian boys. Returning to his old home in Missouri, he entered the field of politics and was elected to the Legislature. He was chairman of the delegation from Missouri in

1844, which nominated Henry Clay for the Presidency. At Richmond, Mo., he practiced law successfully till 1850, when he went overland to California and in 1855 was in the Legislature of that state as a representative from Sacramento. Wherever he lived he was always a man of note. He died at Sacramento in 1869.

The fifth member of this pioneer missionary party was Courtney M. Walker. He was engaged in Missouri, upon a contract for one year, to assist in establishing the mission. He never left Oregon, but took an Indian wife, lived in Yamhill and left a posterity now, I think, extinct. As I remember him he was a courtly gentleman who, toward the end of his life, managed to dress well, and had the appearance of a man of culture and leisure. A daughter, Helen, married a lawyer in Yamhill, named John Cummins, who in 1862 was a representative of that county in the Legislature. Cummins and wife went to Washington City, where he practiced law. She died there, after a few years, leaving no children. The offspring of white marriages with Indians, though often worthy persons, seldom were long lived.

I give these details, picked up out of many sources of information not readily accessible. But they possess an interest, since they lie at the basis of the creation of the states of the Pacific Northwest; and the smallest details of the beginning of great things have human interest and historic value.

All accounts of the missionary movement to Oregon begin with the story of the four Flathead Indians who, in 1832, made their way over mountains and plains to St. Louis, on a journey whose object the missionary spirit tells us was to obtain religious instruction for themselves and their people. I confess this story has always seemed to me to have a mythical element in it; and Daniel Lee in his book intimates that the later development of the story was subject to doubt. Nevertheless, he tells us that General William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, told him in 1834 that two years before—that is, in 1832—four Indians, probably Nez Perces, had accompanied a party of white trappers from the mountains to St. Louis and had given him an interesting account of their journey and its objects. From the trappers they had learned of the white man's God and the Book he had given, and they wanted to know. General Clark was not a doctor of theology, and appears to have answered them in merely conventional terms. The story carried by the newspapers to the East touched the religious imagination, and served the mission-

any purpose just as well as if the sole object for which the Indians had accompanied the trappers was to make these inquiries. Certain it is that the cause which started the first of our missionaries to Oregon was publication in New York of this simple Indian story. Let not incredulity smile at the simplicity of the recital. This is the true beginning of the history of the making of Oregon.

The missionary expedition did not find its resting place in the country of the Nez Perces or the Flatheads, according to the original intention. It fell in with the Wyeth party and came on down to the Willamette, then the settlement of a few of the men of the Hudson's Bay Company—British subjects, most of whom had taken Indian wives. The Wyeth party was to meet at the mouth of the Willamette the little vessel which Wyeth had dispatched from Boston, with goods for the Indian trade. The destination of the Wyeth party determined also that of the Lee party. Both were received with kindness by Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company. Shepard remained at Vancouver, detained by sickness. Jason Lee and Courtney Walker came on up the Willamette by boat, and Daniel Lee and Edwards took horses, for which they were indebted to the kindness of Dr. McLoughlin, and joined the others at the site chosen for the mission, on the Willamette, a few miles below the present city of Salem. It was not till after much deliberation that the mission was established at that place, for we are told that the merits of different portions of the country were considered—the Flatheads, the Nez Perces, the Cayuse and other tribes were carefully reviewed, but to the exclusion of all others the Willamette Valley was selected, chiefly because it was “strongly recommended by Dr. McLoughlin and the rest of the gentlemen at Vancouver.” How, in the face of testimony like this, delivered by the American missionaries themselves, it could have been supposed or told later, that the British people in the country were enemies of our people, passes comprehension.

Yet there was sharp competition between the subjects of Great Britain and the American newcomers in Oregon, for ascendancy in the country. The claims of both countries extended to the entire area, from the 42d parallel to 54-40. In truth, however, neither party could hope to maintain its claim entire. Such was the situation that compromise was inevitable. Our claim to the country north of the 49th parallel was weak. As weak was the British claim to the Columbia and especially

weak to the territory south of the Columbia river. Neither party, therefore, was able wholly to exclude the other, though for a time each bravely made an exclusive claim. The talk on our side of "fifty-four forty or fight" was merely the cry of a party among our own people. Say, rather, it was the insolence of partisanship, for Great Britain's claim, through discovery, exploration and occupation, to a standing below fifty-four forty rested on a basis too solid to be disposed of in this way; and besides our claim to "fifty-four forty" rested merely on a convention between the United States and Russia, through which the latter had named "fifty-four forty" as the southern boundary of her American possessions. But to this convention Great Britain had not been a party, and she justly declared that her rights could not be concluded by any negotiation in which she had not participated, or in whose results she had not promised acquiescence. The question, therefore, was still open between Great Britain and the United States. Both countries had undoubted claims. Great Britain, by retrocession of Astoria to the United States, after the War of 1812, had acknowledged our right in the country, and still was acknowledging it; though she was occupying the country, and we were not—down to the arrival of the American traders and missionaries, in 1832-34. Yet Great Britain, through her channels of diplomatic intercourse—whatever her people here may have said or claimed—never made any serious pretension to the territory south of the Columbia river, but had insisted on that stream as the boundary line. But we had, through Gray's discovery, the exploration of Lewis and Clark and the settlement of Astoria—even though Astoria had capitulated—a chain of title that made it impossible for us to consider this claim. Still, there could be no termination of the dispute till the slow migration of our people to the Oregon country gradually established American influence here; and finally the large migration of 1843 gave the Americans decided preponderance, especially in the country south of the Columbia. Into this competition our missionary people were plunged. Indeed, they led the way in it, and to their efforts, mainly, was due the agitation that led to increase of American immigration from our states and gave our people the ascendancy. That there were no collisions here, of serious character, between the representatives of the different countries, was due to good, common language and kinship. The reception accorded to our common sense on both sides, to mutual forbearance, and to

people by the English was uniformly considerate. We have seen how they interested themselves in the settlement of our first missionaries, and remembrance of the benevolence of Dr. McLoughlin to our people, shown many long years, is a possession that will be cherished in our history forever.

In every sketch of the early history of Oregon it is necessary to make some statement of the controversy between Great Britain and the United States over rights of sovereignty here. I shall not pursue the subject, but must mention it, for it is the key to our pioneer history, and the fact must ever be borne in mind when dealing with any part of the theme.

As missionaries to the Indians, the little band and those who came after them cannot be said to have been successful. After few years not many Indians remained to be educated and civilized. This was not the fault of the missionaries, but the inevitable and universal consequence, repeated here, of contact of the white and Indian races. But, as settlers and colonizers, our missionaries "came out strong."

They, with the reinforcements sent out during the next ten years, became the chief force that Americanized Oregon and held the country till the general immigration began to arrive.

The Presbyterians followed the Methodists in the missionary effort. Samuel Parker was sent out in 1835. Whitman came in 1836. Reinforcement to the Methodist mission arrived by sea in the spring of 1837. Its leader was Dr. Elijah White. Dr. White and wife sailed from Boston in the ship *Hamilton*, July 2, 1836. They came by way of the Sandwich Islands. With them came a dozen persons, for work in the mission, including three young women, who became wives of missionaries. Of these details I can give no more in so brief an address as this must be, than is necessary to the main purpose of a short and rapid narrative. Within a year after this reinforcement arrived, Jason Lee, realizing the need of a still stronger force for the work, started East over the plains. This was in 1838, more than five years before "Whitman's ride," undertaken for a similar purpose. Passing through Peoria, Ill., in the winter of 1838, he delivered a lecture on Oregon. This started a party of young men from Peoria for Oregon in the spring of 1839. The party disagreed and divided. A portion of it passed the winter at Brown's Hole, on Green river, some miles below where the main line of the Union Pacific railroad now crosses that stream. In the spring of 1840 it came on to Oregon, arriving at Vancouver

in May, 1840. In this Peoria party were Joseph Holman, Sidney Smith, Amos Cook and Francis Fletcher, all of whom lived to old age and left descendants, now living in various parts of Oregon.

Before he had arrived at the end of his journey eastward, Jason Lee heard of the death of his wife in Oregon, which occurred shortly after he had left her. Bowing as man must to so great a grief and loss, yet his purpose was not shaken. He bestirred himself with all energy to obtain further help for the mission in Oregon, and in October, 1839, with a large party that included many names which became widely known in our pioneer life, sailed from New York in the bark *Lausanne* for the Columbia river. The vessel arrived in the river just as the Peoria party, which had started a year earlier, came down the Columbia to Vancouver, that is, in May, 1840. The party that came by the *Lausanne* became known in missionary annals as "the great reinforcement."

White left Oregon in July, 1840, by sea, for New York. In 1842 he came out again to Oregon, over the plains. With him came a large party, among whom were persons afterwards well known in the history of Oregon as J. R. Robb, S. W. Moss, Medorem Crawford, the Pomeroyes, Andrew and Darling Smith, and many more. White himself went back over the plains in 1845; came again to Oregon via Panama in 1861, with a commission from President Lincoln for an industrial scheme among the Indians, but, finding it impracticable—most of the Indians having passed away—remained but a short time and departed for California. He spent the last years of his life in San Francisco, where he died in 1879.

Of course, it is known and acknowledged on all sides that the missionary enterprise led by Jason Lee was not the only one in the early history of Oregon that left its impress on the life of the country, directed its course and determined its destiny. There were other similar undertakings, but this one was the first, and, on the whole, more powerful than any other. After the Whitman massacre, all Protestant missions in the Upper Columbia region were abandoned, and the people came to the Willamette Valley.

But it was not merely to obtain a reinforcement for the mission that Lee prosecuted his work in the Eastern states. His work was the first work done by a resident of Oregon to induce the government of the United States to aid in colonization and

support of the country, to settle it with American people, and to establish here an American state. Knowing also that commerce must attend the settlement of the country, he made representations to the Cushings of Massachusetts, which interested them in commercial effort in this direction; and this brought John H. Couch to Oregon in 1840, in the bark *Maryland*, with goods for trade, and again in the *Chenamus*, in 1844.

The Catholic missions in Oregon were started in 1838, four years later than the Methodist, and two years later than the Presbyterian.

Jason Lee, leaving Oregon in 1838, and reaching the Atlantic states early in 1839, at once directed his efforts to the purposes he had in view, and for which he had made the tedious journey over the plains. Before he started for Oregon he and P. L. Edwards, who had come with him, drew up a memorial to Congress, which was signed by Lee and Edwards, by every member of the mission at Willamette station, by seventeen other American citizens, nearly all at that time in the country, and by nine French Canadians, who desired to become citizens of the United States. The object of the memorial was to induce the Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon country, and the first appeal made to the government of the United States by any body of the American settlers in Oregon, for assertion by Congress of the rights and sovereignty of the United States. "Our interests," said these petitioners in Oregon, "are identical with those of our own country. We flatter ourselves that we are the germ of a great state, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens. We are fully aware, too, that the destinies of our posterity will be deeply affected by the character of those who emigrate to this country. The territory must populate. The Congress of the United States must say by whom; by the reckless and unprincipled adventurer, the refugee from Botany Bay, the wanderer from South America, the deserting seamen, or by our own hardy and enterprising pioneers." Further, the position of Oregon, on the Pacific Coast, and its necessary relations to future commerce, were explained, and strong appeal was added, that the United States should at once "take formal possession."

It is not my intention to claim merit for one at the expense of another. All our pioneers did well. All performed their part. But it is due to the truth of history to show that Jason Lee was

the leader in colonial as in missionary work in Oregon, and that his journey to the East in the interests of Oregon, and his appeal to Washington, antedated the journey and the appeal of Whitman by five years.

We have said the contest between our own people and the subjects of Great Britain for possession of the Oregon country was the key to our pioneer history. It stimulated the early migration and hastened the settlement. The missionary stations were outposts on the line of colonization. It was through their appeals, chiefly, that the Oregon country was brought to the attention of the pioneer spirit, ever moving westward; and it is not too much to say that most of those who came to Oregon during the first twenty years of settlement and growth were moved to come by the agitation begun and carried on by those engaged in the missionary cause.

There is a vague instinct which leads restless spirits to leave their native country in early life, to try fortune elsewhere. Each thinks, no doubt, that beyond his visual horizon there lies new moral space, with large, though unknown, opportunities. Change of place is the natural demand of this restlessness of spirit. The world, through all ages, has received the benefit of it; it has been one of the great moving forces in the history of our race. Our Oregon of today is a product of it.

The Indian races of Oregon, and in particular of Western Oregon, rapidly melted away. But among the white settlers, fast increasing in numbers after 1840, there was a growing field for religious, moral and educational work. Jason Lee had remarried; and again his wife was called away by death. Sore as was his bereavement, he pursued his work. New demands were constantly arising, and to meet these he deemed it necessary to make another journey to the Eastern states, for additional assistance. Parting with his co-laborers in the missions, and leaving his infant daughter, he sailed from the Columbia river in November, 1843, just after the arrival of the great immigration of that year. Passing through Mexico, he reached New York in May, 1844. Thence he went again directly to Washington to urge once more upon the government the necessity of terminating the joint occupation of Oregon and of establishing quickly and definitely the sovereignty of the United States. But Jason Lee was never to see Oregon again. Conferences with his missionary board, and work of preparation for larger efforts in Oregon occupied him during the remainder of the year

1844. But his arduous labors, the privations and sacrifices of more than ten years, had broken his constitution, and in March, 1845, his mortal part passed from earth. But his spirit is here, and the work he set in motion is a possession here forever. It is fit that Oregon should recover the dust and that her soil should hold it, as the life of her people holds his spirit. Yet human glory was not his aim. His spirit was a higher one, and he achieved it. His name lives; yet of such mould was he that, assured as he was that the Almighty Judge could not forget, even the oblivion of man could have been no matter to him.

He was still young; not yet 42 years of age; but "virtue, not length of days, the mind matures;" and, "that life is long which answers life's great end."

A great nature is a seed. The spirit of life and of action which springs from it grows and will grow among men forever. Thus it is that man is the only being that cannot die. The poet tells us in mournful cadence that the path of glory leads but to the grave. But this is true only in a superficial sense. The path of true glory does not end in the grave. It passes through it, to larger opportunities of service—into a spirit that it stimulates and feeds, and into the spirit that survives it, in men's minds, forever.

Not long remembered would Jason Lee have been—we may suppose—but for the fortune of opportunity that sent him to Oregon. With all men of action it is so. But for his opportunity, given by the Civil War, General Grant would have no name. How slight the original incidents that have linked the name of Jason Lee inseparably with the history of Oregon! The Protestant missions failed, as missions, but they were the main instruments that peopled Oregon with Americans. That is, they were more successful than their authors ever dreamed they could be. They established the foundations of the sovereignty of the United States in the Pacific Northwest. The mission was the first low wash of the waves where now rolls this great human sea, to increase in power, we may believe, throughout all ages.

Jason Lee, though a preacher of power, relied not on the graces of pulpit eloquence. Deep was his earnestness, but he was not a showy man. His journey to the West and his work herein vastly extended his spiritual and intellectual vision. Bancroft, in his study of the character of Lee, says: "No discipline of lecture room, general ministration or other experience, could have been so valuable a preparation for his duties as the rude

routine of the days of his overland journey. It seemed to him as if his theological sea had suddenly become boundless, and he might sail unquestioned whithersoever the winds should carry him. It was delightful, this cutting loose from conventionalisms, for even Methodist preachers are men. Not that there was present any inclination toward a relaxation of principles, as is the case with so many on leaving home and all its healthful influences; on the contrary, he felt himself more than ever the chosen of God, as he was thus brought nearer Him in nature, where he was sustained and guarded by day, and at night enfolded in his starry covering. Fires, within him, both physical and mental, blazed brightly, and he was not a whit behind the most efficient of his company in willingness, ability and courage." This is the testimony of a writer who, throughout his monumental work on the origins of the Pacific states, has shown little disposition to laud the missionaries, or to accord them more than their due.

It is small business either to disparage or flatter the ministry. But we may, even at the grave, speak of the minister as a man. Theology, like conscience, belongs to the private property of each communion; we shall not invade its precincts nor call its devotees to question. But putting aside the doctrine of the priest and considering only the sacerdotal calling in its relations to the world, we must acknowledge the moral superiority and exalted privileges which this profession offers to the man of genius, spirit and virtue who devotes himself to its exercise. On this basis the missionaries to Oregon, of all denominations, Protestant and Catholic, are to be judged without loss to them of any element of worthy reputation.

Of the two women who shared with Jason Lee the labors of his life in Oregon the annals of the time are full of appreciative notice and description. Each was a type of devoted womanhood. Though they gave all for the opportunity to labor in this then unknown field, and sacrificed their lives in it, they are fortunate in name and fame. The first wife, Anna Maria Pittman, died in May, 1838; the second, Lucy Thompson, in March, 1842. Sorrowful fatality, due to the conditions of remote pioneer life, in which woman had to bear more than her part, and yet in her hour of need could not have the assistance that her sisters in more favored circumstances receive. Such were some of the sacrifices of the pioneer time, through which this country was prepared as a dwelling place for the succeeding generations.

It is difficult for any generation to estimate rightly its contemporary men and women of real worth. There are many mistaken estimates. After the Restoration in England, John Milton was overlooked and forgotten. Though the literary defender of the Commonwealth and regicides, he was regarded as too unimportant for notice. His obscurity secured him immunity from prosecution, and he died unnoticed. But so great is he now that kings and princes and nobles of his time walk about under his shadow; the very age that neglected him is now known as "The Age of Milton," and receives its luster from his name. Mind and spirit are the controlling forces of the world. Men of pre-eminence can be estimated only by their peers. Equality of judgment is too scantily bestowed in any living generation to insure a correct decision, to settle the scale of pretension, to arrange the gradations of favor, or the definite place or title which each is to occupy in the ranks of fame. Contemporary men often pronounce that to be greatest which approaches nearest to themselves, since they are able to look upon it with the distinctness of close proximity. But the judgment is with the future time. We get no proper sense of the majesty of our mountain peaks when near them. We must draw back a little, if we would take in their full grandeur.

On this view the work of our missionaries in Oregon rises to proportions more and more majestic, as we study it from the standpoint of history and of consequences, and though others bore lofty spirits and did great work, no name stands or will stand above that of Jason Lee.

HARVEY W. SCOTT.

OUR FIRST INDIAN WAR.

Until 1853 Oregon Territory reached from the Rocky mountains to the Pacific ocean and from the California line to British Columbia. All of the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana, were then included within these limits.

In Oregon, at the time of the coming of Jason Lee and Daniel Lee, his nephew, the first missionaries, there were probably about one hundred thousand Indians. Among these, small parties of white men were never entirely safe except among part of the Nez Perces tribe and the natives of the lower Willamette Valley and the upper Puget Sound region. Of course detached families, prospectors, travelers, etc., came and went at will all over this region, and often without harm coming to them, but the record of pillage, outrage and murder during the half century from about 1830 down to 1880 is a long and bloody one. Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor was a careful historian, taking pains at all times to be sure of the facts and to understate rather than to magnify, yet she says the number of white persons killed and wounded within the above limits between the years 1824 and 1878 was eighteen hundred and ninety-six, an average of thirty-seven annually. Of these, the unprovoked murders made more than half the total; the remainder being those wounded in attacks equally unprovoked, or killed and wounded in warfare.

The first Indian war began late in 1847, immediately following the massacre of the mission party at Waiilatpu, with Marcus Whitman at its head, and only a few of these murders occurred before that time, which at least doubled the annual number of fatalities after that time. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of the victims of Indian violence fell between the years 1850 and 1862, a period of twelve years, and during that time the annual loss was at least one hundred and fifty, a frightful drain upon a sparse population.

Most of those who suffered were men in the prime of life, who could ill be spared by the struggling young territories, though comprising all classes—travelers, prospectors, miners, ranchers, traders, freighters, and, lastly, volunteers, who left their homes and families to go to the Indian country in defense

of the outlying settlers or to avenge the unprovoked and brutal crimes against them. Many immigrant families were totally destroyed, the women and children suffering every outrage which fiendish imagination could devise. The amount of property destroyed by Indian attacks upon immigrants, settlers and government supplies, was enormous, and almost none of it was ever repaid to the people who suffered.

It has been the fashion among a class of persons, absolutely ignorant of conditions on the frontier, to prate loudly of the wrongs visited upon the poor Indian. No one, with any knowledge of the facts, will deny that the Indians were oftentimes wrongfully treated by the whites, but as General Sheridan wrote in 1870, "So far as the wild Indians are concerned, the problem to be decided is, 'Who shall be killed, the whites or the Indians?'" Since 1862, at least eight hundred men, women and children have been murdered within the limits of my present command in the most fiendish manner, women ravished, and they and their little children horribly tortured, and then after suffering the pangs of a thousand deaths, killed and scalped." General Sherman also wrote strongly against the Indian apologizers and sympathizers, referring in the most vigorous language to the great number of persons butchered in the department east of the Rocky mountains.

The first Indian war in Oregon was with the Cayuses, mostly with its scene of operations in what is now Walla Walla county, this state. The great war period was a few years later, from 1855 to 1858, during which there was a general uprising of the confederated tribes of Oregon and Washington, in Eastern Oregon and Washington, in the Rogue River region of southern Oregon, and along the eastern shore of the upper Puget Sound.

Individual acts of violence and oppression on the part of white men, from time to time, induced acts of retaliation, but the criminal procrastination and indifference of the general government was responsible for most of the troubles between the settlers and the Indians. The policy of the government was to encourage a vanguard of settlers to cross the constantly receding frontier. This began almost immediately after the close of the war of the Revolution. The government never provided protection for these people, but after most of them had been impoverished by frequent attacks from the Indians, accompanied by murder and outrage, an insufficient army would be sent out to overawe and perhaps punish the savages. While I am no

apologist for the hideous wrongs perpetrated upon the natives of the New World by the Spaniards, they at least protected their own people by sending out a garrison with every colony, which took good care that there were not enough of the native population left to be a menace to the settlers. It is often said the English did better than the Americans with the Indians, and had less trouble with them. This is only a partial truth. Until in comparatively recent years the English occupying the country west of the Canadas were there only as trappers and traders. They interfered but little with the Indians, and in fact gave them a market for their furs and peltries that had before been lacking. The lands over which the natives roamed at will were not sought for nor occupied by their white neighbors. It has been the "land greed" of the Americans that has caused most of the disturbances and wars between them and the Indians.

Prior to 1843 the population of Oregon increased slowly. At the beginning of 1842, there were only one hundred and thirty-seven American settlers. Of these twenty-one were Protestant ministers, fifteen lay members of Protestant churches, thirty-four white women, thirty-two white children, and thirty-four American settlers, twenty-five of whom had native wives. There were also three Jesuit priests, French or Belgians, as I remember. During 1842, the first immigration of American settlers, numbering about one hundred and forty, came across the plains under the leadership of Dr. Elijah White; in 1843 nearly nine hundred immigrants were added to the little colony; in 1844 about seven hundred and fifty; in 1845 about three thousand; in 1846 about one thousand, and in 1847 about five thousand.

Each year poor fare, bad drinking water and long-continued exposure had caused a good deal of sickness among the immigrants, and this had been unavoidably communicated to the Indians, causing a good many deaths among them. This was particularly true of the immigration of the year 1847. It brought with it a virulent form of measles, accompanied by typhoid fever, and these diseases were as fatal among the Indians as the small-pox. The Indians hung about the immigrants most of the time, to the great annoyance of the latter, as they were inveterate beggars and pilferers, and it was not long before the disease was epidemic among the Cayuses, threatening that tribe with extinction, as the mortality was frightful. Missionary Spalding wrote: "It is distressing to go into a lodge of some ten or twenty fires, and count twenty or twenty-five, some in the midst of the measles, others

in the last stages of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth, of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no means of alleviating their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of two sick ones. They were dying every day; one, two, and sometimes five in a day, with the dysentery, which generally followed the measles."

There were Indians and half-breeds among the Cayuses, who had come from other tribes, notably Jo Lewis, who were not friendly to the Americans and who stirred up ill feeling among the natives by telling them that the whites would poison them and get rid of them as fast as they could so the valuable lands along the river bottoms could be turned into farms. Many matters of more or less importance had come up during the three or four years prior to 1847 that had lessened the influence of the missionaries over the Indians.

The first white women to cross the plains were Mesdames Whitman and Spalding, in 1836.

Doctor and Mrs. Whitman settled at Waiilatpu, in the Walla Walla valley, a few miles below the present city of Walla Walla. Mr. and Mrs. Spalding went up the Snake river to Lapwai, near the present city of Lewiston, Idaho. Mr. Gray assisted for a time at both places, but the next year he went back East to intercede with the Missionary Board to send out more missionaries. This errand was successful. Soon after he reached the Eastern States he married Mary A. Dix, and in 1838 Revs. A. B. Smith, Elkanah Walker and Cushing Eells, and Wm. H. Gray and their brides, and Cornelius Rogers made up this reinforcement. The trip across the continent was a wedding tour for the three newly-married couples. This was the second party of ladies to accomplish this arduous and perilous undertaking.

At this time Texas, California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona were foreign territory, and Oregon was so much foreign country that it was necessary for the missionaries to procure passports from the Secretary of War. That to Eells and party was dated February 27, 1838.

The houses were of logs or sun-dried bricks—adobes, with the earth for a floor and evergreen boughs or cedar bark for a roof. Cooking was done at an open fire—stoves were unknown. Daylight came in at the open door, or through small windows covered with cotton cloth or oiled deerskin. Tables, chairs, and all the scanty furniture, were of home manufacture from boards split from logs. There was but one saw mill, and that at Fort

Vancouver. Later they used whipsaws, and with them a small amount of lumber was laboriously cut by hand. Flour mills were much more numerous, as there was one at Vancouver and another at Colville. Myron Eells wrote that the latter proved a great convenience, for while they lived among the Spokane tribe they could make the trip there and back in five days. The plows were home-made, the singletrees were strengthened with rawhide instead of iron, from which their ropes were also made. For nine years the wheat was cut with a sickle. [Parenthetically—In the early fifties, in the Willamette valley we had advanced to the use of cradles to cut the grain, but most of our threshing was still done with flails, or by having it tramped out by cattle or horses. This was done by first spreading out the grain about a foot deep over the corral ground, which had been hardened by countless hoofs and which had been carefully cleaned by sweeping it with brooms whittled from ash or hazel saplings. When the grain was ready cattle or horses, preferably the latter, were turned into the corral and driven around the circle until the grain was separated from the straw. It is one of my pleasant recollections how proud I was when I was permitted to help drive the animals which it was necessary to urge along with whip and goad to prevent them from taking too much toll while engaged at their task.] The flour sacks were of buckskin, as were many of the garments in everyday use. Cattle were scarce, and nearly all of them belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, which would not part with any of them for love nor money. Beef was the chief article of diet, especially in the winter, but the animals from which it was made neither "chewed the cud nor parted the hoof." They were Indian ponies, and for several years each family salted one down every winter.

These conditions were not all confined to missionary life. Many of you old pioneers have either personally known them or have heard your parents relate similar experiences of their pioneer life. At the Whitman mission, in its early days, a small allowance of bread was baked and enjoyed once a week, and then boiled wheat and corn were the staple diet the rest of the week. Flint and tinder were relied upon to start the fires, matches being unknown until many years later. Mails usually came twice a year in the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands. These vessels brought the merchandise used by the company in its trading with the Indians and trappers for furs and peltries, which made

part of the return cargoes, supplemented, ere long; when the herds and flocks of the company had grown to immense proportions, by hides, tallow and wool. The profits that enured to the company from this monopoly made its stock the most sought after of any in the London market. When the missionaries learned that mails had arrived at Walla Walla they would start there on horseback with a pack animal to carry blankets and supplies. It took Mr. Eells two weeks to make the round trip of four hundred miles. The letters and papers were usually twelve months old.

Enduring these privations without complaint, and surrounded at all times by dangers from the elements, wild animals and treacherous Indians, this little band, widely separated from each other, year after year, carried on their labors among the Cayuses and Nez Perces.

For a time they were greatly encouraged over the apparent success of their efforts in Christianizing and civilizing the Indians around them, but about 1841, from many causes, the natives changed from their general attitude of kindness and apparent zeal to learn to read and to understand the lessons taught them by the missionaries, and became insolent and threatening in their demeanor. The mission schools were abandoned, and thefts and acts of petty violence were frequent. From 1843 to 1847 the Cayuses and most of the Nez Perces retrograded rather than improved in education and civilization. During the latter part of this period the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who understood thoroughly the ins and outs of Indian character, often advised and entreated Doctor Whitman to abandon his work at Waiilatpu. The latter undoubtedly realized the dangers surrounding him, as he advised the immigrants to use the utmost discretion in their intercourse with the Indians. There is abundant evidence of record that he knew he stood over a powder magazine that was liable to explode at any time, but he was of the stuff from which martyrs are made and felt that duty commanded him to remain at his post at all hazards.

Of the immigration of 1847, about fifty remained at the mission station instead of going down to the Willamette valley. These, added to the mission party, made up a total of about seventy.

On the afternoon of November 29th of that year, the Cayuses made a sudden onslaught on these people and killed Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, John and Francis Sager, Mr. Gilli-

land, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Hoffman. The next day Mr. Kimball and Mr. Young were killed, and several days later two young men, named Crockett Bewley and Amos Sales, who had been spared for some reason, were added to the list of slain, and two little children, one of the Sager children and Helen Mar, the daughter of Joe Meek, were allowed to die of neglect. A man named Hall made his escape to Fort Walla Walla, and instead of remaining there in safety insisted on being ferried across the river on his way to The Dalles. He was never heard of afterward, and was either killed or drowned in trying to cross some stream. This made the total number of the victims of Indian cruelty sixteen.

No account of this massacre has ever been written that was not disputed by some of the parties to the bitter sectarian controversies that followed for many years, and to this date no agreement has been reached.

I have read carefully the different statements published soon after the massacre, and during the succeeding quarter century—Spalding's, Gray's, Brouillet's, J. Ross Browne's—and an immense mass of transient accounts of the same, and at this time declare unhesitatingly that I do not believe the Hudson's Bay Company's people were in any manner directly or intentionally responsible for the Whitman massacre. He and all other missionaries, Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic alike, at all times and at all places, were treated with kindness and with generous hospitality, which was boundless. At the company's stations, and on their travels in the Indian country, they were aided by the company's officers, and particular pains were taken to impress upon the minds of the Indians that the safety and comfort of the missionaries were desired at their hands. It is a fact that most of the officers of the company were Catholics, and that nearly all the subordinates were of the same faith, and that while all were welcomed and cared for most generously, still it was quite natural that the Catholic priests were shown greater deference and were accepted as friends while the others were guests. The Indians were quick to observe this nice distinction. The Catholic priests appeared in their black gowns and carrying with them the emblems of their service; they were received with great respect by the officers and warmly welcomed by the employes of the company. The Hudson's Bay Company was the highest corporeal power known to the Indians. Its officers enunciated the law and enforced it with iron hands

in all that came up between it and the natives. Any wrong doing that affected the company was punished surely and swiftly. For these reasons, when the Indians saw what deference was shown to the priests by those to whom they, the Indians, looked up to as "Tyees," whatever the priests said to them was naturally accepted with greatest respect. The ceremonials of the church service were attractive to them, and the instructions connected with them all made a lasting impression upon their memories.

In their teachings of the Indians, the priests did not hesitate to pronounce the religious instructions of the Protestants as the grossest of falsehoods, and the latter were equally vigorous in their declarations of the falsity of the teachings of the Catholics, and of their blasphemy. This had an evil influence upon the Indians, who could not understand the distinctions in religious creeds, and possibly I might add that many white people of the present day are equally benighted.

The Hudson's Bay people could have had no object in causing trouble between the whites and Indians at that late day. The treaty settling the northern boundary of Oregon at the 49th parallel had been signed more than a year; the region about Walla Walla was never of value for the gathering of peltries, so that if white settlers had begun to occupy the lands adjacent it was a matter of small importance to the company, whose rights had been abundantly safeguarded in the treaty mentioned above.

The rest of the party, mostly women and children, remained captives among the Indians, and the women, and even young girls, became the victims of the lust of their captors.

But for the immediate and vigorous action of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, these would all have been killed very soon after the other tragedy. James Douglas and Peter Ogden, two of the grand men of that early period, had succeeded Dr. McLoughlin in chief control of its affairs, and then lived at Fort Vancouver. McBean, the factor in charge of Fort Walla Walla, sent off an express as soon as he learned of the massacre, and at once upon its receipt Ogden started for the scene of the tragedy. Arrived at Walla Walla, he demanded that the captives be delivered to him, and such was his wisdom, as well as courage and adroitness, coupled with the great influence of the company's officers among the Indian tribes, that he succeeded in rescuing them to the number of fifty-seven, and at the same time made no promises to the Indians of immunity from punishment

for their crimes. He gave what the Indians accepted as a most liberal ransom, consisting of fifty large blankets, fifty shirts, ten guns, ten fathoms of tobacco, ten handkerchiefs, and one hundred balls and powder.

To Ogden the captives and the people of Oregon owed a heavy debt of gratitude that was never forgotten by those whose minds were not obscured by prejudice or partisanship.

The provisional legislature of Oregon met at Oregon City on the 7th day of December, 1847, and on the 8th the following letter was received from James Douglas, chief factor at Vancouver:

"George Abernethy, Esq.

"Sir:—Having received intelligence last night by special express from Walla Walla of the destruction of the missionary settlement at Waiilatpu, by the Cayuse Indians of that place, we hasten to communicate the particulars of that dreadful event, one of the most atrocious that darkens the annals of Indian crime.

"Our lamented friend, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, with nine other persons, have fallen victims to the fury of these remorseless savages, who appear to have been instigated to this appalling crime by a horrible suspicion which had taken possession of their superstitious minds, in consequence of the number of deaths from dysentery and measles, that Dr. Whitman was silently working the destruction of their tribe by administering poisonous drugs, under the semblance of salutary medicines.

"With a goodness of heart and benevolence truly his own, Dr. Whitman had been laboring incessantly since the appearance of the measles and dysentery among his Indian converts to relieve their sufferings; and such has been the reward of his generous labors.

"A copy of Mr. McBean's letter, herewith transmitted, will give you all the particulars known to us of this indescribably painful event.

"Mr. Ogden, with a strong party, will leave this place as soon as possible for Walla Walla, to endeavor to prevent further evil; and we beg to suggest to you the propriety of taking instant measures for the protection of Rev. Mr. Spalding, who, for the sake of his family, ought to abandon the Clearwater mission without delay, and retire to a place of safety, as he cannot remain at that isolated station without imminent risk, in the present excited and irritable state of the Indian population.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"JAMES DOUGLAS."

What a burden was thus thrust upon the officers and legislature of the Territory! There was in the treasury forty-three dollars and seventy-two cents, with an outstanding indebtedness of four thousand and seventy-nine dollars and seventy-four cents. War was inevitable, but where could funds be obtained to carry it on? Application was made to the Hudson's Bay Company, and on the personal guaranty of Governor Abernethy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy, supplies to the value of one thousand dollars were promptly supplied by it.

These three gentlemen were appointed loan commissioners to obtain subscriptions and loans from the merchants and few men of means in the Willamette valley, and they secured the pledge of five thousand dollars with which to equip the regiment of volunteers for an extended campaign in the upper country. Very little of this was in cash, and the rest was in provisions of all kinds, clothing, blankets, arms, ammunition, horses and their accoutrements, and all else that could be made available.

A company of riflemen was raised the same day, and officered and equipped the next, and it pushed forward to The Dalles at once. A regiment was raised during the succeeding thirty days, and Cornelius Gilliam was made its colonel. Mitchell Gilliam, one of the judges of the King County Superior Court, is his grandson.

It was in those days a matter of the greatest difficulty and hardship to get a body of men up the Columbia river to The Dalles, and it was not until the last of January that Col. Gilliam, at the head of one hundred and thirty men, was able to take the field, with the latter place for his base. The first engagement was with the Des Chuttes, John Days and Cayuses. About twenty miles from what was later known as Celilo, the Indian camp was attacked, one Indian killed and the rest dispersed. The next day the whole force went in pursuit of the enemy, which was found and attacked, regardless of its numbers, several Indians killed, a large number of horses, a few cattle, and nearly fifteen hundred dollars of stolen property recaptured. Skirmishing continued for several days, with a loss to the army of four men killed.

Peace negotiations, lack of facilities for transportation and of food, delayed the progress of the troops, and it was not until late in February, 1848, that a fight of any importance occurred. This was a little below the mouth of the Umatilla river, where the Cayuses had chosen their ground. Repeated charges were

made on them as from time to time they fell back and reformed, and toward dark they made a disorderly retreat, leaving eight dead and five wounded behind them. Five of the volunteers were wounded.

The Cayuses were surprised and disappointed over this day's fighting. The Americans had always avoided trouble with them, as they were tired and worn out with the hardships of crossing the plains, and encumbered with their stock and families. It had been the boast of the Indians that they would beat the Americans to death with clubs, and then go down to the Willamette valley and gather together the women and children and the white men's property.

As the troops continued their march toward Walla Walla the Indians hung on their flank, away up on the bluffs, but did not venture to attack.

All this time it was feared that the Yakima and Columbia river Indians would join with the Cayuses, but pains were taken to allay the apprehensions of the former, as they were assured that the surrender of the Indians who had committed the atrocities at the Whitman mission was the chief purpose of the expedition.

On the last day of February the troops reached the Walla Walla river, and on the 2nd of March camp was made near the site of the mission, and the dread story of the massacre, with all of its horrible details, first became fully known.

Colonel Gilliam, with two companies, first visited the mission ground, and the next day moved his camp to its site. The dead had been buried in shallow graves, and had been unearched by the wolves and lay about, half devoured. Some of Mrs. Whitman's golden tresses were cut off and preserved, and the mutilated remains of herself and husband were interred together and a neat picket fence erected about the grave. The others were also reburied. The buildings had been burned and desolation reigned. Books, papers, letters, and other things of no interest or value to the Indians, lay scattered about. Some of the latter disclosed the fact that Dr. Whitman was fully aware of the dangers that encompassed him.

From the time the troops left The Dalles vexatious delays occurred from day to day, caused by conferences with other tribes of Indians not parties to the massacre. Efforts were made by the Cayuses to bring about a general uprising. Had they been successful in this it would have resulted in the annihilation

of all the Americans in the upper country, armed or unarmed. These delays and negotiations continued to the end of the campaign. "Blood is thicker than water," and even the Nez Perces, most of whom were always the friends of the whites and deplored the massacre at Waiilatpu, as well as other friendly Indians, did not hesitate to employ artifices to delay the troops and thus enable the Cayuses to move their families and stock out of danger.

After a delay of a week the army of about two hundred and seventy men again advanced, and on the banks of the Tucannon were attacked by the Palouses, allies of the Cayuses. Advancing slowly, fighting all day, the troops had to camp at night without food or fire, under gun fire all the time, so that they were glad when the first streaks of dawn enabled them to again advance. The engagement was sharp, and at times critical, but victory rested with the whites, with several wounded, one mortally. The Indians lost four killed and fourteen wounded. This sickened the Palouses of fighting, and, although the whites had won the fight, they had been without rest or food for thirty hours and were glad of a respite.

While the troops had been successful in their operations thus far, it had become apparent that the force in the field was inadequate for a campaign, and it was decided to build forts and leave enough men to garrison them, and let the rest return to the valley and harvest their crops, and during that period raise another regiment:

Colonel Gilliam and Captains Maxon and McKay, with two companies, left Waiilatpu March 20th, with a wagon train, leaving Lieut. Col. Waters in command of the forts and men. Just below Umatilla, where they made camp for the night, Colonel Gilliam was instantly killed by the accidental discharge of a gun. He had proven himself a most intrepid soldier and capable Indian fighter.

Troops came and went during the summer, but little active work was done. Missionaries Eells and Walker and families were escorted from Colville to The Dalles by a company under Major Magone, who had volunteered for that service.

As an additional incentive for men to remain at the front, Colonels Lee and Waters promised that authority would be given volunteers for that service to take land claims in the Cayuse territory. This offer was accepted, and the required number of fifty, under Captain Martin, remained. Governor Aber-

nethy approved these promises later, as a military necessity, and thus began the first actual settlements in what is now Eastern Washington.

The proclamation discharging the first regiment of volunteers, except the men who remained to garrison the forts, was dated July 5, 1848. The volunteers in the Indian country were hardy and resourceful. The mill at Waiilatpu was repaired, and as considerable grain was discovered in Indian caches, they soon had plenty of flour. They also raised several hundred bushels of grain during the summer. Meat was abundant, and they lived well. They held control of the Cayuse country, marked out claims for themselves on the best lands; also patrolled the immigrant road, which was of great service to the migration of 1848.

The Indian murderers had fled to the upper waters on Burnt river, and were reduced to poverty; the Cayuses also, as a tribe, had been greatly humbled.

The events sketched heretofore, of such vital interest to the infant Oregon colony, were long in coming to the knowledge of the outside world. Efforts had been made at once to send word overland to the States and to California, but had failed. It was also not known in Oregon that the United States had taken possession of California, and it was late in the summer of 1848 before anything was done at the national capital. August 14th Gen. Joseph Lane, who later ran for Vice-President on the ticket with John C. Breckenridge, when Lincoln was elected to the presidency, was appointed governor, and Joe Meek marshal. These two started immediately for Oregon and arrived early in March, 1849, and at once a proclamation was issued to the effect that the United States had at last asserted its authority over Oregon Territory. The treaty with Great Britain had been concluded more than three years that confirmed our title to Oregon, and but for this Indian war other years would doubtless have elapsed before the prayers of the Oregon settlers would have been answered.

In May, 1849, the United States started a regiment of riflemen overland to Oregon, in command of Col. W. W. Loring. They encountered many hardships, and often were on short allowances of food. Arrived late in the fall at The Dalles, they were almost naked. Seventy men were lost on the way by death and desertion. They spent the winter at Oregon City.

In the meantime, Governor Lane had been carrying on nego-

tiations with the Cayuse tribe for the surrender of those who participated in the massacre of Doctor Whitman and the others. The arrival of the soldiers of the regular army, which had long been threatened, and the increasing tide of immigration, opened the eyes of the Indians to the power of the Americans. Sales of ammunition to the Indians had been stopped, which to them was a great hardship, as their food supply was largely cut off in consequence, and the fugitives felt its effects even more than the others.

The Cayuses recognized the fact that something must be done. Early in 1849 Governor Lane received word that five of the tribe had surrendered themselves to be tried, and were on their way down the Columbia river under escort. He went to The Dalles to meet them. They were taken to Oregon City and there held under guard until late in May, then tried before Judge O. C. Pratt. A jury was empaneled, from which old settlers and those who had suffered at the hands of Indians were excluded. U. S. District Attorney Holbrook conducted the prosecution, while Territorial Secretary Pritchett and Paymaster Reynolds and Capt. Claiborne, Jr., of the U. S. Army, conducted the defense.

The attorneys interposed every defense that able men could devise, but a verdict was returned of guilty as charged. Attempts were also made to appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, and in other ways to delay the execution, but without avail, as the Indians went to the scaffold soon afterward.

Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor, in discussing events of the period, said:

"That which strikes the student of Oregon history is the pathetic patience with which the people, and the provisional government, bore the long-continued neglect of the federal government. From the first influx of immigration proper, in 1842 and 1843, Congress had been entreated to make some provision for the protection of travelers to Oregon from Indian attacks, as it had previously been urged to insist upon the rights of Americans as against the British, represented by the Hudson's Bay Company. But Congress had equally neglected both. The people, guided by a few wise minds, had hit upon the plan of inducing the British residents to join them in forming a joint organization, which both parties knew to be temporary, and only to be maintained by mutual concessions. After much petitioning, Congress had at last ordered to be raised and equipped a regiment of mounted riflemen, to establish posts and patrol the road to Oregon; but instead of being sent at once to this country it

was ordered to duty in Mexico, from there sent back to Fort Leavenworth at the close of the war with Mexico, and its decimated ranks filled up with raw recruits. Of these movements isolated Oregon was in ignorance, and, unable to account for the non-appearance of the regiment known to have been raised for her exclusive benefit, still strained her eyes toward the east, always looking for some sign, and listening for some news of the promised aid. For this Doctor Whitman was waiting when he delayed too long to leave the Cayuse country. For this the volunteers at Fort Waters waited until October, performing the duty the federal government had been pledged to perform; and for this Oregon was still waiting when Governor Abernethy was called upon to assist the United States."

Several years afterward Congress appropriated one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to pay the expenses of the Cayuse war, and later a bill was also passed that, among others, gave bounties to the volunteers of this war.

This war marked the close of the provisional government of Oregon. The men who brought it to a conclusion had all imaginable difficulties to contend with. There was no money in the treasury, and practically none in the country. Each volunteer had to furnish his own weapons, and was poorly supplied with ammunition, clothes and food. While the actual loss in killed and wounded was not great, it required men of undaunted courage to penetrate the Indian country, surrounded as they were by hordes of Indians, who, had they combined, as there was always danger, could at any time have overwhelmed the Americans.

Nearly sixty years have passed since this war began. Only here and there one remains of the original band who first taught the Indians to fear the American when he went on the warpath, but their children and children's children are many all over this Northwest. Not a few of these live on Puget Sound today, and the fighting blood that has come down to them from their pioneer ancestors is to them a proud heritage.

George Abernethy was then Oregon's provisional governor. His nephew has long been one of Seattle's business men. I have mentioned Mitchell Gilliam. John C. Holgate has a host of relatives here. Jeremiah Driggs has a daughter; M. M. McCarver has a daughter here and one in Tacoma, and descendants all over the Sound; Daniel Waldo has a nephew; Medorum Crawford has a brother and nephew. Nathan Olney has descendants on the Sound. Col. B. F. Shaw is still living in Vancouver, and

one of the best known men in the State. Clark S. Pringle and his wife, Catherine Sager, one of the rescued children, are spending a hale and hearty old age in Spokane.

Old Oregonians know all the names that follow, and they are also household words with hundreds of our own pioneers, viz.: James W. Nesmith, Jo Meek, Robert Magone, James Force, H. A. G. Lee, Thomas McKay, Joel Palmer, William Burnett, A. L. Lovejoy, Robert Newell, H. J. G. Maxon, John Minto, W. T. Matlock, L. J. Rector, Wesley Shannon and Lewis M. Savage. A. M. Poe, one of the pioneer newspaper men of Washington, is also on the list. Had I the time I might prolong the list indefinitely.

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

DIARY OF DR. DAVID S. MAYNARD WHILE CROSS- ING THE PLAINS IN 1850.

Of the five months' journey to the Pacific Doctor David S. Maynard left account in his diary, which is used in the pages following. It was evidently inconvenient to him to write, as the daily spaces were small, three to the page, and there was much to do on the way, but between the lines and the times much can now be seen and read that does not appear in letters and words upon the paper. The first entry is that of Tuesday, April 9, 1850, here given:

Left home for California. Passed through Norwalk to Monroeville. Took the cars to Sandusky. Saw a large eagle on the prairie. Passage, 75 cents. Paid to Drakeley, \$4. Dinner and horse feed, 75 cents. Total, \$5.50.

There are no more entries until April 20th, at Cincinnati, from which it may be inferred that the traveler was about eleven days in making the trip across the State from north to south, probably on his horse, which he also probably sold at Cincinnati. The second and third diary notes are these:

April 20th.—Left Cincinnati at 4 o'clock on board the Natchez.

April 21st.—Arrived at Louisville at 10. Walked to New Albany, in Indiana, a place of about 7,000 inhabitants—Lockville. Saw James Porter, the Kentucky giant, 7 2-3 feet.

The Doctor journeyed on without making notes until the middle of May, by which time he had fully arranged for the long remainder of the trip. He had a mule, a buffalo robe, a gun, a few medicines, his surgical instruments and several books. He connected himself with a party, depending upon his wits, his professional skill, his talent for doing things, his good humor and his general usefulness wherever placed, to carry him through to the other shore in safety and reasonable comfort. That his ideas were correctly based is well known, and to a certain extent are portrayed in the narrative following from his own pencil:

Thursday, May 16.—Crossed the Missouri river at Saint Joseph, and encamped.

May 17.—Left camp about 11 o'clock, and went six miles. Passed the snake's den.

May 18.—Traveled about seventeen miles over the bluffs. Very little timber, but good water.

May 19.—Traveled about eighteen miles. Passed one grave. An Indian farm about four miles west of the toll bridge kept by the Sac and Fox Indians. Toll, 25 cents. Passed one of the most beautiful pictures of country I ever saw. Drove the team with Mason.

May 20.—Traveled about sixteen miles over beautiful rolling prairie. No timber. Passed some new graves. Passed one horse and one ox left to die at leisure.

May 21.—Tuesday. Passed the grave of A. Powers, of Peoria County, Illinois, died on the 20th inst., about sixty-five miles west of St. Joseph. Traveled about eighteen miles. Was called to visit three cases of cholera. One died, a man, leaving a wife and child, from Illinois, poor. He lived seven hours after being taken. No wood or water secured.

May 22.—Rainy. Traveled five miles, and came to wood and water in plenty. Went on about ten miles further, and put out for the night. Fleming and Curtis taken with the cholera. Wake all night. Called upon just before we stopped to see a man with the cholera, who died soon after.

May 23.—Curtis and Fleming better, but not able to start in the morning. Started at 12, and traveled about six miles. Plenty of water three-quarters of a mile north of the road. Stopped in camp with Dr. Bemis's company. Heard wolves during the night.

May 24.—Started early. Curtis and Fleming pretty comfortable. Traveled about nineteen miles. Passed the forks leading to Independence. Camped at Blue river. One grave, child 11 years old. Forded the stream. Raised our loading. Got my medicines wet. Boys caught a meal of catfish. Fish were large and plenty, and included enough for tomorrow's breakfast.

May 25.—Started at Big Blue river. Took in company Samuel J. Hunter. Left the river at half past 3. Another grave. Traveled ten miles.

May 26. Traveled about five miles and rested. Had catfish for breakfast.

May 27. Went in with John Childs's train of ten wagons. At night the company lacked water, having camped on a hill away from water and wood. Traveled eighteen miles. Saw an antelope.

May 28.—Late start. Traveled alone, about fifteen miles. Plenty of feed and tolerable water. Passed four graves. Camped on a dry hill, a few rods from the Childs train.

May 29.—Started at 6 o'clock, going about eighteen miles. Water scarce and poor. Curtis gave the milk away. Went without dinner. A drove of buffaloes were seen by a company ahead. Left the team and went on ahead. Saw one buffalo and

one antelope. Took sick with the cholera. No one meddled or took any notice of it but George Moon.

May 30.—Feel better. Start on foot. Continue to get better. Travel up the Little Blue twenty miles. Wood, water and feed tolerable.

May 31.—Started at 6. Followed up the Blue. Passed one good spring. Feed short. Traveled twenty miles. Hunter left, and I took the cooking line.

June 1.—Left the range of the Blue. Traveled twenty miles. Saw three antelopes.

June 2.—Started late. Rode all the forenoon, and read. Traveled eleven miles. Put up on the Platte. No wood or good water.

June 3.—Started at half past 6. Traveled five miles to Fort Kearney. Saw tame buffaloes. The fort buildings are built of wood, brick and mud. The country is flat and rather low. Two miles southeast are sandhills in sight. Went about twenty-two miles, and fell in with innumerable hosts of immigrants. Rained through the night.

June 4.—Traveled up the Platte river twenty miles. The road was low, level and muddy. The river is about a mile wide. At 2 o'clock it began to rain and blow tremendously, continuing all night. Camped without a spark of fire or warm supper, with our clothes as wet as water. A man died with the cholera in sight of us. He was a Mason. I was called to see him, but too late.

June 5.—It rains yet. Got as wet as ever in getting the team. I got a chance to cook some meat and tea with Dr. Hotchkiss's stove. In company with Mr. Stone from Mansfield. Have a bad headache; take a blue pill. Start at 9; travel to a creek, twelve miles.

June 6.—Start at 9. Unship our load, and cross a creek. One death, a Missourian, from cholera. Go eighteen miles. Pass four graves in one place. Two more of the same train are ready to die. Got a pint and a half of brandy. Earn \$2.20. Left Krill with a dying friend.

June 7.—Start late. Find plenty of doctoring to do. Stop at noon to attend some persons sick with cholera. One was dead before I got there, and two died before the next morning. They paid me \$8.75. Deceased were named Israel Broshears and William Broshears and Mrs. Morton, the last being mother to the bereaved widow of Israel Broshears. We are 85 or 90 miles west of Fort Kearney.

June 8.—Left the camp of distress on the open prairie at half past 4 in the morning. The widow was ill both in body and mind. I gave them slight encouragement by promising to return and assist them along. I overtook our company at noon twenty miles away. Went back and met the others in trouble enough. I traveled with them until night. Again overtook

our company three miles ahead. Made my arrangements to be ready to shift my duds to the widow's wagon when they come up in the morning.

June 9.—Started off in good season. Went twenty miles. Encamped on a creek. Wolves very noisy, keeping us awake all night.

June 10.—Traveled eleven miles, and crossed South Platte at the lower crossing. Stream three-fourths mile wide, with a heavy current.

June 11.—Traveled twenty-one miles. Waded for wood for self and Rider. Got small ash poles.

Here there is a break in the doctor's journal, there being no entries from June 12th to 24th inclusive. This is the only omission in the entire journey from Missouri river to Puget Sound. It is to be supposed that the troubles were so many and the labors so great incident to the peculiar situation in which he found himself that he then was unable to keep the diary written up as he did before and after the events in connection with the unfortunate Morton-Broshears party. Seven members of the party died there and then, Mrs. Broshears losing not only her husband and mother but three other relatives, and being left in a most forlorn and helpless condition. The sympathy and assistance she required from the doctor, who subsequently became her second husband, accounts reasonably for this much to be regretted omission in the narrative.

Tuesday, June 25.—Started late, in consequence of our cattle being lost. When I came in from hunting the cattle the company had gone and left us. We drove on to the Bad Hills, about eighteen miles, and encamped.

June 26.—Started from camp in tolerable season, after burying Austin Morton. Drove two miles and camped. Feed is poor, and plenty of stock to eat it. Took care of the team alone.

June 27.—George Benton commenced driving the team. Went ten miles to Cottonwood Creek; camp there and wash up. Feed is good and water excellent. I cannot persuade the company to stop half long enough to recruit the team. Part with Fanings & Co.

June 28.—Finished our washing and took a trip to the mountain four miles south. I think this the pleasantest hunting ground I ever saw. Team came in at night full and lively.

June 29.—Left camp and traveled over to the North Platte again. Went ten miles and camped. Feed poor.

June 30.—Traveled about fourteen miles to the ferry. Crossed our teams over, leaving the oxen on the east side. Had a serious tramp in carrying supper to the boys, after dark, some six or seven miles and back.

July 1.—Brought teams to the stream to ford. After working two-thirds of the day we had nine oxen to ferry across at \$1 per head. Drove out five miles and camped without feed or water.

July 2.—Traveled over rough hills about twenty miles to Willow Springs. Feed poor, water a little touched with alkali. Found plenty of saleratus water, by which our teams suffered much.

July 3.—Left Willow Springs, and traveled over barren, rough mountains about twenty miles to big creek. No feed.

July 4.—Left the big creek and went ten miles to Independence Rock. Celebrated a little. Found feed very scarce. Rider's hired hand came, and agreed to come on with him.

July 5.—Dragged the team through sand eight miles to Devil's Gate, and turned out and drove team three miles to feed. This pass through the rocks of the Whitewater is one of the curiosities of nature. Perpendicular height of rocks four hundred feet. Width of stream or valley fifty-five feet.

July 6.—Drove the team to camp and took wagons out to grass. Oxen sick; vomiting like dogs. Old Nig looks bad. Got better towards night.

July 7.—Go on a trip to the mountain. See a large panther and five antelopes. Got spruce gum and snow. Got into camp about 3 o'clock, tired enough.

July 8.—Started out, and after traveling six miles discovered a party of Indians coming upon us. We heard they had just robbed one train. Prepared for an attack. When within half a mile they sent two of their number to see how strong we were. After viewing us carefully they left us for good. Traveled twenty-two miles.

July 9.—Left the creek by spells, and traveled through the Narrows twenty miles and camped. Bought buffalo meat. Kept guard for fear of Mormons. Team comfortably fed.

July 10.—Traveled in sand all day, and camped without feed or water. Came twenty miles.

July 11.—Started before breakfast, and came eight miles to Sweetwater. Stopped, took breakfast, and went on to the Sweetwater again, camped; fourteen miles.

July 12.—Left Sweetwater and traveled over the ragged mountains twenty miles. I was well worn out, as well as the team, from watching at night. A miserable company for help.

July 13.—Left the ice spring. Team poorly fed. Traveled eight miles to the last of the Sweetwater. Turned out with a view to stopping, but the company growled, and we again set sail. Went on in search of feed and water until all power was exhausted. Team got ahead about five miles. Camped, with little feed and no water.

July 14.—Team tolerably fed, but no water. Traveled eight miles to Pacific Springs. Watered and filled water cask. Wrote

a line to Henry (Maynard's son). Paid 50 cents to carry it to St. Joseph. I then went ahead in search of feed and water. Found some feed but not water, and got no thanks from the company for my labor.

July 15.—Left camp and passed the forks of the roads, the left road leading to Salt Lake. Traveled eight miles to the Little Sandy. Watered the team, drove three miles more, turned out and camped. Drove the team up four miles further for feed. Set things at right about camp, carried supper to the boys four miles, washed, changed clothes and slept in tent.

July 16.—Found good feed for team four and a half miles from camp, and stayed to rest our teams and wash in the waters of Little Sandy. Company growled so much I consented to start next morning. Found ice in the water bucket this morning.

July 17.—Got under way at 8, and drove twelve miles to Big Sandy. I went in search of feed; tramped about eleven miles, and found feed scarce. Returned to camp, and sent the boys out with teams to graze all night. The water of the Sandy is made of the snow melting on the mountains in sight.

July 18.—Left camp at 11 o'clock with our water vessels all filled, to cross the desert, fifty-three miles, to Green river. Traveled all day and night. Dust from one to twelve inches deep on the ground and above the top of the wagon cover a perfect cloud. Crossed a plain of twelve miles, and then went over a tremendous mountain.

July 19.—Arrived at Green river about noon. Paid \$7 per wagon for ferrying. Drove out eight miles to grass on a branch of Green river. Put cattle in the brush and let them go.

July 20.—Drove the cattle out to feed. Watched them all day myself. George caught four trout, which made us a good breakfast. Drove in the team about 10 in the evening. Lion, Sam and Bright are sick.

July 21.—Company was not willing to feed the team or for me to doctor Lion. We therefore start without even watering team. Came on about four miles and camp. Teams falling behinds. Went back to learn the cause. Found them too weak to travel. Went on and left them. Travel fifteen miles to a branch of Green river.

July 22.—Left camp at 8 o'clock. Found a rough mountainous road. Traveled to the ten springs among the spruce. Feed scarce. Came fifteen miles. Rain stopped us from going further. Rider came up at eve, drove past, and camped in sight. Got the tent in which George and I slept.

July 23.—Climbed mountains at the start. Passed Rider's team after they camped. Drove about a mile, and found good water and good feed. Went eighteen miles.

July 24.—Began climbing the mountains at 7, and went over the worst ones I ever saw teams encounter. Crossed a branch of Green river. Passed through a beautiful grove of spruce and

fir. We threw Lion down, and found four or five gravel stones in his foot. Came eighteen miles and camped, with most excellent water and feed.

July 25.—Left camp at 6:30, after throwing Lion and doctoring his foot, which Mrs. Broshears, George and myself did alone. This day the mountains have capped the climax. Crossed Bear river, and traveled down the valley. Find good water and the best of feed. The mountains present the grandest display of nature yet seen. Rocks two feet thick stand upon edge from thirty to one hundred feet high about four or six feet apart.

July 26.—Left camp at 7. Traveled down Bear river until noon. Found excellent feed. Crossed another branch and ascended a mountain about three miles, and then turned down about one mile almost perpendicularly to the river bottom again.

July 27.—Started out on the Bear river bottom. Traveled up the river a north course twenty-four miles. Passed beautiful springs and plenty of feed. Doctored Lion's foot twice. The springs as they make from the mountains form considerable streams. Indians are plenty. Saw Rider's team some three miles astern.

July 28.—Left camp at 7. Good water, feed and roads. Came fourteen miles to sulphur or soda springs. A trading post. Springs are a curiosity. Went on about a mile, and fed forenoon at an Indian camp. Was called to see a sick papoose. Sold five pounds of tobacco for \$2.50. Went on seven miles and camped near an Indian camp. Good feed and water.

July 29.—Broke camp at 7:30. Teams in good heart. Found good roads, feed and water. Traveled sixteen miles and crossed the head waters of Bear river. Shot two mountain hen, and encamped for the night at a spring. Feed first rate. We are just at the foot of a mountain to start with in the morning. Stream is too bad to cross. Doctored Lion's foot, and fed poor Bright.

July 30.—Left the waters of Bear river, and struck the waters of Louis river. Had rather a rough road, but the best of water and wood. Encamped, and was called to visit sick with the diarrhoea. He was taken sick in the night, from cold and bilious condition of the stomach.

July 31.—Left camp at 7:30. Roads, feed and water tolerable. Got to Fort Hall. Took supper. Found the mosquitoes so bad that it was impossible to keep the oxen or ourselves on that spot. Hitched up and came on to the fort and camped in the dust. Watched the cattle until morning.

August 1.—Left Fort Hall at 9. Sold rice, salt, soap to the traders; bought moccasins and one quart of vinegar. Came on, and crossed two branches of Lewis river. Traveled eighteen miles. Camped on a ridge among the sage. Oh, God! the mosquitoes. Drove team up on the bluff to rest. Took in George

the Second at the Fort. Sick all day and under the influence of calomel pills.

August 2.—Found team where they were when I went to bed. Drove them down on the bottom to feed. We had veal for breakfast, presented to us by a brother Mason from New Orleans. Went eight miles through the sage to a spring, and put old Lion out to rest. Started at 2, and made out fifteen miles, and encamped for the night. Passed two springs of cold water which boiled up so high as to make them a great curiosity. Passed the American Falls on Snake river.

August 3.—Started late on Lion's account. Drove two and a half miles, and he gave up the ghost. We then harnessed Nigger on the lead, and traveled on seven and one-half miles down the Snake river, and put out for the night in quite a hubbub. George is about to leave us for California. Road is bad, full of gullies and rocks. Feed poor, sage brush all the way. Plenty of cedar shrubs along the way.

August 4.—Traveled ten miles over a rough road to Raft river, and laid up until Monday (tomorrow) morning. The boys caught a plenty of suckers. Rigged Nig's harness.

August 5.—Started late. Left the tent. Lost our water keg. Sixteen miles to water. Very warm. Took up a new bag of flour. Started at the forks of the road on the Oregon track. Road very stony. Traveled all day through the sage and dust. Encamped on a spring run with plenty of feed.

August 6.—Left camp early. Traveled eleven miles over sage and came to the river where we found plenty of feed for our cattle. Stopped three hours. Then went on to Goose Creek, eleven miles further, and camped for the night with good feed and water. Saw one wolf in the road ahead. Good roads today, and water often enough for the cattle.

August 7.—Stayed in camp and rested our team. Rider came up at night. Nigger died. Washed, etc.

August 8.—Left camp early, and found a very stony road. Traveled eighteen miles to Rocky Creek. Found poor feed for team.

August 9.—Traveled eighteen miles to the crossing of Rock creek. Got in late. Feed scarce. Were overrun with cattle and company.

August 10.—Traveled fifteen miles to where the road leaves the river bluffs. Put out and let our team graze on the bottoms until next day.

August 11.—Left early, and went over sage nine miles, coming to the river again. Then went down the bottom, occasionally raising over the bluffs, seven miles to Salmon Falls creek, then down the creek and river bottom three miles to camp. Good feed and water.

August 12.—Started at 6:30. Traveled six miles to Salmon Falls. Here we camped, and bought salmon of the Indians, and

refreshed our teams. This place is delightful. The stream is alive with fish of the first quality, and wild geese are about as tame as the natives. Soil continues barren.

August 13.—Left camp at 4 o'clock a. m., and traveled thirteen miles to the river again. Here we encamped, laying by until tomorrow morning. Had a hard time bringing water from the river, the nearest being half a mile distant and up one of the worst of bluffs.

August 14.—Started at 5 in the morning. Climbed a hard hill of sand. Came ten miles to river, then left the river and came on to it again in three miles, where the old road crosses. Then drove down the track three miles and found a good camp, and plenty of rattlesnakes. George has been sick all day. I have driven the team and am tired enough.

August 15.—Stayed in camp, aired our clothes, etc. Killed three rattlesnakes. Got information of the route from Government men packing from Oregon City. Watched team all night.

August 16.—Left at 6. Traveled down the river sixteen miles and camped. Found good feed, but a stony, hard road. The country is as barren as ever. Watched team all night.

August 17.—Left camp at 6. Came over bluffs, alternately touching the river, ten miles, to where we crossed Boone's river. There we stopped, and let our team graze. Feed best we have seen yet. Moving on again we came to the river in six miles, and encamped. Feed good and team doing well. Watched team all night.

August 18.—Left camp at 8. Came over the bluff and down the river eight miles, thence six miles to camp on the river bank. Feed very poor for team. Watched them all night. Am nearly sick, but no one knows it but myself.

August 19.—Left camp at 6. Traveled six miles over the bluffs to Cade's creek. No feed. Went on two miles further and came to bunch grass. At 11 o'clock stopped, and refreshed our animals until 1. Started again and came six miles to Burnt creek. Crossed creek and climbed the worst of all hills. Went up three times to get our load up. Took up old Brandy; overhauled wagon.

August 20.—Geared the wagon shorter. Threw overboard some of our load. Started at 7, with Brandy in Sally's place. He stood up for about three miles, when down he came, and we unyoked him and Polly and moved on with three yoke of cattle. Stopped at 11:30 and rested the team. Started at 1, and went over to the river, making 14½ miles this day. Found good feed and rested self and team.

August 21.—Cut off the wagon bed and again overhauled. Started at 8, and hurried along 6½ miles down the river to a spring, camping at noon. Good feed and plenty of company. Laid by and rested team. Bought salmon of Indians. Left this

morning a distressed family who were without team or money and nearly sick from trouble.

August 22.—Left camp at 6. Came three miles to river, and then down same eleven miles to camp. Left Brandy and Polly to die on the road. Found feed tolerable, but water scarce as soon as we were away from the river.

August 23.—Left camp at 6, and traveled to next camp, on Snake river.

August 24.—Left camp at 7. Went six miles and turned out to water and rest our teams. Put Polly in with Bright, and left Buck. Got loaded and started at 1. Came to Aubihie (Owyhee) river. Here we found excellent feed for team, and laid up until next evening. Ducks and sage hens are very plenty.

August 25.—Laid in camp with team. I went to the fort, four miles, to get more teams, but found none there. Returned at noon. Cut off more of the wagon bed and brought the wheels closer together. Left camp at 5 and went on for sulphur springs, nineteen miles ahead.

August 26.—Found ourselves this morning at 5 o'clock about nine miles from Fort Boise. Stopped and got breakfast. Found plenty of bunch grass, but no water for cattle. Stopped twice during the night and rested teams. Came about thirteen miles before we put up to rest or recruit. Plenty of feed for team, but horrible sandy roads. Fort Boise is a miserable hole, with one white man and fourteen Sandwich Island niggers.

August 27.—Found ourselves this morning on the road six miles back from Branch creek. Came on to it, and put up for the rest of the day. Here we found a place where we could stand with one foot in water hot enough for culinary purposes and the other in good, cool water to drink. Left camp at dark, for fear of Indians, and traveled until 11 o'clock, when we turned out for three hours.

August 28.—Started this morning at 2, and came on four miles to sulphur springs. Here we stopped and breakfasted ourselves and team. Then moved on ten miles to Birch creek, at 1 o'clock. Mrs. B. drove the cattle and let me take a nap in her bed. Left Birch creek, and came three and a half miles to the river.

August 29.—Left camp at 6 in the morning, and came six miles to Burnt river. Made a yoke of an old axle. Started out again at 6 in the evening, and came five miles to a branch of Burnt river.

August 30.—Started at midnight. Came on to a branch of Burnt creek. Here we laid up and rested our team and driver until half past 3 p. m., when we again started out, came four miles and camped until the moon was up, when we resumed our march.

August 31.—Started out under a favorable breeze, down hill, the team going as if the devil was at their heels, and we shot out to the Slough, eight miles, in good time. Watered and went

on a mile and fed on good grass. This makes us one hundred miles since Sunday evening at Fort Boise. Came to Powder river at 9:30.

Sunday, September 1.—Started at half past 4, after being up with team nearly all night. Came on to the Good camp at spring. On our way here at Powder river we killed a noble salmon, taking breakfast out of him, and a fine dish it was. I just wish my family had such a fish to work at. From Fort Boise 114 miles. Encamped at first spring on the Grand Ronde.

September 2.—Left camp at 6¼. Stopped and let the team feed twice before noon. Came on to the bluffs, 7½ miles at 11. Took dinner. Saw sandhill cranes and sage hens in plenty. In the Ronde found the best grass we have seen since we left home. Here we began climbing the Blue mountains, and if they don't beat the devil. Came on eight miles to Ronde river, and camped.

September 3.—On our way at 4. Came over the mountains and through a dense forest of pine, twenty miles, to camp springs. Here we overtook Richard and Thurman.

September 4.—Left camp early and traveled fifteen and a half miles to the foot of the mountains. Encamped among the Kiuse and Walla Walla Indians. Poor feed for cattle, as the Indian horses had eaten it off. Here we got peas and potatoes.

September 5.—Traded for a mare and colt and Indian dress, and came on ten miles. Paid for the things a brass kettle, two blankets, a shirt, etc.

September 6.—Left camp early and went twenty miles to second crossing of the Umatilla river. Here we found a very intelligent Indian. Good grass. Bought a fine spotted horse, which cost me \$55.

September 7.—Stayed in camp until about dark, when we started out, going eight miles, to a place on the Umatilla river. Good grass, wood and water.

September 8.—Sunday. Came to the Columbia river, twenty miles, through the sand all the way. This night I had my horse stolen. I was taken about sunset with the dysentery, which prostrated me very much.

September 9.—Started in search of my horse before it was light. Found he had been stolen. Put out and left and came down the Columbia twelve miles. Encamped alone, with good feed, wood and water.

September 10.—Left at 6, and came on seventeen miles to a creek. Feed rather scarce. I drove all day. George came up at night from hunting the horse.

September 11.—Left at 6½. Came nineteen miles. Camped on the Columbia at the island. Feed poor, but sand plenty.

September 12.—Traveled about fifteen miles. Camped on a creek. Came up some of the worst bluffs on the road.

September 13.—Came sixteen miles, to the river five miles above the falls. Road better. No feed.

September 14.—Left early. Crossed falls of the river and came on to a creek six miles from the Dalles. Encamped for good. Came to the conclusion that the team would never stand driving over the Cascade mountains.

September 15.—Left the team at the creek. Went to the Dalles and got some flour of Government officers at 25 cents a pound, and salt pork at 12½ cents.

September 16.—Drove to the Dalles. Sold the cattle to a Mr. Wilson for \$110, and prepared to start for Portland down the river. Let George have \$5. Set up nearly all night and watched the goods.

September 17.—Loaded up our boat and left. Paid \$17 for freight and passage. Left the wagon with Nathan Olney, to be forwarded to Portland as soon as practicable. Came down about fifteen miles and landed for the night. We buried a child which we found upon the bank of the river, drowned.

September 18.—Started at daylight. Came four miles and landed for breakfast; then ran down to the Cascade falls, landed, and camped for the night.

September 19.—Hired a team and got our goods down below the rapids. Engaged Chenoweth to start out with us immediately, but he, being a scoundrel, did not do as he agreed, and we were obliged to stay until next morning.

September 20.—Hired an Indian to carry us down in his canoe to Fort Vancouver. We had a hard time, in consequence of the Indian being so damned lazy. By rowing all the way myself we got to the fort at 1 in the morning as wet as the devil.

September 21.—Got a room and put up our things to dry. Found a gentleman in the person of Mr. Brooks.

September 22.—Left the fort with two Indians, who took us down the Columbia thirty-eight miles to the mouth of the Cowalitz and up the Cowalitz two miles to Judge Burbee's, in good season. Here we were kindly received, and treated as if old acquaintances.

September 23.—Left the Judge's loaded with kindness, and under pole came up the Cowalitz, which is a very hard stream to ascend. Encamped for the night under the protecting shade of lofty fir and hemlock trees. Slept very little.

September 24.—Set sail again under an ash breeze, and came to Plomondon's landing about noon. Obtained horses and started out ten miles to Mr. J. R. Jackson's where we were received very kindly and kept free over night.

September 25.—With an early start, made our way twenty miles to Mr. S. S. Ford's for dinner. From this we made our way through dense forest and uneven plain twenty-five miles to M. T. Simmons's, our place of destination, where we were received with that degree of brotherly kindness which seemed to rest our weary limbs, and promise an asylum for us in our worn-out pilgrimage.

The journey across the continent was a hard one to all. There was constant struggle and suffering; fear of Indians, Mormons; deep and turbulent rivers; mountain climbings and starvation; worry unceasing concerning the animals and vehicles of the train, and of the wandering and helpless members of the family; uncertainty as to the future, that at times became distressing; dirt everywhere; sickness and disease, and frequently death. The immigrants tired of themselves and tired of each other. Stretching out these unhappy conditions for a period of four or five months, as but faintly portrayed in diaries such as the foregoing, drove some of the participants into suicide, others into insanity, and left many a physical wreck for whom there was no possibility of recovery.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

SOME EVIDENCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS ON THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ARMY, 1861-5.

Political pressure began on the army before the battle of Bull Run. The enlisted men were mustered in for only three months and "General Scott is urged not to lose their services, but to get into Richmond before they are disbanded."¹ The political leaders looked upon the war as a short affair and really compelled the military men to move "On to Richmond." This cry forced Scott to go before he was ready and partly accounts for the panic after the battle.²

When McClellan took charge of the army it was in a pretty badly demoralized condition. "The best troops in the world officered as these were by the vicious system of election, would fail the best general."³ McClellan says they roamed around Washington at will and were drunken and disorderly.⁴ Sherman contradicts this in part, saying, "We had a good organization, good men, but no cohesion, no real discipline, no respect for authority, no real knowledge of war."⁵ He is the only one I have found who is willing to say anything in favor of the organization, while Russell contradicts this. It may be questioned how there could be a good organization and at the same time no respect for authority. "When I assumed command it was clear that a prompt advance was wholly impracticable. * * * I repeat that it was not worthy to be called an army."⁶ McClellan lays due emphasis upon the disastrous effects that defeat had on the army, for in this is his justification for slowness. Michie says his task was full of difficulties, "especially is this so in a government by the people where newspaper editors and other self-constituted exponents of public opinion are first in the field with their impatient suggestions; the personal influence, exerted through potent political leaders, for rank and command can not always be ignored."⁷

¹ Russell, Wm. H. "My Diary North and South," 147.

² Russell, 146; Sherman, W. T. "Memoirs of Gen. Sherman," I, 207.

³ Michie, Peter S. "General McClellan," 99.

⁴ McClellan, Geo. B. "McClellan's Own Story," 68.

⁵ Sherman, I. 210.

⁶ McClellan, 71.

⁷ Michie, 101.

McClellan now began by patient work to create his army but he did not get it created before the politicians got ready to use it, and his further insistence on delay paved the way for discontent.¹ McClellan kept his councils to himself and kept on at his work and his drilling. That he was making an efficient army is generally admitted, though Sherman, and Nicolay and Hay try to cast doubt on it.²

At any rate the country wanted him to do something, and by December 1st President Lincoln became nervous and submitted a plan of campaign to McClellan. In December McClellan fell sick and the President called in various military men to get their opinions on his plan. They all agreed it was a good one. McClellan got well and attended one of these conferences. He treated the whole matter with coolness, and this aroused Chase, who asked him point blank what he intended to do and when he was going to do it. McClellan gave Chase to understand it was none of his business, but satisfied Lincoln that he had a plan in mind.³

In the meantime there was a strong demand made on the President and cabinet that something be done.⁴ "Instead of one mind there were many minds influencing the management of military affairs."⁵ McClellan made no move except to disagree with the President on the plan suggested and finally Lincoln ordered the army to move by February 22nd. Whether or not McClellan was justified in waiting until he felt his army was satisfactory is a question that military men do not agree upon. At any rate McClellan felt so justified and was "the only one who did not seem to feel the full force of the public demand."⁶

Barnard, McClellan's chief engineer, says McClellan should have made a light draft of men and "should do something."⁷ Granting that no great movement could be made during the winter, he should do something or "he would find himself virtually destitute of power to carry out his plans when the moment proper for such a movement should arrive, and so it happened."⁸

¹ Webb, A. S. "The Peninsula Campaign of 1862." 12.

² Sherman, I, 220; Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln," IV, 444.

³ Nicolay and Hay, V. 158; Webb, 14.

⁴ Nicolay and Hay, V. 169.

⁵ Webb, 15.

⁶ Webb, 172.

⁷ Barnard, J. G. "Peninsula Campaign," 8.

⁸ Barnard.

But it was something like Bull Run that McClellan feared. Before he moved, "half of Congress was opposed to McClellan's plan and looked on him with distrust.* * * When the army was to go by Annapolis, I felt confident that one-half would no sooner be embarked than the other would be ordered back to Washington," and he adds: "No one living in Washington could doubt this."¹ Webb thinks McClellan did not show dash enough to hold confidence. He further thinks "he did not give to the will of the President and the demands of the people the weight to which they were entitled,"² but in view of the fact that neither President nor people knew anything about war, it is plainly a question how far he should rely on them.

"And now it came to be commented upon that McClellan's adherents were men who were politically opposed to the administration. On the other hand the radical leaders who desired speedy action found that other generals were not in accord with the commanding general's policy of inaction."³ Lord Lyons wrote his home government November 17, 1862, that McClellan was regarded as the representative of the conservative principle in the army.⁴ By mixing political convictions with professional obligations, he "cut from under his feet that firm political support which was so essential for a continuance in active military command."⁵

"All the so-called interference, all the real interference with McClellan's plans—all the want of confidence in his ability as a leader of an active army—all the want of faith in his intentions to fully support the views of the government, arose from the belief that in and about McClellan's headquarters there was a lack of faith in the government and of sympathy with the administration."⁶ Whatever the cause it seems pretty conclusive that the radical leaders having failed to force McClellan to attack the Southern army, now sought to discredit him, and, possibly, as he claims, ruin him. "Having failed to force me to advance at a time when an advance would have been madness, they withheld the means of success when I came in contact with the enemy."⁷

¹ Barnard, 9.

² Webb, 169, 173.

³ Michie, 156.

⁴ Barnard, 58.

⁵ Michie, 472.

⁶ Webb, 169.

⁷ McClellan, 150.

Blenker's division was first taken away from him and assigned to Fremont's new mountain division.¹ Lincoln wrote McClellan in a letter dated March 31, 1862, "if you could know the full pressure of the case I am sure you would justify it."² Later on McDowell's corps was taken from McClellan and of this Webb says: "The government (for it was not Lincoln alone, but Secretaries Chase and Stanton and Generals Hitchcock and Thomas, and whoever else were in the secret council) the government, we repeat, was responsible for this state of things."³ He then goes on to say Washington could be defended without these men and that if McClellan kept the Rebels active Washington was in no danger. Without them there was no show for McClellan to keep the Rebels occupied.⁴ Webb calls it the greatest blunder that could have been permitted. "But with a blind indifference to whatever might result from it these men persuaded the President to cripple the army sent out on a special mission * * * and did everything to insure disaster to the Peninsula Campaign."⁵ Webb also complains that McClellan was further hindered by appointing foreigners on his staff to the exclusion of intelligent Americans. This was done he claims by the government.⁶ McCulloch seems to think politics had something to do with McClellan's retirement, for he speaks of it as a political necessity, and Pinkerton, who was closely associated with McClellan, says he was "subjected to the prosecutions of the most malignant political intriguers."⁷

Speaking of Secretary Cameron, McClellan says: "I could not always dispose of arms and supplies as I thought the good of the service demanded. For instance, when a shipment of unusually good arms arrived from Europe, and I wished them for the army of the Potomac, I found that they had been promised to some political friend. As I had no idea who might be selected in Mr. Cameron's place and as he supported me in purely military affairs, I objected to his removal and saved him." But he was later removed. "Instead of using his (Stanton's) new position to assist me he threw every obstacle in my way, and did all in his power to create difficulty and distrust between

¹ Michie, 228, 286.

² Greeley, Horace. "American Conflict," II, 129.

³ Webb, 178.

⁴ Barnard, 9.

⁵ Webb, 179.

⁶ Webb, 184.

⁷ Pinkerton. "The Spy of the Rebellion," 458.

the President and myself. * * * Before I actually commenced the Peninsula Campaign I had lost that cordial support of the Executive which was necessary to attain success.”¹ Michie says Stanton “was always a potent factor in the conduct of military operations,” and “unable to understand the cause of McClellan’s inactivity, he soon became an active ally of the committee on the conduct of the war and opposed, though not always openly, McClellan’s plan of campaign.”²

After the conference held between McClellan, McDowell, Franklin, Chase, Stanton and Lincoln, in which the President’s plan was discussed, “the lines were more closely drawn between those who defended and those who opposed him (McClellan), many men of influence in the councils of the nation publicly assailed him, vigorously denounced his lethargy and incapacity, and some even went so far as to question the purity of his motives by expressing doubt as to his loyalty.” “The committee on the conduct of the war was casting discredit upon him and undermining his influence in the suggestions and doubts promulgated during the examination of his subordinates.”³ “But Stanton’s intemperate haste to have the army move somehow or somewhere gave the latter (McClellan) the opportunity to get his army away from the politicians at Washington, which his controlling desire too eagerly embraced at the sacrifice of his usual prudence and cool judgment.”⁴ Webb also traces the influence of this committee and says the chairman, Wade, “demanded” that the blockade of the Potomac be raised and “used pretty strong and emphatic language” on the subject in the presence of the Secretary of War and General McClellan. Well might McClellan refer to “geese” in high places. Michie speaks of the committee on the conduct of the war as men “without military education” who soon felt “sufficient confidence in their military perception” to not need military education.⁵ The committee was “composed of men not only ignorant but unconscious of their ignorance.” They soon had plans of their own which they soon found witnesses to fortify. They were of “restless activity and radical views,” convinced “that acts of Congress could create disciplined armies out of patriotic volunteers with-

¹ McClellan, 152-4.

² Michie, 167-8.

³ Michie, 184-5; 199.

⁴ Michie, 213.

⁵ Michie, 165.

out having recourse to the time requisite to organize, drill and discipline them." These men powerfully influenced the President and the Cabinet and the country. Through this committee the President was influenced to organize the Army of the Potomac into four corps. McClellan protested and wanted him to wait till the men had seen service in the field, but the President would not wait.¹

After the battle of Williamsburg, McClellan asked permission to remove the corps commanders for incompetence. There were but three corps with him then. Lincoln writes him: "I am constantly told that you have no consultation with them (Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes). When you relieved General Hamilton * * * you lost one of your best friends in the Senate. But to return; are you strong enough—are you strong enough even with my help—to set your foot upon the necks of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes at once?"²

There seems to have been a general tendency among military men to ask for everything in sight. McClellan's trouble with guns has been cited. Sherman went to Indiana to get troops for the Kentucky army and found the Indiana people equipping and fitting out men, "but they were called for as fast as mustered in, either for the army of McClellan or Fremont." At Springfield he found the same general activity, "but these men had also been promised to Fremont."³ "Since that time (November, 1861) he (Fremont) had been without a command. I believed, as did many others, that political intrigue was keeping Fremont back."⁴

Stanton answered Dana February 1, 1862, and says: "The pressure of members of Congress for clerk and army appointments * * * and the persistent strain against all measures essential to obtain time for thought, combination and conference, is discouraging in the extreme—it often tempts me to quit the helm in despair. When Stanton went into the War Department there was great dissatisfaction in the Tribune office with McClellan."⁵ Any one who will read Dana's *Recollections* will, I think, become convinced that too much weight was laid on the opinion of one man, be he ever so good and true.

¹ Webb, 166.

² Michie, 282-3.

³ Sherman, I. 222.

⁴ Dana, C. A. "Recollections of the Civil War," 5.

⁵ Dana, 6-8.

McClelland, an Illinois Democrat, was placed in command by Lincoln for the political effect he had on the Illinois Democrats and the country generally. Grant kept him as long as he could for exactly the same reason. Though, if Dana is correct, he was incompetent and Grant knew it.¹

Rhodes tells how McClure tried to have Lincoln remove Grant and claimed to represent the friends of the administration, but I could get no more facts on this point than Rhodes gives.²

In the case of Benj. F. Butler, President Lincoln would not tell Butler why he was removed from New Orleans. It surely was not from lack of confidence, for Lincoln offered to Butler Grant's command and several others. At least so Butler says. The Rebels knew Butler was to be removed long before Butler or his superior did, and Greeley says "it is probable that the French Minister, whose government had been displeased with General Butler's management in New Orleans, was the immediate source of rebel assurance on this point."³ Butler blamed the French Minister and it seems strange that if Butler did wrong, Lincoln should be afraid to say so.

John M. Schofield's is the only other case I found where charges of political influence were made. Schofield was recommended for a Major-Generalship. He was recommended by President Lincoln, the Secretary of War, Generals Halleck, Grant and Sherman, but the military committee of the Senate reported against him. His friend Senator J. B. Henderson writes to him and tells him "to whip somebody anyhow." Schofield replied April 15, 1864, and says: "No doubt I might easily get up a little claptrap on which to manufacture newspaper notoriety and convince the Senate of the United States that I had won a great victory and secure my confirmation. Such things have been done, alas, too frequently during this war. * * * I answer that when the management of military affairs is left to military men, the rebellion will be put down very quickly, and not before. I rather think if you let Grant alone, and let him have his own way, he will end the war this year." By way of introduction to the subject he says: "To have pleased the radical politicians of that day would have been enough to have ruined any soldier."⁴

¹ Dana, 32, 59, 90.

² Rhodes' *History of U. S.*, III, 628; McClure, A. K. "Lincoln and War Times," 179.

³ Greeley, II, 105.

⁴ Schofield, J. M. "Forty-Six Years in the Army," 117-119.

And again, "There has been much irrelevant discussion about the ability or inability of commanders in the North and South. The fact is that political instead of military ideas control in a very large degree the selection of commanders in the Union armies; while for three whole years the authorities in Washington could not see the necessity of unity of action in all the armies under one military leader. It required three years of costly experience to teach the government that simple lesson taught in military text books. As experience finally proved, there was no lack of men capable of leading even large armies to victory, but, with few exceptions, they were not put in command until many others had been tried. Information as to military fitness was not sought from military sources."¹

EDWARD McMAHON.

¹ Schofield, J. M., 517.

DOCUMENTS.

It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare or unpublished documents that throw side lights upon the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Echo of the Dred Scott Decision.

The writer of the following letter was the first United States Surveyor General for Washington Territory, serving from 1853 to 1860. During the Indian wars of 1855 and 1856 he also served as Adjutant General of the Washington Territory Volunteers. It is well known that Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, brought his slave York to the northwest in 1805. There may have been other slaves here from time to time but this letter reveals the only other authentic record known to the present editor.

Olympia, Ter. Wash.
Sept. 30th, 1860.

Hon. H. M. McGill,
Acting Governor of W. T.

Sir:

As a citizen of the United States and of Washington Territory, I beg to call your attention to an act or acts of the British authorities of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, by which a slave Boy belonging to my relative R. R. Gibson, of Talbot County, Maryland, and for the last 5 years hired and employed by myself, by arrangement with the owner, was taken from the Mail Steamer, plying between this port and all the ports of Pugets Sound.

On the 24th of Sept. the slave secreted himself on board the Mail Steamer "Eliza Anderson" and on the 25th as the steamer touched at port of Victoria, was boarded by the civil authorities there and the slave forcibly taken therefrom.

I therefore respectfully request that you bring the case before our Government at Washington City, to the end that the owner or the slave may have justice and the flag of our country be vindicated and relieved from the assumption of right of search, thus made and enforced in this case.

I am Sir,

Very Respectfully,

JAMES TILTON.

Northern Emigrant Route.

Fayette McMullin was third Governor appointed for Washington Territory, but J. Patton Anderson, who was appointed to succeed Governor Isaac I. Stevens in 1857, did not qualify, and so Mr. McMullin was the second actual Governor of the Territory. The following letter is a copy of one he wrote to the Secretary of War. It is among the collections in the Library of the University of Washington.

Territory of Washington,
Executive Office,
Olympia, November 28th, 1857.

Hon. John B. Floyd,
Secretary of War.

Sir:

I herewith transmit to the Department for your consideration "Joint Resolutions of the Legislative Assembly of this Territory passed at the Session of 1855-56," concerning the protection of settlers and emigrants between the Mississippi Valleys and the Pacific Ocean," etc. etc.

The intense hostility of all the Indian tribes of the prairies in the vicinity of, and for some distance to the north of the usual route traveled by emigrants, leading up the great Platte river, by way of Fort Laramie, and from thence to Oregon by way of Fort Hall, and of all the tribes to the south of this route, instigated as they are by, and likely to remain under the influence of the Mormons in Utah, with whom the United States are about to be involved in serious difficulties, together with the recent horrible massacre of a whole train of emigrants, men, women and children, numbering 118 souls, indicates in my judgment the great necessity of a safer and better route for emigrants from the Atlantic States, by land, to the territories of Oregon and Washington.

From the most reliable information I can gain it is believed that the Northern route, leaving the Mississippi at some point in Minnesota and proceeding over the plains of the upper Missouri to Ft. Benton and thence across the Rocky Mountains to the valleys of the Columbia and to Puget Sound, offers the safest and shortest route to our North West Pacific possessions.

Grass, wood and water, the three great essential requisites, in making the overland journey to this Coast, are said to be found on this trail in greater abundance than the routes farther south.

Of the entire feasibility of that portion of the route leading through the plains of Minnesota and Nebraska, to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, there can be no possible doubt. Of the character of the country from thence across the mountains, through the valley of the Bitter Root or St. Mary's Coeur d' Alene, Spokane, and Walla Walla country, I beg to refer you to

the extracts given from Governor Stevens' Report and in my letter published in the Pioneer and Democrat, a copy of which I herewith transmit to you.

I am Sir truly and respectfully,

Your obt. st.,

F. McMULLIN,

Gov. Ter. Wash.

P. S.—I have to request that you will present my kindest regards to Mrs. Floyd and to remember me kindly to my friends and late colleagues from Virginia, and accept for yourself my sincere wishes for your welfare and success in the important Dept. over which you preside.

I hope to hear from you at your leisure.

F. McM.

Beginnings of the Canal.

The following letter is interesting in the light of recent developments in the case of the building of a canal from tide water to Lake Washington. James Scott was Secretary of the Territory from 1870 to 1872. James McNaught afterwards gained a national reputation as counsel for the Northern Pacific Railroad Company.

Seattle, W. T., Jan. 6th, 1871.

Dr. J. Scott, Sect.

Sir:

I herewith send you articles of incorporation of "The Lake Washington Canal Company." Please file them in your office and send bill to me and oblige

Your obt. servt.

J. McNAUGHT.

While the above seems as though it might be the very inception of efforts to build the canal, mention should here be made of a still earlier effort. John Pike, for whom Pike Street in Seattle was named, was the architect and builder of the famous old Territorial University building now being used as the temporary home of the Seattle Public Library. He had a son Harvey Pike, who was both enterprising and energetic. About 1860 Harvey Pike began to dig a canal at the "Portage," to connect Lake Washington and Lake Union. For many years the evidence of this beginning could have been seen, but the work proved too great and was abandoned.

Pickett Grateful for Recognition.

Henry M. McGill was Secretary of the Territory of Washington from 1857 to 1860 and during that time George E. Pickett, who later led the famous "charge at Gettysburg" was in command at Fort Bellingham and on San Juan Island.

Fort Bellingham, W. T.
Jany. 25th, 1860.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt (to day) of your communication of the 19th inst. enclosing the "Resolution" of Legislature of this Territory so highly flattering to myself.

You will understand me when I say it is one of the proudest days of my life. Allow me to extend my thanks for your courtesey and kindness in announcing this most pleasing intelligence.

I remain Sir

Very Respty.,

Your obt. servt.,

G. E. PICKETT

Hon Henry M. McGill,

Capt. 9th Infy. U. S. Army.

Secretary of Washington Territory,

Olympia, W. T.

The resolution referred to was as follows:

Resolved, by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That the thanks of the people of this Territory are due Captain Pickett, U. S. A., for the gallant and firm discharge of his duties under the most trying circumstances on the Island of San Juan.

Passed January 11th, 1860.

Decapitation of Colonel Ebey.

The following resolution is reproduced from the rather rare archives of the Territorial government, because the good work of Captain Charles Dodd is nearly always overlooked in the published stories of the murder of Colonel Ebey by Northern Indians:

Whereas, Col. Isaac N. Ebey, one of our most esteemed fellow citizens, was ruthlessly murdered by a band of savages residing in Russian America, in the month of August, A. D. 1857; and

Whereas, Said Col. Isaac N. Ebey was brutally murdered at his residence on Whidby's Island, during the month aforesaid, and his head dissevered from his body and carried off as a bloody trophy by said band of savages, known by the name of "Kakes," and residing in Russian America; and

Whereas, Captain Charles Dodd, a brave and gallant mariner, and commander of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer "La-bouchere," did risk his life and that of his crew, as well as the loss of his steamer, in his attempt to recover from said tribe of savages the bloody relic above mentioned, that he might thus be enabled to restore the same to the family of his murdered friend, Col. Ebey; and

Whereas, Capt. Dodd, after a long and tedious negotiation, did, in the fall of 1859, succeed in getting said savages to surrender to him the sad relic of Indian trophy, which he placed in the hands of A. M. Poe, Esq., to be by him delivered to the family of said deceased Col. I. N. Ebey; therefore

Be it Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That the thanks of this Legislative Assembly be, and the same are hereby tendered to Capt. Charles Dodd, for his bravery, gallantry, and acts of humanity, in having hazarded his own life and that of his crew, and the probable destruction of his vessel, in his untiring endeavors to procure the scalp of the lamented Col. Isaac N. Ebey.

Resolved, That his Excellency, the Governor of Washington Territory, be requested to forward to Capt. Charles Dodd, at Victoria, British Columbia, a copy of these resolutions.

Passed January 20th, 1860.

Sovereign Americans on San Juan Island.

The following document in the collection of the University of Washington is self-explanatory. It will be noted that the date is some eight years before the San Juan dispute was arbitrated by Emperor William I. of Germany. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling or grammar in the document:

NOTICE.

According to the wish of Captain Bissell as expressed to me I hereby request the citizens of this Island to meet at Frazers house in the woods on the road to the garrison on Sunday February 1st. for the purpose of making such Laws as we shall deem necessary for the Settlement of differences between Settlers concerning Land Claims and for the Enforcement of good order upon the Island.

San Juan Island
Jany 22nd. 1863

E. T. HAMBLETT
Copy by
Wm. Carny

San Juan Isld W. T.

At a meeting of the Citizens of San Juan Isld on the first day of Feby 1863 for the purpose of Establishing a Criterion by which the American Citizens of this Isld should be governed Esqr

Hamblet was called to the chair and M. W. Offutt appointed Secretary

On motion a committee was appointed to Make Resolutions Wm Smith I. E. Higgins C. McCoy Hibbard and James Blake were appointed said committee Said committee Reported preamble and Resolutions which were unanimously adopted On motion the thanks of the Meeting attended to the President & Secretary.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

Feby 1st. 1863.

M. W. Offutt Secy

E. T. HAMBLETT Prest

Preamble and Resolutions adopted by the American Citizens of San Juan Island Washington Territory at a meeting held on the first day of February A D 1863 at the suggestion of Captain Bissell Commanding United States forces at Camp Pickett for the purpose of making laws by which they would be governed

Whereas Under the organic act of the Congress of the United States for the Establishment of the Territorial Government of Washington the first Legeslature Assembly in 1854 passed an act including the Island of San Juan as a part of Whatcom County and Whereas that act was duly submitted to Congress and has not been disapproved of we therefore cannot but regard it as the law of the land and Whereas we wish to be known as loyal Citizens of the United States avoiding even the Semblance of Secession Therefore be it resolved

1st. That we will be governed by the laws provided us by the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory and the United States and that we will at all times cheerfully recognise the lawfully constituted authorities of the Territory and when necessary aid them in the discharge of their duties.

2nd. That we cannot concur with Captain Bissell in thinking that he is our Govrnor or that he has the power to authorize us to make laws by which we will be governed it being evident to us that according to the arraignment made by General Scot and His Excellency Gov Douglas the military were placed here to exercise a Police Supervision over the Citizens and Subjects of therer respective Governments and to aid the Civil authorities of those Governments in enforcing the laws upon their respective subjects and Citizens or in protecting them in their lives property and all the rights to which they are entitled

3rd. That any Citizen of the United States who has or may preempt a land Claim on this Island perform acts upon it that shows occupancy in good faith shall be protected by us in his rights if interfered with during his absence.

4th. That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent

to the Governor of our to General Wright Captain Bissell and to the Editors of the Washington Standerd.

E. T. HAMBLETT Prest
M. W. OFFUTT Secy
Wm C. Copied

His Excellency Gov. Pickering. Sir the citizens San Juan Island have requested me to forward the above to you for your consideration We all think that we ought to be entitled to some of the privileges of our common Country. Yours with all respect J. E. Higgins P. M.

The document is regularly backed for filing and, in addition, these words are written in pencil: "The Island is under the supervision of the Military authorities. Consequently the civil authorities have no right to collect Taxes."

First Attempt to Ascend Mount Rainier.

Clarence B. Bagley, in his little book called "In the Beginning," has rescued from the unknown a large array of facts. Miss Jennie W. Tolmie, daughter of Dr. W. F. Tolmie, copied from her father's diary and sent to Mr. Bagley the following entries, which tell of the first attempt by white man to ascend Mount Rainier. The trip was a botanizing expedition, and as such was a success, while the attempt to reach the summit of the great mountain was a failure. The diary is also remarkable in that it speaks of glaciers.

Professor Israel Cook Russell, of the University of Michigan, in his book on "Glaciers of North America," page 62, says: "In the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences for March 6th, 1871, it is stated by Professor George Davidson that Lieutenant, afterward General, August V. Kautz attempted the ascent of Mount Rainier in 1857, but found his way barred by a great glacier. So far as can be ascertained, no published account of Kautz's observations has appeared, but from Davidson's statement it seems that he first reported the existence of living glaciers in the United States."

It is now seen from this diary that Doctor Tolmie discovered the Rainier glaciers twenty-four years before the trip made by Lieutenant Kautz.

Present day mountain climbers will find this extract from the old diary to be full of interest.

August 27, 1833. Obtained Mr. Herron's consent to making a botanizing excursion to Mt. Rainier, for which he has allowed 10 days. Have engaged two horses from a chief living in that quarter, who came here tonight, and Lachalet is to be my guide. Told the Indians I am going to Mt. Rainier to gather herbs of which to make medicine, part of which is to be sent to Britain and part retained in case intermittent fever should visit us when I will prescribe for the Indians.

Aug. 28. A tremendous thunder storm occurred last night, succeeded by torrents of rain. The thunder was very hard, and the lightning flashing completely enlightened my apartment. Have been chatting with Mr. Herron about colonizing Whidby's Island, a project of which he is at present quite full—more anon. No horses have appeared. Understand that the mountain is four days' journey distant—the first of which can only be performed on horseback. If they do not appear tomorrow I shall start with Lachalet on foot.

Aug. 29. Prairie 8 miles N. of home. Sunset. Busy making arrangements for journey, and while thus occupied the guide arrived with 3 horses. Started about 3, mounted on a strong iron grey, my companions disposing of themselves on the other two horses, except one, who walked. We were 6 in number. I have engaged Lachalet for a blanket, and his nephew, Lashima, for ammunition to accompany me and Nuckalkut and Poyalip (whom I took for a native of Mt. Rainier) with 2 horses to be guide on the mountain after leaving the horse track, and Quililiaish, his relative, a very active, strong fellow, has volunteered to accompany me. The Indians are all in great hopes of killing elk and chevriel (deer), and Lachalet has already been selling and promising the grease he is to get. It is in a great measure the expectation of finding game that urges them to undertake the journey. Cantered slowly along the prairie and are now at the residence of Nuckalkut's father, under the shade of a lofty pine, in a grassy amphitheatre, beautifully interspersed and surrounded with oaks, and through the gaps in the circle we see the broad plain extending southwards to Nisqually. In a hollow immediately behind is a small lake whose surface is almost one sheet of water lillies about to flower. Have supped on sallals; at dusk shall turn in.

Aug. 30. Sandy beach of Poyallipa River. Slept ill last night, and as I dozed in the morning was aroused by a stroke across the thigh from a large decayed branch which fell from the pine overshadowing us. A drizzling rain fell during most of the night. Got up about dawn, and finding thigh stiff and painful thought a stop put to the journey, but after moving about it felt easier. Started about sunrise, I mounted on a spirited brown mare, the

rest on passable animals, except Nuckalkut, who bestrode a foal. Made a northeasterly course through prairie. Breakfasted on bread, sallal, dried cockles and a small piece of chevriel saved from the last night's repast of my companions (for I cannot call them attendants). The points of wood now became broader, and the intervening plain degenerated into prairions. Stopped about 1 P. M. at the abode of 3 Lekatat families, who met us rank and file at the door to shake hands. Their sheds were made of bark resting on a horizontal pole, supported at each end by tripods, and showed an abundance of elk's flesh dried within. Two kettles were filled with this, and, after smoking, my Indians made a savage repast on the meat and bouillon, Lachalet saying it was the Indian custom to eat a great deal at once and afterwards abstain for a time; he, however, has twice eaten since 11. Traded some dried meat for 4 balls and 3 rings, and mounting, rode off in the midst of a heavy shower. Ascended and descended at different times several steep banks and passed through dense and tangled thickets, occasionally coming on a prairion. The soil throughout was of the same nature as that of Nusqually. After descending a very steep bank came to the Poyallipa. Lashima carried the baggage across on his head. Rode to the opposite side through a rich alluvial soil plain, 3 or 4 miles in length and $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 in breadth. It is covered with fern about 8 feet high in some parts. Passed through woods and crossed river several times. About 7 P. M. dismounted and the horses and accoutrements were left in a wood at the river's brink. Started now on foot for a house Nuckalkut knew, and after traversing woods and twice crossing the torrents "on the unsteady footing" of a log, arrived at the house, which was a deserted one, and encamped on the dry part of the river bed, along which our course lies tomorrow. The poyallipa flows rapidly and is about 10 or 12 yards broad. Its banks are high and covered with lofty cedars and pines. The water is of a dirty white colour, being impregnated with white clay. Lachalet has tonight been trying to persuade me from going to the snow on the mountains.

Aug. 31. Slept well, and in the morning two salmon were caught, on which we are to breakfast before starting. After breakfast Quilliliaish stuck the gills and sound of the fish on a spit which stood before the fire, so that the next comer might know that salmon could be obtained there. Have traveled nearly the whole day through a wood of cedar and pine, surface very uneven, and after ascending the bed of river a couple of miles are now encamped about ten yards from its margin in the wood. Find myself very inferior to my companions in the power of enduring fatigue. Their pace is a smart trot which soon obliges me to rest. The waters of the Poyallipa are still of the same colour. Can see a short distance up two lofty hills covered with wood. Evening cloudy and rainy. Showery all day.

Sunday, Sept. 1. Bank of Poyallipa river. It has rained all

night and is now, 6 A. M., pouring down. Are a good deal sheltered by the trees. My companions are all snoozing. Shall presently arouse them and hold a council of war. The prospect is very discouraging. Our provisions will be expended and Lachalet said he thought the river would be too high to be fordable in either direction. Had dried meat boiled in a cedar bark kettle for breakfast. I got rigged out in green blanket without trousers, in Indian style, and trudged on through the wood. Afterward exchanged blanket with Lachalet for Ouvrie's capot, which has been on almost every Indian at Nusqually. However, I found it more convenient than the blanket. Our course lay up the river, which we crossed frequently. The bed is clayey in most parts. Saw the sawbill duck once or twice and I fired twice, unsuccessfully. Have been flanked on both sides with high, pineclad hills for some miles. A short distance above encampment snow can be seen. It having rained almost incessantly, have encamped under shelving bank which has been undermined by the river. Immense stones, only held in place by dried roots, form the roof, and the floor is very rugged. Have supped on berries, which, when heated with stones in kettle, taste like lozenges. Propose tomorrow to ascend one of the snowy peaks above.

Sept. 2. Summit of a snowy peak immediately under Rainier. Passed a very uncomfortable night in our troglodite mansion. Ascended the river for 3 miles to where it was shut in by amphitheatre of mountains and could be seen bounding over a lofty precipice above. Ascended that which showed most snow. Our track lay at first through a dense wood of pine, but we afterwards emerged into an exuberantly verdant gully, closed on each side by lofty precipices. Followed gully to near the summit and found excellent berries in abundance. It contained very few Alpine plants. Afterwards came to a grassy mound, where the sight of several decayed trees induced us to encamp. After tea I set out with Lachalet and Nuckalkut for the summit, which was ankle deep with snow for $\frac{1}{4}$ mile downwards. The summit terminated in abrupt precipice northwards and bearing N. E. from Mt. Rainier, the adjoining peak. The mists were at times very dense, but a puff of S. W. wind occasionally dispelled them. On the S. side of Poyallipa is a range of snow-dappled mountains, and they, as well as that on the N. side, terminate in Mt. Rainier. Collected a vasculum of plants at the snow, and having examined and packed them shall turn in. Thermometer at base, 54 deg., at summit of ascent, 47 deg.

Sept. 3. Woody islet on Poyallipa. It rained heavily during night, but about dawn the wind shifting to the N. E. dispersed the clouds and frost set in. Lay shivering all night and roused my companions twice to rekindle the fire. At sunrise, accompanied by Quilliliaish, went to the summit and found the tempr. of the air 33 deg. The snow was spangled and sparkled brightly in the bright sunshine. It was crisp and only yielded a couple of inches

to the pressure of foot in walking. Mt. Rainier appeared surpassingly splendid and magnificent; it bore, from the peak on which I stood, S. S. E., and was separated from it only by a narrow glen, whose sides, however, were formed by inaccessible precipices. Got all my bearings correctly to-day, the atmosphere being clear and every object distinctly perceived. The river flows at first in a northerly direction from the mountain. The snow on the summit of the mountain adjoining Rainier on western side of Poyallipa is continuous with that of latter, and thus the S. Western aspect of Rainier seemed the most accessible. By ascending the first mountain through a gully on its northern side, you reach the eternal snow of Rainier, and for a long distance afterwards the ascent is very gradual, but then it becomes abrupt in the sugar-loaf form assumed by the mountain. Its eastern side is steep on its northern aspect. A few small glaciers were seen on the conical portion; below that the mountain is composed of bare rock, apparently volcanic, which about 50 yards in breadth reaches from the snow to the valley beneath and is bounded on each side by bold bluff crags scantily covered with stunted pines. Its surface is generally smooth, but here and there raised into small points or knots, or arrowed with short and narrow longitudinal lines in which snow lay. From the snow on western border the Poyallipa arose, and in its course down this rock slope was fenced in to the eastward by a regular elevation of the rock in the form of a wall or dyke, which, at the distance I viewed it, seemed about four feet high and four hundred yards in length. Two pyramids of rock arose from the gentle acclivity at S. W. extremity of mountain, and around each the drifting snow had accumulated in large quantity, forming a basin apparently of great depth. Here I also perceived, peeping from their snowy covering, two lines of dyke similar to that already mentioned.

Sept. 4. Am tonight encamped on a small eminence near the commencement of prairie. Had a tedious walk through the wood bordering Poyallipa, but accomplished it in much shorter time than formerly. Evening fine.

Sept. 5. Nusqually. Reached Tekatat camp in the forenoon and regaled on boiled elk and shallon. Pushed on ahead with Lachalet and Quilliliaish, and arrived here in the evening, where all is well.

BOOK REVIEWS.

McCarver and Tacoma. By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1906. Pp. 198.)

The dedication of this interesting little volume will be thoroughly appreciated by the old settlers throughout the Pacific Northwest. It is as follows:

"In loving memory of our parents, Morton M. McCarver and Julia A. McCarver, this volume is published and dedicated to the Pioneers of Oregon and Washington.

VIRGINIA MCCARVER PROSCH,
ELIZABETH MORTON HARRIS."

Mr. Prosch, whose wife and her sister join in this dedication, is himself a pioneer journalist of Puget Sound. He has a clear, direct style, which serves admirably the putting upon record all the principal facts of this remarkable pioneer life. McCarver was one of those pushing, energetic characters best described as the typical frontiersman. His boyhood was spent in Kentucky. He went down the Mississippi in 1821, to Illinois in 1829, to Iowa in 1832, where he helped to found the City of Burlington, to Oregon in 1843, to California in 1848, back to Oregon in 1850, to Commencement Bay in 1868, where he founded the City of Tacoma. General McCarver was a city builder, a maker of constitutions, a merchant, a farmer—in short, an empire builder.

It is well that such a life should be separately treated in our history, and that the work should be done by one who has had full access to the family records and traditions. This little book will always be of prime importance to the historians of "Old Oregon."

The book, from page 143 to the end, is devoted to the "Early History of Tacoma," being the reproduction of an address by Mr. Prosch before the Association of Pierce County Pioneers at Tacoma, April 12, 1905. In this work Mr. Prosch has also evinced the same spirit of accuracy in going back to the original sources, where he has gleaned valuable facts now difficult of access outside of his own book.

In the Beginning. By Clarence B. Bagley. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1905. Pp. 90.)

In his sub-title to this valuable pamphlet, Mr. Bagley fully describes it as "A sketch of some early events in Western Washington while it was still a part of 'Old Oregon.'"

The inspiration for the work, and much of its most valuable material, were obtained from the unpublished diaries and journals of the Hudson Bay Company's people at old Fort Nisqually, the first settlement of whites on Puget Sound. Mr. Bagley was fortunate in securing access to these documents, and he has used his advantage in a way that will certainly prove helpful to all future students of history in this field.

One portion of the work, rescued from old archives, relates to the first attempt by white man to ascend Mount Rainier. This portion of the old diary is of such great interest to the people of the Northwest that it is reproduced, with Mr. Bagley's consent, in this issue of the *Quarterly* in the Department of Documents.

David S. Maynard and Catherine T. Maynard. By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1906. Pp. 80.)

As in his former book, so in this pamphlet, Mr. Prosch has rescued from threatening oblivion the records of two of the Oregon immigrants of 1850.

Mrs. Maynard still lives, and on July 19, 1906, celebrated her ninetieth birthday. During the past fifty-six years she has seen this whole northwestern country rescued from the wilderness.

Doctor Maynard was one of the founders of the City of Seattle. He died on March 13, 1873. Having passed away while the city was still a mere village, and being survived by many other pioneers whose lives were better known, the life and work of Doctor Maynard were being lost sight of until this work of Mr. Prosch brought to light the facts.

Since this work was privately published and will soon become scarce, Mr. Prosch has consented that the *Quarterly* may reproduce from its pages the diary kept by Doctor Maynard during his trip across the plains.

RECENT BOOKS.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have arranged to begin the publication of the Cambridge Medieval History soon after the completion of the Cambridge Modern History. The work is to appear in eight volumes and is planned by Prof. J. B. Bury and will be edited by Prof. H. M. G. Watkin, Miss Mary Bateson and Dr. G. T. Lapsley. Dr. Lapsley formerly taught in the Leland Stanford Jr. University, and in the University of California.

"The Development of the Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts" has just been issued as Volume XII of the Harvard Historical Series. It is an extended revision of a thesis offered for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Prof. Clyde Augustus Duniway, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

"An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention," by Morris Birkbeck, a noted anti-slavery agitator, has been reprinted by the Illinois State Historical Society from a copy of the Boston Athenaeum printed in 1823. The bibliography is by Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian of the University of Washington.

The MacMillan Company announce that they will publish two more volumes of Rhodes' "History of the United States Since 1850" in the fall. The narrative will end with the year 1877 and will not be continued down to 1885, as was Mr. Rhodes' original intention.

The Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865 (Washington, Government Printing Office), is now complete in seven volumes.

"The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States," by F. G. Franklin, is the latest publication of the University of Chicago Press.

Henry Holt & Co. have begun a series of books dealing with "Contemporary Political, Economic and Social Questions," under the general title "American Public Problems." The first volume is "Immigration," by Prescott F. Hall; the second is "The Election of Senators," by George H. Haynes.

An index to the first ten volumes of the *American Historical Review*, prepared by David M. Matteson, is now in press.

Kegan Paul has published volumes nine and ten of A. M. Christie's translation of the German edition of J. Janssen's "History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages."

Noteworthy articles on English history appear in the periodicals, as follows: W. S. Green, "The Wreck of the Spanish Armada on the Coast of Ireland" (*Geographical Journal*, May); W. C. Abbott, "The Long Parliament of Charles II" (*English Historical Review*, April); F. Treffry, "St. Patrick" (*The Westminster Review*, May).

A *Life of Calvin* by Prof. Williston Walker is to be published by Putnams in the "Heroes of the Reformation" series.

A bibliography of text and reference books in history for use in High Schools has been published (Columbia, 1905, pp. 27), by the University of Missouri, Department of History.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

The Jason Lee Memorial.

One of the most inspiring events in the field of history in the Pacific Northwest was the reburial of Reverend Jason Lee, at Salem, Oregon, on Friday, June 15, 1906. He was missionary, colonizer and the founder of Willamette University. It was, therefore, especially appropriate that the services should be held in connection with the sixty-second annual commencement of Willamette University, under the direction of President Coleman of that institution.

The committee of arrangements was as follows: John H. Coleman, chairman; Francis H. Grubbs, secretary; Robert A. Booth, Mrs. Smith French and Welton Skipworth.

There were four services, morning, afternoon and evening and the services of interment, also in the afternoon. The services were all appropriately religious, with the reading of Scriptures, singing of hymns and the offering of prayers and benedictions. The addresses, besides the fervor and inspiration suggested by the occasion, bore much information of real historic value.

The morning service was held under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church. It was presided over by Rev. D. L. Rader, D. D., and the two addresses were delivered by Hon. W. D. Fenton and Rev. Dr. J. R. Wilson.

The afternoon service was under the auspices of the Oregon Pioneer Association. It was presided over by Hon. J. C. Moreland. The addresses were by Hon. Harvey W. Scott and Hon. Reuben P. Boise.

The evening service was under the auspices of the States formed out of the original Oregon Territory. It was presided over by Hon. Asabel Bush. The addresses were: "Oregon," by Governor George E. Chamberlain; "Washington," by Hon. Allen Weir, representing the Governor; "Idaho," by Lieutenant-Governor B. L. Stevens, representing the Governor.

The interment in the Lee Mission Cemetery took place at 2:30 P. M. The honorary pallbearers were as follows: Rev. I. D. Driver, D. D., Rev. Robert Booth, Rev. T. F. Royal, Rev. J. H.

B. Royal, Rev. Nelson Clark, Rev. John Flynn, Rev. A. J. Joslyn, Rev. John Atwood, Rev. M. S. Anderson, Rev. W. J. White, Rev. W. S. Turner, Rev. W. W. Van Dusen, D. D., Rev. J. D. Gillilan and Rev. Abraham Eades.

From the standpoint of history, the most valuable address was that by Hon. Harvey W. Scott, the famous editor of the *Portland Oregonian*. That address is reproduced in this issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

Commemorative Celebration at Sequalitchew Lake.

The Washington State Historical Society has recently rendered a great and good service to the cause of local history in the Northwest by erecting a monument at the site of the first Fourth of July celebration on the Pacific coast. That old celebration was by members of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition in 1841. The site was on the shore of Sequalitchew Lake, not far from Tacoma. At that place the monument has been erected. There was one survivor of the first celebration at these commemorative exercises on July 5, 1906. This was an old Indian, Slugamus Koquilton, who as a boy was present at the strange proceedings of 1841.

The Historical Society invited as participants in their undertaking the Association of Pierce County Pioneers, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Washington University State Historical Society.

The President of the Day was R. L. McCormick, President of the Washington State Historical Society.

The programme was as follows:

Song, "America."

Invocation, by Rev. George F. Whitworth, of Seattle, President of the Washington State Pioneer Society.

Address—"The Revolutionary Idea," by Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Seattle, President of the Washington Sons of the American Revolution.

"Historical Sketch of the Event We Commemorate," by Prof. W. H. Gilstrap, of Tacoma, Secretary of the Ferry Museum.

Oration—"Problems of the Pacific," by Stephen B. L. Penrose, of Walla Walla, President of Whitman College.

Paper—"Dr. J. P. Richmond's Participation in the Original Celebration at this Place in 1841," by Rev. A. Atwood, of Seattle.

Song, "Star Spangled Banner."

Talk by the only known survivor of the Wilkes celebration—Chief Koquilton, of Muckelshoot.

Address—"Historical Places and Occasions," by Hon. Albert E. Mead, of Olympia, Governor of Washington.

Unveiling of the monument by Governor Mead, assisted by young ladies, descendants of pioneers and Daughters of the American Revolution.

By permission of President Stephen B. L. Penrose, of Whitman College, his address on that memorable occasion is reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly.

Reprint of Wilkes's Book.

Those who will follow with interest the reprint of George Wilkes's rare little book may wish to know who Wilkes was. The only biography available is that in the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, as follows:

"Wilkes, George, journalist, b. in New York city in 1820; d. there 23 Sept., 1885. In 1850 he became co-editor, with William T. Porter, of the 'Spirit of the Times' in New York, and subsequently he was proprietor of that paper. He was well known as a politician, and travelled repeatedly in Europe. In April, 1870, he received from the Emperor of Russia the grand cross of the Order of St. Stanislas for his services in suggesting to the Russian government an overland railway to China and India by way of Russia. In addition to contributions to periodicals, he published 'History of California [Oregon], Geographical and Political' [New York, 1845], and 'Europe in a Hurry' [1852]."

Items in Brief.

Edward McMahon, head of the history department of the Seattle High School, has a year's leave of absence which he will spend in graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. During the summer he has occupied the chair of history in the University of Washington, from which institution he graduated in the class of 1898. After graduation he taught in the graded schools and then took a year of graduate work at the University of California before beginning his work in the Seattle High School. History interests of the Northwest have a stalwart and capable worker in this industrious son of Washington.

W. J. Trimble, of the history force in the Spokane High

School, offered a course in Northwestern history in the Washington State College during the summer school in that institution.

Jacob Neibert Bowman, Ph. D., head of the history department of the Bellingham State Normal School was united in marriage to Edna Beazelle Wilson, the daughter of Professor Washington Wilson, on June 30, 1906. Dr. Bowman has been recognized as one of the best trained historians in the Northwest. His brethren of the cult will certainly wish him much joy.

The last word from Ezra Meeker, the venerable pioneer and historian, stated that he was in Wyoming, still pushing eastward in his effort to retrace and mark the famous old Oregon trail.

At the recent convention of the Washington Library Association it was announced that the State of Wisconsin has taken the lead in forming a legislative reference department in its state library. From the staff trained there young men have gone out into half a dozen other states to furnish similar equipments. The State of Oregon has started such a department at the State University at Eugene. About the only appropriate place for such work is at the meeting place of the Legislature. In this State, Librarian J. M. Hitt is laying all plans to have such a department inaugurated at the beginning of the next legislative session.

The study of history and kindred subjects received an inspiring uplift in the State of Washington this summer through the presence here of two prominent educators from the East. Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin gave two courses of lectures in the summer session of the University of Washington. He is counted one of the best living American authorities in his cosen field of sociology. James A. Woodburn, Professor of American History in the University of Indiana, also ranked as one of the best in his field of work, gave full courses of lectures at the Summer Science School for Teachers of the Washington State College at Pullman. The presence of two such men, though for a brief summer season, will leave an enduring and wholesome impress upon the teachers of this State.

It is a pleasure to record that the H. H. Bancroft Library, recently purchased by the University of California, was not destroyed in the recent destruction of San Francisco.

The Sutro Collection, the Library of Society of California Pioneers, noted for its collection of typewritten reminiscences of pioneers and the Spanish records of Californian were destroyed.

Prof. A. C. McLaughlin has resigned his professorship at Ann Arbor to become head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Assistant Professor Van Tyne succeeds Prof. McLaughlin at Ann Arbor.

The University of Wisconsin has recently acquired Pierre Morgry's scrap-book of clippings dealing with the discovery of the Mississippi and kindred subjects.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

PREFACE.

The deep interest taken in the Oregon question at the present moment; its paramount importance as a feature of our national policy, and the prevailing inacquaintance with its particular merits, have, together, induced the author to prepare the following pages, in the absence of the requisite work for the reference of the public.

There appears to be a peculiar necessity for a publication of this kind at present, for recent events have shown it is no extravagance to suppose that a period may arrive when it will be necessary for us to be assured, whether we are to buckle on our armor, and to draw our swords in a righteous cause or no.

In a monarchy, where the sovereign has a direct and absorbing personal interest in every war, he pays pamphleteers to make it popular with The People. In a Government like ours, this duty, when just, devolves upon its citizens, and such of them as perform it, are rewarded with consciousness of having acquitted themselves of a natural obligation, and in the additional gratification of lending another impulse to a righteous cause.

To accomplish his object in the best manner, the following pages have been arranged in two distinct parts; the first embracing the features of title, geography, and natural advantages; and the second, the descriptions of a traveller of the characteristics and capabilities of the country in dispute.

In the preparation of the first, care has been taken to furnish a clear, concise and straightforward relation of events, and to avoid the technicalities and pedantries which usually confuse the mind in the attempted consideration of such subjects. For the data of this portion of the work, the author has availed himself freely of the best authorities on the subject, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to the work of Robert Greenhow, published for the use of Congress in 1840, and also to the more recent journal of Lieutenant Wilkes.

It will be observed by those already conversant with the Oregon Question, that the author has left what is called "the French Title" from the category of our claims. He did this because he esteemed it of but little weight; but those who are curious on the subject, will find a careful deduction of it in the Appendix, as prepared by a Committee of Congress, in 1843.

The project of a National Rail Road across the continent, though generally denounced as visionary and impracticable, has long been the author's favorite idea, and he claims for it that attention which every scheme deserves from its opposers. It was not his intention to advance it as early as the present time, but the rapid progress of events has precipitated his design, and a similar proposal from another source, has induced him to bring it forward now, principally from an apprehension that the grandest scheme the world ever entertained, may be prostituted to the selfish interests of a private corporation.

The second part of the work, consists of a journal, prepared from a series of letters, written by a gentleman now in Oregon, who himself accompanied the celebrated emigrating expedition of 1843.

They make no pretensions in their style, but are merely simple, conversational epistles, which, in their familiar, off-hand way, furnish a large amount of useful practical information to the emigrant, and much interesting matter to the general reader. The author has done scarcely more to this portion than to throw it into chapters, and to strike from it such historical and geographical statistics as had been drawn from other sources, and arranged in the preceding portions of the work. These letters

fell into his hands after the adoption and commencement of his original design; and adapting them to his purpose, by linking them with his own MSS., a deal of research was saved him by the valuable and peculiar information they contributed.

In conclusion, though much of his labor has been performed in haste, the author thinks it hardly necessary to offer an apology for the manner in which it has been accomplished. Instead of fishing for credit, he has desired only to be useful, and he would much prefer confirming the just determination of a single man, than to pleasing the fancies of a thousand critics. He has therefore been content to be correct, and he will feel over-paid if he have opposed a single obstacle to the manifold deceptions and misstatements of the calculating monarchists who unhappily form a portion of the Citizens of this Republic, or have contributed a mite to the great movement that will advance the destiny of his country more rapidly than all other influences combined.

HISTORY OF OREGON.

PART I.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an examination of the old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a deduction of the United States Title.

Oregon is a vast stretch of territory, lying on the northwest coast of North America. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the north by latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$; on the east by the Rocky mountains, and on the south by the forty-second parallel. This geographical arrangement separates the coast into three grand divisions; first, that below the forty-second parallel belonging to Mexico; second, the section lying between 42° , and $54^{\circ} 40'$ to the United States; and third, all above the last named limit, to the Russian crown—thus shutting Great Britain out from any inch of seaboard territory.

The whole of this immense region (Oregon) is nine hundred and sixty miles in length; its breadth along its northern boundary is about five hundred miles, and widening gradually with the south-easterly course of the Rocky mountains, it stretches to about seven hundred miles along its southern line. Its whole surface may, therefore, be estimated at **four hundred thousand square miles.**

Previous to entering into a description of its general characteristics, it is necessary first to analyze with accuracy the nature of our claims, for the purpose of ascertaining the degree of in-

terest we are warranted in bestowing on it. This course will be found the more important, as we shall see that Great Britain, with characteristic modesty, lays claim to it for herself.

There are four modes by which nations may obtain possession and sovereignty over countries; and these are by **discovery**; by **settlement**; by **conquest**, and by **purchase**—the latter, including all subordinate modes of cession arising out of political arrangement.

These rules, or principles, are laid down and governed by a general system called **international law**, the nature and qualities of which it will be necessary for us to exactly understand, before we can proceed satisfactorily with our inquiry.

International Law is simply **no law at all**, for the first idea of law implies a superior power prescribing and dictating to an inferior one—a notion that is perfectly incompatible with the equality of nations. International law is, therefore, merely a collection of moral maxims put forth by certain ethical writers named Grotius, Puffendorf, Baron Wolfius and Vattel, which, being founded in the main on accurate bases, have been generally used by diplomatists as ready elucidations of the principles that should govern the general course and policy of nations. The adoption of this course saves them the special trouble of elaborating an argument on a natural right, by producing one ready made to their hand. The custom of resorting to these writers by diplomatists in the arrangement of their disputes, has given them a sort of authority, which has been confounded with the notion of an imperative rule. As, however, all nations are equal, there can be no international law but the great principle of **right**. Wherever the maxims of these writers square with this, they are doubtless as obligatory as any law can be; for all powers are subject alike to the rules of everlasting justice, which are the type and essence of the only supremacy to which the nations of the earth must bow. But, whenever on the contrary, they do not agree with this divine principle, it is equally obligatory on all to reject them.

There is another view in which a government like ours has a special and peculiar right to deny the obligatory nature of this collection of essays, and that is embraced in the fact of their being drawn from monarchical theories. **We**, therefore, who are working upon a new and antagonistic principle, are not bound by any scheme which conflicts with our own grand designs; for it would be absurd in the extreme for a State which achieved its existence through the denunciation of an arbitrary and unjust system, to admit the binding force of its inconsistent parts. **We** want no such system of international law! The prevailing sentiment of national honour, common to every free people, is the best conservator of the rights of nations; for while it imperatively exacts immediate redress for every wrong, it rejects every unworthy policy with unqualified disdain. The principles of justice, eternal and invariable, are understood by all without the

elaborate filterings of an artificial code, and they have the advantage moreover, of applying equally to Monarchies and to Republics. The just do right without a written rule; the bad outrage it in opposition to a thousand—the first find their reward in the approbation of the world; the last their punishment in the alternative of war. No written code can alter these tendencies, nor affect their results. No nation will obey a rule which runs in derogation of its rights. What need then of a system which offers no additional inducements and enforces no additional penalties?

We do not introduce these views of international law here, because any of its principles makes against our claims to Oregon, but for the opposite reason that they substantiate them; for we wish to be understood, that while we have a right to accept a proposition waged against us, and turn its premises to our own account, we do not thereby bind ourselves irrevocably to the whole system of which it is a part.

Great Britain, in support of her pretensions to the sovereignty of Oregon, produces two principles from this code which relate to the rights drawn from discovery and occupation. We accept the challenge, because it happens to be founded on correct principles, and because it enables us to beat her on her own ground. The following are the rules alluded to. They are extracted from Vattel, who is considered the standard authority on international law:

“All mankind have an equal right to things that have not fallen into the hands of any one; and these things belong to the person who first takes possession of them. When, therefore, a nation finds a country uninhabited and without an owner, it may lawfully take possession of it; and after it has sufficiently made known its intention or will in this respect, it cannot be deprived of it by another nation. Thus navigators going on voyages of discovery, furnished with a commission from their sovereign, and meeting with islands or other lands in a desert state, have taken possession of them in the name of their nation; and this title has been usually respected, provided it was soon after followed by a real possession.”—Book 1, Chap. 18, Sec. 207.

“When a nation takes possession of a country that never yet belonged to another, it is considered as possessing there the empire or sovereignty at the same time with the domain.”—Book 1, Chap. 18, Sec. 205.

The correctness of these propositions cannot be denied; they are consistent with reason and natural rights, and though they derive no additional force from being written down by Monsieur Vattel, they are properly admitted by nations as principles which cannot be assailed to the injury of the party enjoying the rights of the affirmative, without aggression. Indeed, they would have been much better and more correctly understood if Vattel had never said a word about them. It is obvious enough that no claim can exist to a country which has never been discovered,

and it is equally obvious that it must naturally fall into the possession of the first nation who redeems it to the world; but it is not so apparent why a navigator should be armed with a **commission** before his nation can derive a title to his discoveries. Here we see at once the pedantry of the lawyer; the main proposition is founded upon reasonable principles, but the latter condition is the offspring of a quirk. It will be hereafter seen that England discards this feature from the rule, in her assertion of the discoveries of Meares; and it was against such absurdities as this, that our protest against international law was intended to guard.

There is one other principle of international law which has been introduced into this controversy, that is of equal natural force and validity with the foregoing ones. This is the well known and established rule that "he who first discovers the mouth of a river draining a country in a state of nature, and makes known his discovery; and the nation whom he represents takes possession in a reasonable time, becomes the owner of all the territory drained by such river."

This proposition, like the former ones, recommends itself at once to our reason and common sense. It is clear that such river should belong of right to the nation first discovering it, and it is equally clear, that to be of any use or benefit to them, they should have possession of the whole country drained by it, so that its sources and its current may not be at the mercy of inimical hands, who could render it useless at pleasure by cutting off the first, or perverting the second in a different channel.

[To be continued.]

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Washington University State Historical Society

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PURPOSES OF THE SOCIETY.

The purposes for which this corporation shall be formed are as follows, to-wit:

To establish and maintain a society for the collection and preservation of historical facts and records; to gather and preserve memorials of the pioneers and early settlers of the Territory and State of Washington; to purchase, own, hold, enclose, maintain and mark the places of historical interest, within this State by suitable and appropriate monuments, tablets and enclosures; to promote and engage in historical research relating to the Indians and Indian tribes; to engage in, carry on and promote historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary and scientific researches, and to publish the results of the same; to collect, collate, bind and put in convenient form for use and preservation the papers, documents, materials and records collected by the society; to publish, provide for and superintend the publication and distribution of, any papers, manuscripts, documents and records collected by the society; to establish and maintain a library; to encourage and promote the study of history, and especially of the history of the Territory and State of Washington, at the University of Washington; to act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping; to purchase or construct a suitable building for safely housing and preserving the historical and other records belonging to the society or committed to its care, and for its use and accommodation in all other respects; to receive, accept and fully acquire by purchase, lease, gift, or otherwise, lands, tenements and hereditaments, and all such personal property as it may deem desirable for its interests, including stocks in other corporations, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages, bills receivable and choses in action, and to sell and dispose of the same (except that the papers, books, documents, historical and other records belonging to the society, shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of, but duplicates or superfluous copies thereof may be exchanged or otherwise disposed of); to borrow money and to make and deliver its promissory notes or other agreements to pay money, and to issue and sell its negotiable bonds and secure the same by making, executing and delivering mortgages and deeds of trust of its real property, or any thereof, for the payment or performance of all notes, bonds, contracts and other obligations which it may at any time make or incur; and to do each and every act and thing whatsoever which may at any time be or become necessary, convenient and advisable for it to

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do, in order to accomplish and carry out all or any of the objects or purposes or exercise any or all of the powers aforesaid, to the same extent that an individual or natural person might or could do in the premises; as well as each and every of the powers expressly or impliedly conferred in or by the laws of the State of Washington relating to the organization and management of such associations.—Article III of the Articles of Incorporation.

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

COLLECTING PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON'S GOVERNORS.

On several occasions the Legislature of the State of Washington by resolution has suggested the collection of the portraits of the gentlemen who have served the territory or state as Chief Executive, these portraits to remain in the capitol building. This is in conformity with the custom followed in most of the states of the union of preserving the portraits of the governors, and is in line with the practice of the national government of preserving the portraits of the presidents and of the cabinet officers in their succession. The work of collecting these portraits in some of the states was begun only in recent years and the collections were completed only with considerable difficulty and at considerable expense. It is eminently fit and proper that each state should own such a collection, which is in fact part of the history of the commonwealth. The student of history and every citizen has an interest in learning something of the personality of the men who have served as the state's Chief Executive.

Prior to my inauguration as governor, seventeen gentlemen had served as governor either of the territory or state. The succession was as follows:

Governors of the Territory: Isaac I. Stevens, 1853-1857; Fayette McMullin, 1857-1859; R. D. Gholson, 1859-1861; W. H. Wallace, 1861; William H. Pickering, 1862-1866; George E. Cole, 1866-1867; Marshal F. Moore, 1867-1869; Alvin Flanders, 1869-1870; Edward S. Salomon, 1870-1872; Elisha P. Ferry, 1872-1880; W. A. Newell, 1880-1884; Watson C. Squire, 1884-1887; Eugene Semple, 1887-1889; Miles C. Moore, (7 months) 1889 to statehood.

Governors of the State: Elisha P. Ferry, 1889-1893; John H. McGraw, 1893-1897; John R. Rogers, 1897-December, 1901; Henry McBride, December, 1901-January, 1905.

On assuming office I found the only portrait of a former governor in the executive chambers was that of Governor Salomon, who is now a resident of San Francisco. In the summer of 1905 I began by correspondence an endeavor to collect all of the portraits of the former governors to have them preserved in the executive offices. Having no special appropriation of public funds for this purpose it was impossible to seek elaborate or permanent portraits. But I did deem it essential to secure some portrait—either photograph or engraving—at this time, for the task of making the collection would grow more difficult year by year. The result of my efforts in this direction has been that I have collected all but one of the portraits. The missing one is that of Governor R. D. Gholson, who remained in the territory only a year and returned to his old home in Paducah, Kentucky, some months before his retirement. I am in hope of securing this missing portrait before the assembling of the legislature in January, 1907.

The portraits I have secured have all been framed and are now hanging in my office. They are all pronounced excellent likenesses, and in the event that at some future time the legislature determines to have them put in more permanent form, as is the practice in some other states, the artist will have an authentic base upon which to work.

Beginning with the portrait of Governor Salomon, the second picture secured was that of Governor Marshal F. Moore, which was presented by Mrs. R. G. O'Brien, of Olympia. Governor Moore was a general officer of the Union Army during the Civil War. His remains are buried in the Olympia cemetery.

Following this Governor Miles C. Moore presented a handsome portrait of himself.

The late Capt. P. B. Johnson, of Walla Walla, interested himself in this matter and through his efforts Miss Marguerite Mitchell Painter, of Walla Walla, loaned me an excellent portrait of the late Governor Alvin Flanders, which I had copied in Olympia. Governor Flanders was an intimate friend of Mr. William C. Painter, the father of Miss Painter.

The task of finding a portrait of Governor Fayette McMullin was difficult, Governor McMullin having returned to his home in Virginia after having served his term here. However, Mr. Roderick Sprague, of this city, secured from Miss Addie Wood, also of Olympia, a small *carte de visete* photograph of the late governor, Miss Wood being a relative of the McMullin family. This small portrait was enlarged for me by Mr. Asahel Curtis,

of Seattle, who reproduced from a somewhat faded print a very excellent picture.

Judge Mason Irwin, of Montesano, contributed a splendid photograph of Governor W. A. Newell.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Frank Hogan, of Spokane, a steel engraving of Governor George E. Cole was secured long prior to the death of the governor.

Governor Eugene Semple forwarded personally a good engraving of himself.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Asahel Curtis and Mr. S. P. Weston, of Seattle, photographs of Governors Isaac I. Stevens and Elisha P. Ferry were donated to the office.

Governor Watson C. Squire presented an excellent portrait of himself, framed and ready for hanging.

Mrs. William S. Mayfield, of Seattle, a granddaughter of the late Governor William Pickering, presented an enlarged copy of an old daguerreotype, the only portrait of Governor Pickering known to be in existence. Mrs. Mayfield relates the story of the manner in which this original portrait was secured in an interesting fashion:

"The old home was burned at one time and the picture of my grandmother was destroyed among other keepsakes Grandpa had cherished. He felt the loss of these pictures so keenly that he could never be induced to have one taken of himself as much as the family used to urge it. But one day as he was talking to an old friend of his who was a photographer by the name of Harwick, Mr. Harwick suddenly caught the opportunity, saying: 'Now, Governor, sit still; I am going to take your picture.' There was no chance given Grandpa to even brush his hair or arrange his necktie. So that accounts for the careless appearance. If Mr. Harwick had not used strategy at that time there would have been no picture in existence. The family were very grateful to Mr. Harwick for seizing the opportunity while Grandpa was in his gallery talking to him, for he could never be induced to 'sit for his picture.'"

The portrait of Governor Wallace was secured through Mr. J. N. Bradley, of Tacoma, and Mr. W. H. Gilstrap, Curator of the Ferry Museum. The latter gentleman copied photographically for me the very excellent portrait of Governor Wallace which now hangs in the Ferry Museum in Tacoma.

From local photographers I secured the photographs of Governors McGraw, Rogers and McBride.

The search for the Gholson portrait is still in progress. Senator Piles has interested himself and secured some data in the Congressional Library on which to base a search. Governor

J. C. W. Beckham, of Kentucky, is helping and hopes to be able to secure the portrait before very long. Mr. Edward O. Leigh, Governor Beckham's secretary, has expended considerable effort on the work. I have been fortunate in locating in Paducah, Kentucky, the former home of Governor Gholson, an old friend of mine, Richard T. Lightfoot, who thinks he will be able to secure a portrait from some of the family connections.

While I was making this original collection I was surprised and pleased to learn of an arrangement which former Governor John H. McGraw had made with Mrs. Minnie Sparling Brown, of Seattle, to paint the portraits of the former governors of the State of Washington, which arrangement had received the sanction of Governor McGraw's successor, Governor John R. Rogers. Mrs. Brown had undertaken the work of course without any formal contract or formal promise, but ill health prevented the completion of it at an early date. She continued the work, however, over several years and on April 18, last, delivered at my office portraits in oils of the four gentlemen who have served before me as governor of the State of Washington. The portraits are pronounced by those learned in art to be of the first quality, and certainly they all are magnificent likenesses. Mrs. Brown will ask the coming Legislature to appropriate a suitable sum in payment for these pictures and she should be paid liberally.

With a view to preserving still more historical portraits at the capitol I am now endeavoring to secure portraits of all of the twenty-six gentlemen who have served the state or territory in Congress, either as territorial delegate, representative in Congress, or senator. Several of the territorial governors later served as territorial delegates, viz: William H. Wallace, Isaac I. Stevens, George E. Cole and Alvin Flanders; while Governor Squire served as United States Senator. All of these portraits we already have. These with others that have been presented give the office eighteen of the total number to be collected. The others are all promised and I hope to secure them before many weeks have passed.

It is rather interesting to note that the expense of making the collection of photographs and engravings of former governors and members of the Washington delegation in Congress has been slight to the state. The total expense so far for copying, framing and the like, has been less than \$25.00. The chief expenditure has been of labor incident to writing the letters. It is probable that fully 500 letters were required to secure the pictures I have enumerated. I have learned that in assembling historical matters of this sort, patience is the chief requisite to

success. People are willing to help and will do so, as instanced by the fact that in the whole correspondence I found no one who did not evince a desire to assist in the work, but good intentions need a little gentle prodding at times, and if one will only follow things up and write enough letters he is pretty sure to accomplish what he starts out to do in a work of this character. Incident to making the collection considerable historical data of value has come to light and convinces me more than ever of the necessity for the better preservation of the sources of our state's history and the proper assembling of them.

In closing I desire to thank the press of the state for the valuable assistance it rendered me. Through the publicity given the plan of collection I was able to receive information and portraits that otherwise could not have been secured.

ALBERT E. MEAD.

PRESERVING OUR PUBLIC RECORDS.

Those who have had an opportunity to investigate the condition of the public archives of the State of Washington have good reason to deplore the lack of interest that heretofore has been taken in the preservation of these sources of our history. However, one has but to read the reports of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association to gain a mite of comfort in the knowledge that many an older state than Washington has been even more negligent in preserving records and that conditions elsewhere are even more deplorable than here.

The history of Washington as a separate political organization runs back to 1853. In all these years the seat of government has been Olympia, but the several offices have made many moves. The governor, the secretary of state, the librarian, the other officers have found quarters at different times in different parts of town, and not until recent years were they all gathered under one roof. Moves of this character do not make for continuity in the keeping of old records, nor for the preservation of books or papers not required for immediate purposes. The result is that the early territorial records, the books and papers and writings that form the base of our history, are scattered. Possibly they can be found and assembled; possibly they cannot. No man knows. No man, in fact, knows very much about the early records of Washington. Down in the basement of the state house are two great packing cases full of the manuscripts, papers and records of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, the first territorial governor. Stored in the vaults of the auditor's office are piles and bundles of papers of some of the other territorial governors. In the governor's office itself are a few old record books, lacking continuity, chief among them being the volume in which Governor Stevens recorded his first official acts. But there are no papers referring in any way to territorial days to be found in the governor's office, while the bundles in the auditor's office contain none of the papers or records relating to administrations earlier than that of Governor Newell. Where the others are I do not know. I have made no extended search for them, for were they found now there is no room for them in the absurdly small closet, called by courtesy a vault, in the governor's office.

In the vaults of the secretary of state are to be found the journals of territorial house and council, the journals of state house and senate, the constitution, the laws and the like, but with them is a great mass of other papers and records that has accumulated for years and that contains, no doubt, some important and valuable matter.

The other offices are in the same condition. When all moved into the new state house they gathered together what they could find and brought it, though none of it was systematically arranged, catalogued or indexed, save the current records. When the old territorial capitol on the hill was abandoned, papers galore were found in the attic and elsewhere and at least some of them were brought along. Some one found two old barrels full of strange looking papers. These, after strenuous experiences, landed in the office of the adjutant general. That gentleman—General Drain—took the trouble to examine them and found they were part of the Indian war records; original orders, reports and the like. The general turned them over to the state librarian in whose custody they are now, but no provision has yet been made for indexing them.

This chaotic condition of the state's archives is in no way the fault of the present officers. The same condition—and with less excuse—has been found to exist in many other states. It is the result of years of neglect by earlier officers, inadequate filing room, frequent changes of office location and lack of systematic attention to the important work of record preservation. There is evidence, too, that the archives have been ravaged by individuals for their personal collections. An incoming officer in the state administration finds in his limited filing accommodations these old accumulations. No matter how good his intentions he finds it impossible to do anything with them, for he soon learns that the current business of his office, with the growth of the state, is constantly increasing and that he has all he can do, with the small force that characterizes every state office at Olympia, to keep up with his current work without seeking to rearrange the old files. Further, it takes but a slight investigation on his part to learn that absolutely nothing of consequence can be done to bring order out of the chaotic condition without the services of a person skilled in indexing, cataloguing and the handling of archives. Hence the officer lets things stand as he finds them.

To digress for a moment, this condition is not peculiar to the State of Washington. The State of Wisconsin, notable for its splendid historical society and for its generous appropriations for historical research, only in recent years began to put its

archives in proper condition. I quote from the report of Carl Russell Fish, Ph. D., on the public archives of Wisconsin to the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association at the annual meeting of 1905:

“Governor’s Office—The archives of this office are preserved in two vaults, an upper vault, equipped with iron filing cases, and a lower vault, poorly arranged and containing little of importance. Numbers of the filing boxes of the upper vault are empty, although labeled. It is said that the papers in them were removed at the time of the fire and are still in existence, although a careful search failed to reveal them. It is thought best to mention these documents, adding the word ‘missing’. The more important series of papers have been completely indexed by the card system, and **an expert indexer is at work with the object of completely indexing the records in the office.**”

It is safe to assume that the old county and city records in the State of Washington are in quite as bad condition as the old records of the territory. Now that so many persons are beginning to take a lively interest in the history of Washington, it would seem that the time is ripe for the various historical societies to agitate such action by the legislature as will make all these early records available not only to the officials but to the student and the investigator. It is a real handicap to a public officer not to have available and within easy reach accurate information regarding the previous conduct of his office, but in no office can a consecutive and accurate record of all proceedings back to the establishment of the office be found, save, of course, in the instance of offices created within recent years.

The conditions I have described thus hurriedly are familiar to a number of those who are interested in the history of Washington and who desire to have a remedy applied. But even among these there seems to exist a confusion of ideas as to what should be done and how it should be done. True, these old records are chiefly of historical value, but also they are public records and have a distinct value as such. Putting them in available form for the official and the student is the work of the state itself, not of a society. The attitude of the American Historical Association toward the subject is informing. This association, seven years ago, began the work of trying to secure on the part of states a better attention to their priceless archives. The association established its own Public Archives Commission to investigate conditions and agitate reforms so as to make records available to the student. That commission now forms one of the association’s chief activities. The influence of the work is seen in legislation in many states and awak-

ened interest in many others, both of which facts are contributing to the better preservation of archives and to making them of value to the historian.

The character of the legislation enacted in the states that have taken up the work is suggestive. Pennsylvania in 1903 created a division of public records, in connection with the state library, which was to receive, care for and make available all public documents which were more of historical value than useful for current business, while an unsalaried advisory commission, with the librarian, was required to investigate and report on the condition of all public records in the state and to make recommendations for their better preservation.

The governor of Pennsylvania, in his succeeding message to the legislature, wrote:

"The department of public records provided for at the last session in connection with the library has been organized and is doing efficient work. The archives upon which the foundations of our history rest, which up to the present time have lain about cellars and out of the way places, being gradually stolen, lost or destroyed, have been gathered together and are now being prepared and permanently secured in volumes chronologically arranged and open to the investigations of scholars."

Maryland in 1904 created a public records commission of three persons to be appointed by the governor, to serve without pay save expenses, to examine and report on the condition of public records in the state. That state also enacted legislation regarding the quality of paper and ink hereafter to be used in making public records.

Mississippi established in 1902 a department of archives and history along somewhat the same lines, although its work included also the work of an information bureau, bureau of statistics and bureau for the exploitation of the resources of the state. Alabama has a department the duplicate of this.

Delaware in 1905 created a division of public records, which, while not removing any records from an office, was charged with the "classification and cataloguing of, looking to the preservation of all public records throughout the state, which are now in the custody of the state and county officials, but not in current use, and, consequently, primarily of historical value". This division consists of six appointees of the governor, selected from the membership of patriotic and historical societies.

In 1905 South Carolina created an historical commission, unpaid, with a secretary at \$1,000 a year, to do this same work in the archives and to gather general historical information.

These are but instances. The work is being pressed throughout the union. The American Historical Association, through its Public Archives Commission, is investigating the condition of the archives in most of the states and already has secured reports on more than 30. Last year Prof. Jacob N. Bowman, then of the State Normal School at Bellingham, now of the faculty of the University of California, was appointed the member of the commission to report on Washington. During the last summer he spent considerable time at Olympia and was given free access to all records. It is quite certain that he gained a broader knowledge of what the state possesses in the way of records than any other man. His report, no doubt, was presented at the December (1906) meeting of the Association at Providence, R. I.

At the meeting of the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association in 1905 a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the California state archives, of which committee Prof. C. A. Duniway, of Stanford, was chairman. It found most of the old records piled in a basement vault, on the floor, on ledges and generally uncared for. At the request of Governor Pardee, the committee reported to him recommending as follows, the recommendations being quoted in full since they so accurately cover the situation in Washington:

"First. In the judgment of this committee, legislation should be devised to transfer to the custody of the state library all those portions of the archives of the state which have their chief value as historical material, while legal and business records should continue in charge of the officials to whose departments they properly belong. Such, indeed, has been the general scheme put in effect in recent years by the federal government as to the several departments of government and the library of Congress.

"Second. This legislation, having due regard for the circumstances under which the several categories of archives, and especially the main collection in charge of the secretary of state, have been collected and must be administered, should largely leave the decision of just what categories are to be put in charge of the state library to the discretion of the several chief executive officers, after consultation with the state librarian. One method, adopted in New York, is to direct by law that all papers not strictly legal in character are to go to the state library when more than five years old.

"Third. It is assumed that an archives division of the state library would be created to have the administration of the material which would thus be acquired. The officer or officers assigned to this division would classify, arrange and catalogue the archives in order to make them accessible. At present, particu-

larly in the older papers, there is an almost total lack of these systematic aids to the public service.

“Fourth. We wish to point out that if these general principles are approved by the legislature, as they have been by the secretary of state and the state librarian, the difficulties of adjustment and administration seem to require only a little patient study of actual conditions and a continuance of the spirit of co-operation for the public good already manifested by the officers most concerned.

“Fifth. The building and furnishing of adequate fireproof rooms—as we have recommended to the capitol commissioners—would not be a waste of public money, even if a building for the library and archives should be constructed in later years. The rapid accumulation of legal papers of the secretary of state in the routine business of his office will then require these rooms for his department.”

ASHMUN N. BROWN.

EARLIEST EXPEDITION AGAINST PUGET SOUND INDIANS.

These "Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition" by Frank Ermatinger, a well known clerk of the Hudson Bay Company, were copied from the original document for me by Mr. R. E. Gosnell, private secretary of the Premier of British Columbia, and more recently editor of the *Victoria Colonist*. For more than three quarters of a century this earliest record of Puget Sound lay unnoticed and unread, until at my repeated and urgent request Mr. Gosnell obtained a loan of this and other matter connected with old Hudson Bay days, and kindly sent me this transcript, the only copy, I believe, in the United States. You will note I have made it the basis of Chapter IV of my last book, "McDonald of Oregon." I wish here to record my very great indebtedness to Mr. Gosnell for this and many other favors connected with my historical researches.

EVA EMERY DYE.

Notes connected with the Clallum Expedition fitted out under the command of Alex. R. McLeod, Esquire, Chief Trader at Fort Vancouver on the 17th of June, 1828, by

FRANK ERMATINGER, Clerk.

Friday, 13th, 1828.—Since the unfortunate murder of Mr. Alex. McKenzie and the four men under his charge, by the tribe called the Clallums, in Puget Sound, on their way back with an express from Port Langley, in January last, it appears to have been a decided impression of all that an expedition to their quarter would be most necessary, if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example, in order, if possible, to deter others from similar attempts in future. But since the arrival of the islanders at Vancouver 7th inst., every little arrangement has been kept so close from us, although the vessel *Gadboro*, Capt. Simpson, got under weigh yesterday, I believe for the purpose of a co-operation, we one and all began to doubt whether we were to be sent off or not, and should absolutely have despaired, had it not been, armors were kept busily employed stocking rifles, repairing pistols, etc., etc., which we saw bore no connection with the trade. However, this morning affairs appeared more determined and a muster was made of all the effective men upon the ground, both free and hired and they were told by Chief Factor McLoughlin, of the necessity of going

off in search of the **murderous tribe**, and if possible, to make a salutary example of them, that **the honour of the whites was at a stake**, and that if we did not **succeed in the undertaking** it would be dangerous to be seen by the natives any distance from the Fort hereafter. All the men assented, or rather none appeared unwilling, but Challifoux, who happened to make a remark **mal a propos**, and was immediately turned out of the hall and his services refused. This answered well, as it led the men to think that volunteers only were wanted and all were ashamed to keep back. Those who from ill health or other causes were omitted in the muster expressed themselves much disappointed. No gentleman was this day named, but it was evident that Messrs. McLeod and Dease were aware of their appointment having so frequently tried the effects of their rifles together.

Sunday, 15th.—This evening we were talking amongst ourselves of the appointments for the expedition, and guessing who was likely to be upon it; Mr. Dease was of the party, and told Mr. Yale and I we might, he thought, prepare to follow it.

Monday, 16th.—The most of the day Messrs. McLeod and Dease equipping the men with their arms and a little ammunition, each, to try them with. The party will, independent of the vessel which extra manned for the occasion, consist of upwards of sixty men, headed by Mr. A. R. McLeod and Mr. Dease goes, and Mr. Yale and I upon the hint we got yesterday are prepared to follow as no further notice had been given us, except indeed my being told to take my watch with me. In fact, Mr. McLoughlin appears delicate in requesting anyone to go, least an unwillingness should be shown.

In the evening the men received a **regale** and the Iroquois went through a war dance, in character, before the Hall Door.

Tuesday, 17th.—At 4 o'clock all Mr. McLeod's arrangements were completed and the Vancouver Local Militia put in motion. In passing the Fort the men discharged their pieces and a salute of Cannon was returned upon our embarking, but the Captain of the "Eagle", either taken up on short notice, or what is more probable being short of Powder, instead of a round of Guns gave us three of Cheers. At 5 o'clock P. M. we made a start in five Boats, and went off in tolerable style, but a small distance down the River we was obliged to put on shore to Gum, where we encamped for the night.

Chalifoux, since his disgrace, has solicited every one of us, in our turns, to intercede with Mr. McLoughlin for him and was this day by the influence, I believe, of Mr. Connolly, added to our number.

Wednesday, 18th.—We were upon the water this morning at half past three, were more than two hours ashore for breakfast, reached the mouth of the Cowlitz River at noon and encamped for the night at 5 o'clock when we all turned out to a target and were at complete counters, it was rifles against guns

and guns against Rifles, which afforded us argument for the night, and ended with every one being best pleased with his own shots. If we continue on at this rate, thought I, we may, or at least, like the Bow Bell Train bands may so far improve as to be enabled to discharge our pieces without blinking.

Thursday, 19th.—We commenced our march at half past four, and continued on at a brisk rate until the usual hour for breakfast, when we put ashore and remained two hours. We then resumed and reached the Cowlitz Portage at half past two. We here saw a solitary native, from whom, I believe, for I cannot speak positively, (as we are seldom advised with, altho' I was requested by Mr. McLeod to keep notes of the Voyage I am never told what is going on, but collect what little information I possess how and when I can), that a few horses can be hired a small distance from this, that the Clallums have divided, those who wish to stand neutral having separated from those who wish to resist, and that we may possibly find and punish them with much less trouble or danger than was at one time anticipated.

Our commander says little to us upon ordinary occasions. However, when we spoke relative to the news of the day, he begged us not to put implicit belief in all we heard and ventured to add: "God bless you gentlemen," the ties of consanguinity are so strongly cemented amongst the natives that our attack must be clandestinely made. We looked at each other.

Weather fine throughout the day. Deputy killed a small Deer of last spring, and several large ones were seen. In the evening we amused ourselves and the camp in sending off a few Rockets.

Friday, 20th.—At eight o'clock this morning the interpreter Laframboise was sent off to Indian Lodges to hire what horses we could collect, and Mr. Dease, without orders accompanied him. At ten they returned with a few Natives, who had four, and after some trouble and bargaining they were hired for the Trip, and in course of the day some more were added to the number, which with two here belonging to the company made fourteen that we have to commence the march with. Two and a half skins, I am told, is the stipulated price for the voyage to and fro, and some altercation proceeded from a wish to obtain five skins for each horse, which the natives say was the price they had from Mr. McMillan for the trip merely across, and again they wished to obtain Blankets or ammunition in payment. However, Mr. McLeod would not give either, and threatens if they were not contented with Stronds, etc., he would send back his provisions to the Fort and feed his men upon horse-flesh whenever he found any.

In the evening the men were sent to make a few Pack Saddles. Some light showers through the day. Several of the men were off hunting, but only saw a red deer or two, at least they killed none. Those who remained at the Camp kept up almost a continuous firing.

Old **Towlitz**, alias Lord St. Vincent, was amongst our visitors today and is to be added to the party, as assistant Interpreter.

Saturday, 21st.—We this morning commenced operations by hauling up our Boats and putting them **en cache**. The first of the party then got under way at half past seven and stopped for breakfast at nine. The rest started as they got ready and continued to arrive at our resting place until half past eleven. We then began to make a few more saddles, as it appeared that only four new ones were got ready last night. We resumed our march in the same order again at half past one, and encamped for the night at six o'clock. Our march this day looked more like that of gipsies than a force collected for the purpose we are. A light shower or two about noon, but the weather upon the whole fine and fresh. We hired a few more horses today, of which there appears to be no want on our road, but the fault of their not having been found before appears to be rather in our own operations than otherwise, as the Indians are very anxious to lend them and that, too, at what I think a very moderate remuneration. Had a man been sent off from the Fort a day before, everything could have been ready at the Portage by our arrival, or even had Laframboise, or one of us been immediately sent off upon our landing; and the driving a hard bargain with the poor wretches not made an object, a Day at least would have been here gained. Too great a sacrifice has already been made to forward the expedition, to now stand upon such trifles.

Sunday, 22nd.—Our horses were loaded and we off at half past four, and at eight we stopped for breakfast, but like our order of yesterday it was nine before the last of our men arrived. Mr. Yale and I here hired a horse each, to pay for which we had some trouble before we could borrow thirty, etc. Dease had been more successful and was mounted yesterday. We resumed our route at twelve and encamped at five o'clock.

This night a watch was commenced to consist of four men and a gentleman for four hours each watch, and in crying "All's Well," which they were ordered to do, at intervals, a loud laugh was heard in the Camp for which the men received a good scolding. The cause was this, they had solicited and obtained permission to trade a fat young horse for their supper which they were just cooking when the sentinel cried his "All's Well," and the cook elated with his extra good cheer before him answered "in the kettle." This set the camp a laughing and called down a severe reprimand from Mr. McLeod, who after repeating the word laugh almost twenty times threatened them as many, that the next time they did so they should lose their wages. One more incorrigible than the rest sneaked behind and said in a half whisper, that the devil might take him if, when he lost his wages, he would be at the trouble to go in search of them. We now laugh in our turn but with less noise. A letter was received from Mr. Mc-

Millan addressed to Mr. McLoughlin dated the 10th of May. It had been forwarded by an Indian Chief (Schunawa), who was killed upon his road thence. But the letter had been taken the greatest care of, and was forwarded from Tribe to Tribe until this morning when it fell into the hands of Mr. Dease. Mr. McLeod opened it and merely told us the date. Mr. Dease asked him if there was any news, No, was the laconic answer. However, in the most pointed manner, he immediately turned to Laframboise and Deputy, who were by him, and detailed the contents. This is not the only instance, in which great contempt has been shown us, or our opinions slighted. It might be thought, that the danger or cause of our jaunt would be sufficiently galling to our feelings without adding any more weight by a forbidding and repulsive conduct, on the part of our leader, at least, we may think without vanity that our conversation and confidence are equal to those whom he thinks so worthy of both.

Monday, 23rd.—We were under way at half past five, were the usual time at breakfast, arrived at the end of the Portage at half past one. We here found a canoe of the Company's left by Mr. Hanson and hired two more from the natives. The men of their own accord immediately commenced making their paddles. The watch of the men altered from four to two hours but ours stands at four.

La Penzer, who has, since we left the Fort, been in a most depressed state, to-night when told it was his watch confessed himself too much afraid to stand it. Arguments or threats were of no avail. "**Je ne suis pas capable, Monsieur,**" was always the answer, and he was ultimately given up as incurable. I had taken the greater interest to persuade him to do something to divert his mind, being a Thompsons River man and the more ashamed of him upon that account, but could not succeed. Sleep alone he sought and to it I left him.

Tuesday, 24th.—At seven o'clock this morning Laframboise and a party of men were sent off in two small Canoes, to trade or borrow some of the larger kind, and Le Etang, our guide, with another party went overland, on horseback, to meet them at an appointed place, where, after giving the horses in charge to an Indian, who is to keep them until our return, they are to assist in working the Canoes here. At a small distance from the Camp Le Etang killed a Deer which he brought to us and immediately took his departure again. It was thought unnecessary that any gentleman should accompany either party, confidence being put in Laframboise for the purpose.

This afternoon two Indians arrived from Cheenook with a letter from the "Cadboro," Capt. Simpson, dated as late as the 20th, so that we have now a consolation for our lost time, for, had we got on as we ought our chance of seeing her in the Sound would have been small. All I fear is that this confounded note will be made an excuse for more tardy movements. One of the free Iroquois killed us another deer. I pass over fur-

ther notice of our practice of firing and it may be considered a regular turnout every day, however, it may not be amiss to note that the most of the shooting is rather from pride than the want of practice, for it is the good marksmen only who do it, and when their own ammunitions runs short they assist the diffidends to get through theirs, 800 shots at least, an avertge of ten per man, were fired today to the danger of those who found it necessary to go a few yards from the camp. Mr. Dease has the stores in charge, and intimated that the stock would not stand out, if we continue on at such a rate.

Wednesday, 25th.—At five o'clock p. m. Laframboise and Le Etang returned in eight canoes, including the two they took off, but four men short, whom they left as it appeared to me in rather a curious manner with the natives, looking after another canoe. They had very little trouble in obtaining six, and could possibly, so the guide says, have got a few more. Would not a great deal of time have been saved by our all going where the canoes are instead of remaining inactive here? The distance is short. The news is that the Ciallums expect us and have collected at their farthest village, that they have formed many plans to ward off our balls, wetting their blankets is the most approved amongst them, and the natives of this quarter wish to accompany us in order to revenge the death of four of their Tribe, whom they have killed.

Several of our men were out at the chase, and all saw a Deer but few brought us venison. Gervaise the freeman killed four and Chalifoux one.

Thursday, 26th.—This morning the four men left behind yesterday, after some misery, returned to the Camp with a good large Canoe, and Laframboise with eight men, was sent off again. At five o'clock he returned with four more canoes. Heavy rains throughout the day.

For want of other amusement, during the rain, Mr. Work's Chart of Puget Sound was produced and something like a plan, for the first time laid open, which was merely this: When we see the murderers, said Mr. McLeod, we must endeavor to come to a parley, and obtain the woman, who, by the by, I had scarcely ever heard mentioned before today, that was taken by them when our people were killed, and after we have her in our possession—What then? said I. Why then to them **pell mell**. Messrs. Yale, Dease and I at once admitted it to be a most laudable wish to set the poor woman at liberty, which we thought could always be done at the price of a few Blankets and without so many men coming so far, but to make it the primitive object of our expedition, we never understood, nor could we, we added, ever agree to it. The business was then wound up with a short account of the influence her father had amongst his tribe to do mischief to the whites, upon whose account her liberty was at any consideration to be obtained by us.

Friday, 27th.—We made over our horses and saddles, cords, &c., &c., to an old Indian's care, at least, as many of the former

as may be found for they have not, with the exception of eighteen that LeEtang took, been seen since we arrived here, and the men having hired a few for themselves the number is greater than might be expected.

The canoes were in the course of the morning allotted, they are of a small kind for our purpose, but will, I trust, make a shift. We have made it a point to praise them, being well aware that it would not require much to induce Mr. McLeod to turn back, if a tolerable excuse could be made. Laframboise who ostensibly, is the commander, certainly merits praise in getting us thus far, and while he humors Mr. McLeod, by giving everything the most favorable construction it will bear, he endeavors to get the business on *doucement*, and was I inclined to find fault with either he or the guide it would be for not proposing our going immediately to where the Canoes were hired, but perhaps they did so, and the measure was discountenanced by Deputy and Gervaise, two leading members of the Council.

At two o'clock P. M. we got under way in eleven Canoes of different sizes, and proceeded on for three hours and a half, when we encamped. No Indians accompany us, except Lord St. Vincent. It was with great difficulty that La Ecuyer was induced to embark. He said he would have no objections to remain and take care of the Horses, if a couple of men were left to take care of him.

Deputy and Gervaise were added to the officers' watch and our time altered from four to two hours, and a resolve proclaimed that any gent. found sleeping during the day time should be Cobbed! ! ! ! Yes, that's the word.

Saturday, 28th.—We got under way at five o'clock, but before breakfast we were merely running about for canoes, that we hired, and left two of our small ones. At 10 we embark again, Mr. Yale and I together, and with us a native to act as a Clallum interpreter. We continued on in fine, calm weather until six o'clock when we encamped. Just below where we stopped for the night, we saw a few of the Puy-ye-lips Tribe, but they were so much frightened, by the continued firing of our men firing at the Eagles that they paddled off, and it was with great exertion that our canoe could approach them and come to a parley. Our guide told Mr. Yale and I, as a great secret, that the information obtained, was, that the Clallums had withstood some liberal offers for the woman in order to restore her and that they wish to compromise the murder of our men.

Sunday, 29th.—We were upon the water at five this morning, stopped three hours to breakfast, and encamped opposite, or rather between, two small villages of the Soquarmis. Several small canoes of these fellows came to our encampment, but did not debark, and one of them having a Powder Horn upon him, belonging to one of our deceased men, little ceremony was used by Laframboise in dispossessing him of it. We received little or no information, but they offer themselves to us as auxiliaries, and were told, I believe, that we fought our

own battles. However, the chief received a present and was told that he might embark with us, alone. They had heard the Vessel's Guns. Just before we encamped the Interpreter went off to one of the villages, and some of the men followed in order, I suppose, to trade themselves a few shellfish. Mr. Dease wished from curiosity to go too, and asked Mr. McLeod, May I go, Sir? Go if you choose, was the answer, rather sharply. I beg your pardon, Sir, said Dease, but really I did not hear you. Do as you like, was repeated. No, Sir, it is not as I like, if you want me here I will remain. I do not want you there, nor I do not want you here, was the reply of Mr. McLeod, in a most sulky manner. Dease, near choked with irritation and muttered as he turned to Mr. Yale and me. Damme, it is too bad, we begged of him to say nothing more upon the subject at present.

Monday, 30th.—We left our encampment at four o'clock this morning, crossed to the Village, when we exchange two of our small Canoes for a larger one, the chief then embarked and four canoes of his tribe followed us, at a small distance. We took breakfast at the usual time, but were much shorter about it. At one o'clock we saw two small Canoes of the same Tribe, and the one Mr. Yale and I were in gave them Chase. They debarked upon a point and hid themselves amongst the Woods, but upon the old Indian who was with us calling to them, they made their appearance. We learnt from them, that a few Clallums, are at a small distance, upon a portage over which we have to cross, we at once, upon the advice of our Indian Interpreters, &c., put ashore and were to remain all very quiet in order, if possible, to take them by surprise during the night. The Iroquois, Owhees, and Cheenook slaves painted themselves ready for battle. But all the ceremony must be rendered a burlesque by our men, at least, one or two of them discharging their pieces and behold, we to mend the matter, send off rockets! ! ! Really one would think it was purposely done to warn the natives.

We heard the Vessel's guns just about Dark.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—At one o'clock this morning we embarked, and took with us one of the natives we saw yesterday noon, for what purpose we did not know. He was in our canoe with the Clallum interpreter. Our crew consisted of one young Canadian (Canada dit Encan) one half breed (Canotte), two Iroquois (Little Michel and Louis Frize), two Owhees (Tourawhyheene and Cawinai) and two Cheenook slaves (Antoine and Naste), Mr. Yale and I passengers. With Mr. McLeod was Laframboise and with Dease, Old Towlitz, so that from the Interpreters being thus separated, it was necessary when the most trifling question was to be asked by Laframboise, that we should get near to each other, and even then speak louder than could be wished. We continued on slowly with the greatest caution of more than two hours; occasionally, however, stopping for consultations amongst the Interpreters, (which were kept

entirely secret from us, nor repeated to Mr. McLeod, in French while we were near, lest I presume, we should understand) as we thought, to a portage, but all at once we found our canoe alone, and the Indians changed their places to immediately behind Mr. Yale and I, and appeared to solicit us to advance by signs, occasionally holding up seven of their fingers and uttering the word Clallums. I thought they wished to debark and told Michel the foreman so, who no sooner put the canoe ashore than out they got, and with them Yale and five of the crew, and were instantly making along the shore. When I saw this, I also left the canoe and ordered the Canadian to remain with it, while with the other two I ran after the rest. We overtook them just as they were in sight of two Indian Lodges, (there might be more at a distance) situated close to the woods, to one of which the Indians without pointed and said Clallums. It was the furthest off and far the smallest of the two. Mr. Yale and I got upon a large fallen tree, close alongside of it, behind which I proposed we should get and fire, if we found ourselves outnumbered or worsted. The Indians were evidently asleep when we arrived, the day was just breaking, but upon hearing the noise we made, awoke, and a man put his head out of the Lodge, and upon seeing us (however he could not, I think, distinctly distinguish who we were) gave a most piteous sigh. Tirs Dessus was called out and four or five shots were immediately off. I saw two men, I thought, fall, but whether dead I could not say. The rest took the edge of the woods, but some of our men were there before them and the firing became general. Eight or ten shots were discharged in rapid succession, I remained stationary and saw that Mr. Dease, Laframboise, Le Etang, and a few of the men had joined the party from the Canoes behind. The confusion was great and we were apprehensive that the men would kill each other by shooting in opposite directions. From the natives, there was now no danger, as those in the other Lodges remained quiet. In vain did we call out to the men to spare the women; take care of yourselves. They continued on in the same order until they thought the whole of the inmates were killed. In fact, one half could not understand us when we did call. Two families, I believe, were killed, three men, two or three women, a boy and a girl. To this point I cannot speak positively, as I saw none after they were down, but have the information from those who killed them, however, it was made a doubt whether the men were dead or not, as they were not seen after, but I am almost positive that I was not mistaken in the two I saw drop. The truth is we did not lose time to look after them, but went off to the other Lodge, and remained there a few minutes, for Mr. McLeod, who surrounded by the remains of the party, joined us.

Well, really, Gentlemen, said he, what is the meaning of all this confusion? Why, Sir, answered I, with some warmth, for I was piqued such equivocating conduct, it proceeds from you not letting us know, that we were so near the Clallums; we

were led to understand that they were upon a portage, and here we find our canoe alone and amongst them before we are aware of it. If, added I, Mr. McLeod, you will only let us know your plans, you have young men with you ready at any risk to execute them for you. My dear Sir, replied he, I do not doubt it, but how can I form plans? I know no more what is going on than yourselves! ! Mr. Dease now observed that we ought to know the arrangements, as a few of the men appeared to be aware of them, and if, added he, if we get any information it is from them. This touched Mr. McLeod, and he told Dease that it was not the first time, he had heard this same remark from him, and that he should answer for it hereafter. Really Mr. McLeod, said I, this is not a time or before these men, for altercations amongst ourselves. If we have done wrong—I do not say you have done wrong, it is all well as it has happened, and after a few more casual observations preparations were made to continue en route.

We found a fine large canoe, said by the Indians to be the one in which the murderers followed Mr. McKenzie, able to contain 20 Men; it appeared too new; This we took and embarked, without once enquiring who was in the other Lodge. I saw a good many men there and it was well for them that a council did not sit to determine their fate, for I should have voted hard against the whole as I thought it more than probable that they were Clallums also, and betrayed the other Lodge to save themselves. We could at all events have been justified in using them as such. The head of one of the families killed is said to be the brother-in-law of the principal murderer and the spot of the Camp near where Mr. McKenzie was killed.

Having given a brief account of what I was myself a witness to, I shall now note a few observations which passed at the Canoes. Mr. McLeod, I am told, reached our canoe just as the first shots were fired. There, said he, is four shots, the four Indians are dead, and one or two of the men were occasionally running off to the Lodge, but were called back, however, some would not return, observing that they did not come to look on. But when the last shots were heard, then cried Mr. McLeod is treachery. One of the men told him that if he thought so they had better go to our assistance. Oh! no, was the answer, surely eight men were enough for so few Indians. In the meantime he heard all was over and left the canoes. When along the road to us he observed, here I who ought to have been the first find myself the last.

We got to the portage just after sunrise. The Clallums we expected to find, were off, but their fires still alight. We passed on until we got off Cape Townshend, were we put ashore for Breakfast and saw the Cadboro'. All the Indians except Interpreters left us. Messrs. McLeod and Yale went on board, and we proceeded on for a mile, to a better spot for our Camp. The Gentlemen returned at 4 o'clock. Mr. McLeod in much

better spirits from the arrangements of Capt. Simpson, who he told us had nearly succeeded in getting the woman, at least he has Hostages on board for her, said he. In the evening I was sent to tell the Captain that the land Party would be ready to get under way with him tomorrow morning. The men were sent back, who accompanied me, to the camp, but I avail myself of an invitation to remain on board for the night.

Wednesday, 2nd.—This morning the Captain was prepared, but lost part of the Tide waiting for the men from shore, when they joined, the Vessel got under way and the canoes were towed for a few miles. Anchored off Protection Island and opposite a bay, where we saw a village of Clallums. The men encamped upon the island and were watered from the Vessel.

Two women came to us from a Village, but what their object was I could not learn.

I remained on board until next night and before going ashore I told the Captain that I would propose an attack upon the village off us, to which he said he could soon run us close in, but upon mentioning it to Mr. McLeod, he merely observed, without consideration, that Captain Simpson was aware his object was to proceed on.

Mr. Yale very ill.

Thursday, 3rd.—We again kept close to the vessel and followed with the Tide until we came to New Dungeness, where we cast anchor, as near to a large Village of Clallums as the Vessel could be towed. Mr. Dease was sent with the men having water from the vessel, to a sand bank some distance off, to cook and ordered to return at night. A chief came off to us and received every attention, in order that he might, I suppose, return again. He promised to use his influence in restoring the woman and to visit us to-morrow. In the evening before Mr. Dease had returned, a large body of Indians collected, armed, singing and yelping before us. The Captain put the Vessel in a posture of attack, and being apprehensive of the safety of our men ashore, he would immediately have commenced upon some large Canoes that were making off in their direction, two canons were levelled and every preparation made, without a dissenting voice, but the seamen had no sooner got the lighted match over the touchhole ready, than Mr. McLeod run to the Captain and said, here a fellow of yours Captain wishes to send the whole to Hell, not at all, Sir, he will do nothing without orders, then turning to the man who had the match called out to him to lay it down. Here was a fine chance lost. The Indians went off in triumph, and Mr. Dease after seeing the men well surfeited with pea soup at the expense of the Captain's water returned and we all slept on board. Much talk, to procure the woman, but not a word of the ostensible cause of our Trip. This Helen of ours; said I, will cause another seige as long as that of Troy.

Friday, 4th.—Everything remained in much the unsettled state as yesterday and bore evident marks of indecision. This led to

an altercation between our commander and the Captain. The latter having alluded upon deck, to something that Mr. McLeod had previously told him with respect to his plans, I did not myself hear correctly what it was, the former denied it, but the Captain was positive and said he could appeal to any gentleman present, whether it was not so, all were silent as the appeal was not directly made, and Mr. McLeod still persisting that he had not said any such thing, ultimately irritated the Captain, who with some warmth repeated you did, Sir, upon my honour, you did and my honour I hold sacred, and then left the deck. Mr. Dease and I were ordered to escort the men to the same bank again, to cook their peas, but returned immediately they had done. They made application to go to the main shore, observing the natives would think they were afraid, however, were not allowed.

The little chief was off again, and a Sinahomis chief called the Frenchman, with a few of his followers also visited us, the bringing of the woman still evaded. Much was said about her, to which I paid no attention. Mr. Dease intimated to me that in a conversaion he had with Mr. McLeod to-day, the latter had said he would presently drive him mad, and told Mr. Dease to beg of me, for God's sake to let him alone. This quite surprised me, as I am not conscious of a single observation having fallen from me that ought to have given the slightest offence. I have certainly said that I wished the business was brought to a point, as by our measures we were giving the Indians too much time to collect if they wished to resist, or to go off if they do not, and upon one occasion I remarked that it was too far to come to see the Cadboro' fire a gun. At another time I told Mr. McLeod that Mr. Connolly would be anxious to be off for the interior. Let him go was the reply, how the deuce can he go, Sir, said I, and his men here. Well then let him stop. If these casual remarks have tended to distract Mr. McLeod I am sorry that I made them, but it was with no view to do so. Mr. Dease went further, for he proposed to him, so he told Mr. Yale and I to take the command and go ashore with the men, if Mr. McLeod felt any reluctance to go himself.

This morning the little chief and another Indian of considerable importance in the village, the former primly dressed in a tinsel laced cloth coat, came off in a small canoe by themselves to the Vessel and were as usual kindly received, but after strutting the deck for some time the Frenchman's canoe was seen coming alongside, when from some cause or other they took an abrupt departure. Mr. McLeod called out to them **arreter, arreter, le donc**, and all was in an uproar, but the Indians seeing the bustle only made the more haste to get away. He then called to the men **Tirer dessus** and guns were immediately presented **Arreter** they were lowered. **Tirer donc** and six or seven shots are immediately off, one after the other. The report of the guns brought the Captain upon deck, who had only a few minutes before left it, and asked who had given orders

to fire. It was I, said Mr. McLeod. Well, Sir, you had no right so to do on board this Vessel, I am commander here. Why did not they stop when I called to them, was the reply. Sir, said the Captain, with some warmth, they were under the protection of the ships, and if you had told me that you wished to detain them I would have made the smallest boy I have do it. In the meantime a canoe of the Iroquois were off to the bodies, the Little Chief they found dead, and he was stript of his clothes and scalped in an instant, and the latter, was placed upon a pole. They were then about to commence upon the other, who we perceived was not dead, and at the request of the Captain, they were ordered to desist. He was brought on board, and it was found that the ball had only slightly grazed his skull. The wound was dressed, he received a Blanket, and a guard was placed over him. As the business has begun it is necessary now, said the Captain, to make the most of it, to which purpose the ship was a second time prepared and without further ceremony a cannonading commenced upon the Village, which appeared instantly deserted. There, said the Captain, now is your time, Mr. McLeod, to land and destroy it. Embarque or was called out in all quarters and the canoes were immediately manned. Mr. Yale (still seriously ill) and I were just getting down the side of the Vessel, when Mr. McLeod put his head over the gunwales and faltered **Oh nos gens ce ne vaut pas la peine**, and we ascended again. Well, then, said the Captain, all we have done is useless. We ought now to destroy the Village, and after some few words, that I did not distinctly hear Mr. McLeod said, well, Sir, since you insist upon it—No, No, Mr. McLeod, I do not, called out the Captain. However, we embarked and went ashore. When just landing a few hundred yards above the village three cannons were fired upon it and we destroyed the whole. There was about thirty good canoes of which we took four for our return and the rest were broke or Burnt. A large quantity of provisions, train oil, etc., etc., which after the men had helped themselves to what they chosed was with the buildings also set fire to. A musket, Mr. McKenzie's bedcloth, together with a few trifling articles belonging to his Party were found. Upon the whole the damage done to their property is great, and will, I trust, be seriously felt for some time to come, but I could wish we had been allowed to do more to the rascals themselves. In their hurry to decamp when the vessel's guns were fired, they left two small children whom we have on board, until some arrangements can be made. On our return to the Vessel we saw a body of natives a little distance from us, but when it was proposed that we should go and make them retreat Mr. McLeod said the men must have time and no further notice was taken of them during the day, yet they remained stationary, and in the evening a few of them came opposite us and fired two or three shots.

Our commander is evidently pleased with the day's success,

and is in the highest spirits. However, little credit is due us for the destruction of the property.

Sunday, 6th.—We remained on board, inactive, and the natives showed themselves upon the point. A negotiation was commenced. The Frenchman acting for us, to exchange the man taken yesterday for the woman so much has been said about. The two children were put on shore this morning, and we saw a native come and carry them off.

At dinner we had an extra glass of wine, and the consequence was an altercation between Mr. McLeod and I, with respect to our measures. He said he had acted upon his orders, and I answered he was wrong to receive such orders, as it was impossible to act upon them without appearing like cowards before our men and the Indians. The fact is, if as stated, the orders must have been given in contradiction to the opening speech made to the men.

Monday, 7th.—This day our heroine was brought on board, and the prisoner set at liberty. The news from the natives that the friends of the seven they make out to have killed upon the first instant had to revenge the cause of their deaths, killed two of the principal murderers of Mr. McKenzie, &c., and that the shot from the Vessel killed eight, that one native is missing, which will, according to their computation, make twenty-five. This, I believe, to be a made-up story amongst themselves, however, as so little has been actually done, it is as well that the report should get to Cheenook and be made the most of.

Tuesday, 8th.—Early this morning the Vessel, in consequence of Mr. McLeod's arranging of last night, got under way, and seen us back to the place. About noon we took an abrupt departure, without having come to any settlement with the natives, either for war or peace, or ever having, to my knowledge, once mentioning to them the object of our coming through the Sound, at least the murder of Mr. McKenzie and his men was never enquired into, nor their names once mentioned. However, we commenced our march, leaving the Captain to shift for himself. At the village where the natives were said to have followed them from we debarked and burnt it. But I here note my candid opinion that, if a single individual had been seen about, even this would not have been done. A promise was made to pass at the Frenchman's Camp, who had not yet been settled with for the interest he took in our **Cartel**, yet this was not observed. The watch altered from four to ten men, this time as before.

Tuesday, 15th.—We reached the Fort this morning, without having met with anything worth observation on our return.

DIALECTIC VARIANTS OF THE NISQUALLY LINGUISTIC ROOT STOCK OF PUGET SOUND.

The Indian tribes of the Puget Sound country, so far as discoverable, possessed no written tongue. After eleven years of intimate life and intimate observation among them, such as their physician alone could have, I have failed to find the slightest trace in language or in life of any reference or indication to the existence, at any time, of a written tongue. Most Indian tribes possess, to a greater or lesser degree, some sort of sign language, but even this was most rudimentary among the Puget Sound Indians and was largely limited to arrangements of rocks, or twigs, or such things to indicate the nature, number, size, or success of a hunting or fishing party that had passed that way. Even this, as I say, was more rudimentary and crude, as were their limited carvings. Indeed so limited was their range in this respect that to this day, when a more intimate relation with the white man and his methods makes it necessary to have a word meaning "writing", the same word is used for writing, for painting, and for a carving—for a letter, a word, a book, a picture, a statue, or a bust. This is significant in that it represents either the absence of any need of such symbols, or the poverty of the tongue in that respect, or, what is perhaps truer still, both of these conditions.

One who has never met such conditions in the study of what is usually termed a barbaric tongue, does not realize the entirely extraneous difficulties that beset one's path. This may or not be one of the conditions causing a scarcity of students systematically studying the tongues of the tribes of the Tulalip Agency. Eells and Wickersham, particularly Eells, have done much along these lines with regard to the Indians of the Puyallup Agency. I know only of Gibbs and Chirouse who have done anything at all with regard to the Indians of the Tulalip Agency. The work of Gibbs was rather insignificant and consisted merely of the compilation of 45 words in the Snohomish tongue, while he accompanied the Gov. Stevens party as one of its members in its treaty-making tour. These 45 words are on file in the Library of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology in Washington City, and Pilling refers to them in his bibliography of the Salishan tongues. The work of Chirouse, also referred to in the Pilling bibliography, was wider, larger, and more comprehensive but it is, from a philologic standpoint, full of errors and discrepancies necessarily incidental to the manner and in-

tent in which and with which it was undertaken. Chirouse was a missionary and his object was to acquire a means of communication as rapidly as possible in the line of his work. The white man's theology was new to the Indian, to this Indian for Chirouse was his first missionary, and the Indian therefore possessed no aboriginal equivalent for the white man's theological terms. Chirouse, to bridge the gap, proceeded to invent them. He was a Frenchman so he had the Indians attempt to pronounce his French words, the inaccurate result he put down in many, many cases as the Indian word, when it was merely an Indian corruption of a French word. Also, he used the object method in attempting to compile a working vocabulary, and in return he secured many generic and descriptive terms which he took to be substantive forms. For example, he would hold up a peach and ask the Indian to tell him what it was. The Indian had never seen a peach among the Indians but he had, perhaps, seen a white man eating one, so he replied that it was something to eat—that is, food. This error and hundreds of similar ones occur all through the Chirouse manuscript. The Indian at Tulalip has no word for each particular kind of blossom but has a generic term meaning "flower"—they do not distinguish the different kinds of flowers. Father Chirouse has unwittingly entered this one, same generic term all through his vocabulary under and after the different names, white man's names, for flowers—rose, violet, etc., all the same word. From his standpoint and with his object in view, this is not a defect—he was attempting to get into communication as quickly as possible and his vocabulary is full of short cuts from a missionary standpoint, but dangerous and deceptive ones from a philologic one. Nevertheless, in his own way and in his own field, the good father has done a tremendous work and is the pioneer in that work. To utilize that material safely, however, one must have a working knowledge of the tongue equal to or greater than that of the father himself.

I presume that the scarcity of original work in the genuine Indian tongue is due to the prevalent use of the Chinook jargon by the Northwestern tribes. But whatever may be the cause, the effect, the condition is a striking one.

With the exception of the Indians of the Lummi Reservation of this Agency, the Indians of the agency speak dialectic variants of one common root stock, the Nisqually, as it is usually called. The Lummi tongue is radically different from all of these dialectic variants. The Lummi tongue clearly bears a more northerly relation. The dialectic variants, however, spoken by the majority of our Indians of the Tulalip Agency are related, containing some words entirely different, many words, distantly

related, and a large number of words very closely related, so much so that there is only occasional difficulty in making one's self understood when using one dialect in the home of another dialect.

In the Indian tongue under consideration there are phonetic groups for which we have absolutely no equivalent, and for which it is necessary to invent symbols, the commonest of these is the well-known guttural sound, so-called, but which I have always termed a velar explodent since that term more nearly describes its source, origin, and nature. This sound must be heard to be understood and no possible arrangement of English letters can represent it accurately and faithfully. It is the occurrence of such conditions in an unwritten tongue that make so much difficulty in putting that tongue upon paper in accurate and permanent form, which, of course, must be done before any analysis or serious systematic study of the tongue is possible.

In the Snohomish or Sdoh-hohbsh tongue, which is the predominant tongue of the Tulalip Agency, there are many of our common English sounds, as well as others. Among the consonants there are certain sounds that are, to the Indian ear and mouth, absolutely synonymous. Thus "b", "m", and "p" are synonymous and interchangeable. Thus the word "si-ab" or "se-ab" (compare with Hindustanee "sahib"), meaning "sir" or "chief", and exactly similar in force to the Latin "vir", may be expressed as "si-am", "si-ab", or "si-ap", all three forms are correct and equally so. So also the Indian word mee-mah", meaning "small", may be expressed as "meë-mahd", "bee-bahd", "mee-bahd", or "bee-mahd", with equal correctness. The sound "d" and "n" are synonymous in the same manner and the word "father" may be rendered "bahn" or "bahd"—"ban" or "bad".

Chirouse, who was himself an European, a Frenchman, comments on the similarity of the Snohomish tongue to various European tongues, as follows:

"It is remarkable that in this Indian tongue we find words that are exactly those of some European language. For example: Baba or Papa, father, is found in the Latin, French, English, etc. THIS or TIS is exactly a duplication of the English THIS. TIS SWATIRHTEN, this earth. The Latin CITO and the Snohomish KITO are *unum et idem* in their meaning, that is, "soon" quick, as soon", etc. The Italians say ADESSO, "at present", and the Snohomish say ADESSA. The Italian says COSI, "so" or "thus", and the Yakima says COS and IKOSI, "so" or "thus". The Italian MA, "still", is exactly the Snohomish MA or EMA, "still". The old Irish PI or SI, "she", is the Snohomish SI, "she". In the Irish tongue we find all of the gutturals and the hard consonants that abound in the Snohomish tongue, moreover there are also a great number of words that have the same roots and the same meanings. For example,

"heavy"—the Indians say ROM with the guttural R. Pmeap, "blackberry". Snohomish Gdmearh, "blackberry". Cead, "permission", Snohomish, sead, "permission". Peo, or teo, "this"; Snohomish, TEA, "this". GUALA, "shoulder"; Snohomish, Gualap, "shoulder". TIOMNA, "will"; Snohomish or Klikitat, TEMNA, "will". The German DA, "there", "at" is exactly the Snohomish DA or TA, "there", or "at". The English SEND and the German SENDEN are the same as the Snohomish SEND or TSEND, that is, "to send".

The above remarkable analogies could be continued in many respects—Latin and French "et", "and"; Snohomish ETA, "and". In fact the analogies can be continued all through the language and the legendary lore. Under the operation of Grimms' laws the analogies widen and increase remarkably. It is interesting in this connection to recall that the Indian tongues of the North Central plains are said to be remarkably similar to the Welsh or Cymric tongue. Clearly the Indian brother is not unrelated to the rest of mankind—clearly he is but an edition bound in red.

In some of its constructions the Indian tongues, the particular ones under consideration in the heading of this paper, are remarkably simple—in others remarkably complex.

For instance, tense or time may be indicated in Snohomish by prefixing TO for the past and TLO for the future, to the ordinary form for the present tense or time. Thus:

Us-huttlh-chud.....	I am sick.
To-us-huttlh-chud.....	I was sick.
Tlo-us-huttlh-chud.....	I shall be sick.

That is all there is to indicating time verbally, that is to say by verbal form, meaning the form of the verb.

So, also, the Snohomish tongue possesses what might, for lack of better term, be called personal verbal enclitics, the suffixing of which to any substantive indicating action or conditions will convert it into a corresponding verb. These enclitics never exist independently and are never so used. They may be indicated thus:

I	Chud.
You, thou	Chuh-hoh.
He, she	Tah, tsah.
We	Chaylh.
You, ye	Chuh-lup.
They	Tlay-ill or Ahl-gwah.

Their uses may best be indicated by example, thus:

Us-huttlh	Sickness
Us-huttlh-CHUD	I am sick.
Us-huttlh-CHUH-HOH	You are sick.

This expedient, with that for indicating tense or time, affords a wonderful and simple range and variety.

Substantives are converted from the singular form to the plural form chiefly by duplicating the first syllable and making the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable long, thus: SKOH-BY, dog. SKOHB-KOHB-BY, dogs. Sometimes this is also done by changing merely the quantity of the vowel of the singular form from short to long, thus: CHUH-GWAHSS, wife. CHAH-GWAHSS, wives.

Diminutives are formed in a manner somewhat similar to that for forming plurals, save that in diminutives the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable is always short, thus: STOHBSH, man. STOH-TOHBSH, little man. KAH-KAH, crow. KAH-KAH-KAH, 1 little crow.

The cardinal numbers are as follows:

Dchoh	One
Sah-lih	Two
Tlay-wh	Three
Bohss	Four
Tsuh-lants	Five
Il-lahts	Six
Tsolks	Seven
Tkah-chee	Eight
Hwulh	Nine
Oh-lub	Ten

Eleven becomes "ten and one", OH-LUB ETA DCHOH, and so on up to twenty. Up to one hundred the multiples of ten are formed by adding the syllable AHTCHEE to the cardinal number. Therefore twenty becomes SAH-LIH-AHTCHEE, and twenty-one becomes SAH-LIH-AHTCHEE ETA DCHOH. This will give the method of formation of all cardinal numbers up to one hundred which is SBUH-KWAHTCHEE. The numbers above one hundred, up to two hundred, are formed in a manner similar to the numbers below one hundred. One hundred and two become SBUH-KWAHTCHEE ETA SAY-LIH. Two hundred becomes SAH-LIH SBUH-KWAHT CHEE, the meaning and construction being obvious. These numerals would be used for counting ordinary objects of no particular class. **Round** objects would not be so counted; the latter are indicated by adding AILTSS and so DCHOH-AILTSS becomes, by elision, DCHAILTSS, and four round objects would be BOHSS-AILTSS with the word indicating the particular objects concerned or counted.

The cardinal numerals become ordinary by suffixing AURH, thus DCHOH-AURH, first, SAH-LIH-AURH, second, etc.

By prefixing the syllable US the cardinal numbers become multiplicatives, thus: US-SAH-LIH, double. US-TLAY-WH, treble. So a further change may be made as follows:

DY-AHTLH	Once.
TSAH-BAB	Twice
TLAY-WH-AHTLH	Thrice
BOHSS-AHTLH.....	Four times

And so on, adding the syllable AHTLH to the cardinal number, for the remaining numbers.

It should have been noted, in connection with verbs, that any verb form becomes interrogative by suffixing the syllable OH, thus:

US-HUTTLH-CHUD	I am sick.
US-HUTTLH-CHUD-OH	Am I sick?

As in Latin, for the purpose of avoiding a hiatus or gaping, elision is quite common, so that when a word ends in a vowel sound that sound is elided if the succeeding word begins with a vowel sound.

Many pages, indeed a book might be written and yet not fully cover all the possibilities of this subject. The observations herein set down are more or less haphazard and disconnected results of occasional observations, the writer having very little leisure time in which to do more than jot down memoranda in the way of collecting data for future digestion. A large amount of such material has been gathered and a portion of it digested and assimilated, at least a sufficient amount to demonstrate some of the broader lines of evolution and growth of this tongue. It is striking, in some cases, how the common impulse of language, which is but the voicing of a common need felt by humanity, is to be seen in many constructional and other forms. I can yet remember the pleasure of meeting old acquaintances of this kind in Indian guise, for example, our ACT and ACTOR are represented in Indian by SEE-AH-YOOS, work; **DUH**-SEE-AH-YOOS, worker. TLAY-DUP, a trolling hook for fishing; **DUH**-TLAY-DUP, a troller. It will be noted that the prefix DUH has all the force of the English suffix OR. HUH-PY, cedar wood. DUH-PY-YUK, one who builds canoes of cedar wood.

CHARLES M. BUCHANAN.

EFFORT TO SAVE THE HISTORIC McLOUGHLIN HOUSE.*

The idea of restoring to its original condition as near as possible, and preserving the old home, where the founder of our city, Doctor John McLoughlin passed the last years of his life, has often been suggested by many prominent citizens both in the state at large and our own town, as the proper thing to do. When we stop to consider what Doctor McLoughlin's life in the Pacific Northwest and especially in our own town meant for the welfare of the present generation we cannot for an instant question the propriety or advisability of any reasonable action looking towards honoring the name and memory of our founder and benefactor. Recent researches of writers into the early history of Oregon and the Northwest only tend to increase the evidence of the noble and philanthropic character of Dr. John McLoughlin.

The interesting works of our local historical writer, Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, have helped in a great measure to make better known the many noble traits in his character.

This is what was said of him by three of our ablest pioneers, all of more than state fame. The Hon. M. P. Deady in an address at the Pioneers' meeting in 1875 said of him:

"Had he but turned his back upon the early missionaries and settlers and left them to shift for themselves the occupation of the country by the Americans would have been seriously retarded and attended with much greater hardships and suffering than it was. He was a great man upon whom God had stamped a grandeur of character which few men possess and a nobility which the patent of no earthly sovereign can confer."

The Hon. P. H. Burnett, the intellectual leader of very many who came to Oregon between 1843-48 says in his book of recollections:

"Dr. John McLoughlin was one of the greatest and most noble philanthropists I ever knew."

Hon. J. W. Nesmith, Senator from Oregon, who came in 1843, said, speaking of his own personal knowledge:

"Dr. John McLoughlin then at the head of the Hudson Bay Company, from his own private resources rendered to the new

*Message delivered on November 7, 1906, by Mayor E. G. Caufield to the Council of Oregon City, Oregon. Secured for the Quarterly by Thomas W. Prosch.

settlers much valuable aid, by furnishing the destitute with food and clothing and seed, waiting for his pay until they had a surplus to dispose of. Dr. John McLoughlin was a public benefactor and the time will come when the people of Oregon will do themselves credit by erecting a statue to his memory. Of foreign birth and lineage he gave the strongest proof of devotion to Republican institutions by becoming an American citizen, while all his personal interests were identified with the British government."

These are only a few of the many testimonials to the grandeur of his character that could be given by quoting the words of our early pioneers. His name was revered by all whether Red man or white, Catholic or Protestant. It's a matter of history that on account of his broad generous manner towards the American settlers he was treated in such a way by the British that through self-respect he was compelled to resign his position with the Hudson Bay Company, and sacrifice an annual salary of \$12,000.

It is now the opinion of many that Doctor McLoughlin's action in encouraging Americans to settle in the Willamette Valley, together with his kindness and generosity in supplying them when in need with the necessities of life, cattle and seed, was a strong if not the deciding one in saving to this country all of Oregon. It will be remembered that at Champoeg, when the provisional government was formed, there was only a majority of two for the Americans. It is not necessary for me at this time to enlarge on the many deeds of kindness and generosity to the pioneers of Oregon, all this is now a matter of well known history.

The many gifts of property in Oregon City for public purposes should be some incentive to do something for his memory. Both public schools are built on blocks donated by Doctor McLoughlin, any of our park blocks are worth more money than it will cost to purchase this property. A block of property dedicated for court house purposes was sold by the county some years ago for more than it will cost to redeem the old home. This city and the state at large can never repay the debt of gratitude due to his memory. To my mind the least we can do is to purchase the property and restore it as near as possible to its original condition making it a repository for the collection of all articles or relics of any description in any way connected with the good doctor's life or history. By doing this we will make a practical, creditable and lasting memorial for him.

Oregon City's place as one of the earliest towns on the Pacific Coast, makes it almost imperative that some action be taken towards the collection and preservation of all articles and relics

of historical interest. The work should have been begun sooner and should not now be neglected until too late. Dr. John McLoughlin's place in the history of this Northwest country is well fixed. The people of Oregon City cannot afford to let any opportunity pass to impress on the world the fact that he was closely connected with the early history of our town. It is not only our duty but we will do ourselves honor and be better and more favorably known by the world for our action.

At this time the building could be placed in its original condition without great trouble or expense, also while there are yet living people who were familiar with the old home and its arrangement, it is possible to do what cannot be done a few years hence.

After showing our good faith by taking the initiative and purchasing the property we could no doubt secure from the legislature a reasonable appropriation towards the completion of the plans for repair of building and beautifying the grounds. Oregon's debt to Dr. McLoughlin is too great to refuse so reasonable a request. The preservation of old historical places is not a new idea as people who have lived in or visited the East can testify. It is especially true of the earliest settled portions of the United States where all towns that have been fortunate enough to have been the scene of some historical event or the birth of some noted character carefully and almost sacredly preserve the building or property connected therewith.

Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church, the Old State House in Boston, all filled with articles and relics that bring to mind our early history, Independence Hall at Philadelphia, Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, St. John's Church at Richmond, where Patrick Henry made his famous speech, Longfellow's home at Cambridge, Gen. Jackson's headquarters at Chalmette, La. The old Church that John Brown attended at Harper's Ferry, the old school house at New London, Conn., where Nathan Hale taught, the building in Philadelphia where Betsy Ross made the first American flag, the homes of the Adams' in Quincy, Mass., the old home of Roger Williams at Providence, R. I., are only a few of the notable instances illustrating the veneration in which such matters are held in other states.

Societies such as the Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the Revolution have been formed with the sole object in view of caring for and preserving all points of historical interest. In our sister state of California, many of the Mission buildings connected with the early history of the state are carefully cared for, and used as an attraction to lure the tourist. The old McLoughlin home restored to its original condition and filled with relics of bygone days, will become a Mecca for all tourists and visitors

to Oregon. Anyone visiting Oregon would no more think of leaving without seeing the home and burial place of Doctor John McLoughlin, than the visitor to Philadelphia would be satisfied to leave without seeing Independence Hall and the grave of Ben Franklin.

From a practical standpoint, without regard to the sentiment involved, the property is held at a very reasonable figure and as an investment the city could not lose anything. The city has reached the point where additional room is needed for city purposes.

The city recorder should have an office where all the city books and records should be kept in fire-proof vault or safes and where he could hold court. The cases now tried before the recorder are either held in the small corridor or the city jail or in a law office without any conveniences for such purpose. If the city acquired this property one of the large rooms on the lower floor could be fitted up for a council chamber and the present one used for the Recorder's office.

To my mind there could not be a more appropriate place for the city fathers to hold forth than in the old home of the founder of the city. If by any chance the old building should be destroyed by fire, or if perchance the spirit of veneration and respect for the memory of Doctor McLoughlin should grow less, and there should not appear to be any use for the property as a memorial, I must confess, however, that I cannot conceive the latter to be possible, the property will never grow less in value. On the contrary as the city grows it will become more valuable and could be sold or used for other public purposes. I understand that the owners of the property asked \$4,500 for the property, but when told that a movement was on foot to secure the property for a memorial, stated that if it was bought for that purpose would donate \$500 towards the cause. In my opinion this is a reasonable price for the property.

Figuring on the present assessed valuation of property in the city and a reasonable increase in values during the next three years a levy of about 3 mills would raise that amount of money. My recommendation to your honorable body, and I most earnestly pray that you will acquiesce in the same, is that you submit to the voters at the election to be held in December the question as to whether a fund to be known as the "McLoughlin Memorial Fund," be established, and would advise that an annual levy of one mill for three years be made. Looking at the question from a civic pride point of view, I think it would be a good investment. That part of our city, the first seen by passengers on the many trains passing through our town daily, I think all will concede is anything but attractive or creditable to

the city. The improvement that should be made if this property is purchased by the city would certainly give a better impression to strangers than the property does in its present shape.

E. G. CAUFIELD.

In reporting the meeting at which Mayor Caufield's message was delivered, the Oregon City Daily Star of November 8, had the following to say:

"The voters of Oregon City will decide on December 3 whether the old home of Dr. John McLoughlin, opposite the woolen mill, shall be preserved, and our city show its gratitude and respect for the memory of the man who saved the Pacific Northwest to the American Union.

"At a largely attended meeting of the council Wednesday night, Mayor Caufield read a message stating that the old home was being altered and remodeled, and showing the necessity for immediate action if the building and credit of our community are to be saved. A number of representative citizens made remarks in the same tenor and a resolution referring the matter of a tax levy to buy the building and site, was unanimously adopted by the council.

"Immediately following the Mayor, Councilman W. R. Logus made a truly eloquent talk, saying he long had longings that something of the kind would be done and now that the mayor pointed out the way he was pleased and would help all he could.

"Mayor Caufield then called on one who personally knew the great doctor, and E. D. Kelly came forward and made a heart stirring talk to save the home where Oregon's great benefactor passed the last ten years of his life. Mr. Kelly drew a vivid picture of the venerable doctor with his long, silky white hair, sitting at his desk in his office, the room just to the right as you enter the house. A few pigeon-holes contained the papers of the large business conducted by Dr. McLoughlin, the surroundings would today be considered bare, but the man sitting there ennobled everything, for Dr. McLoughlin was a prince among men, who would command the respect of kings and the high and mighty of earth. Mr. Kelly eloquently told of McLoughlin's generosity, and how this move would be welcomed by all the pioneers of the state. Mr. Kelly, who is a native of New York, twice crossed the plains, coming to Oregon City first in 1853. He is an honored citizen, ex-county treasurer, and is the father-in-law of Chief of Police Burns.

"George Harding, who came to Oregon City the year Dr. McLoughlin died, 1857, said this had been let go too long and should now be done at once. Senator J. E. Hedges, born and raised in Oregon City, cited the Dr. Helmcken incident that recently appeared in the Daily Star, as showing how great an interest people everywhere would take in the preservation of Dr.

McLoughlin's relics. C. H. Dye, president of the board of trade, said all were interested who lived in 'Old Oregon'; that sentiment rules the world. He cited another letter recently received by Mrs. Dye from a New York man, relative to her latest book, 'McDonald', showing the keen interest taken by the world at large in the early history of this country. He stated that McLoughlin had given lots for all the churches that were organized here during his lifetime, and that when he settled with the Hudson Bay company he was charged with \$60,000 for supplies advanced to American settlers in this valley, at least \$25,000 of which was never repaid the big-hearted doctor.

"T. F. Ryan endorsed the idea. J. U. Campbell made an earnest plea to honor the memory of his fellow-Scot. He decried even a touch of commercialism and said the greatest thing McLoughlin gave was his example. W. S. U'Ren said a few words along the same line, referring to the inspiration of a great soul, and that we would only be doing our duty to ourselves and our children to do this thing in remembrance of THE MAN who made Oregon a part of the United States. H. C. Stevens said he was in hearty sympathy with the movement.

"E. P. Rands said a stranger asked him last year where to go to get the best view of the falls. Rands told him to go out on the bridge to see where the falls used to be. Mr. Rands said he wanted to be able to answer an inquiry about Dr. McLoughlin's home without that embarrassment, and he therefore presented the following resolution:

"Whereas, Oregon City owes to its founder, Doctor John McLoughlin, a debt of gratitude it can never repay except in part, we believe it to be the duty of Oregon City to purchase his old home, where he spent the last ten years of his life, and restore the same to its original condition as near as possible, preserving it always as a memorial;

"Therefore, Be it resolved, that the following proposition be submitted to the voters at the regular election to be held December 3, 1906, viz:

"Shall Oregon City purchase the old home of its founder, Doctor John McLoughlin, and establish a fund for that purpose by annual levies of one mill until a sum not to exceed \$4,500 be raised."

"The resolution was adopted unanimously and on motion of Councilman Knapp, the finance committee was directed to see about securing an option on the property until after the election."

The issue of the Portland Oregonian of December 4, the day after the election ordered above, contained a special telegram from Oregon City, giving the following information:

"By a vote of more than 3 to 1, or 100 for to 360 against, the voters of Oregon City today defeated the proposal to levy a

special tax of one mill annually for three successive years to create a fund for the purchase and preservation of the old Dr. John McLoughlin home as a memorial to the founder of this city.

"Defeat of the plan for the city to acquire the McLoughlin property is not to be understood as voicing the feeling of the people toward the founder of the city. Sentiment very generally indorses some movement by which the memory of Dr. McLoughlin can be perpetuated, but the electors seriously questioned the expediency of purchasing this dilapidated property, which has undergone several changes in the way of repairs, besides alterations in the general arrangements of the interior of the structure."

RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER RAILROAD BUILDER.*

The construction of the Spokane International may complete my work in this connection and it may not. I am on the sunset side of life, but still vigorous, and willing to be of use to the community in which I live, and work agrees with me. I have always felt great interest in development of the country and have unlimited faith in it. Washington has great possibilities and will be one of the great, rich states of the Union.

In the spring of 1886, having some leisure time on my hands, I came from New York to the Coeur d'Alenes and the State of Washington, with no other purpose than to see something of the extreme northwest. I was familiar with nearly all the states and territories west of the Missouri river, having come out to the west when a young man and spent most of my life on the frontier, west of the Mississippi river.

I crossed the plains to Denver and Salt Lake on mule back and by overland stage several times before the Union Pacific railroad was built. I had enjoyed the exciting sport of chasing buffalo and being chased by Indians, and had contracted a love for the west which will last as long as I live.

By invitation of Henry Villard and T. F. Oakes, I had been present at the driving of the last spike, near Gold Creek, Mont., that completed the construction of the Northern Pacific railroad, and had not then, nor until my visit in 1886, been further west on the northern route than that point. I knew something of Washington, especially of the Puget Sound country, a little about Spokane and the Inland Empire, and had a desire to see it.

I stopped short of Spokane on my way west, leaving the Northern Pacific railroad at Rathdrum, and, taking the stage from there to Coeur d'Alene City—city by courtesy, for it was then a very small place, its principal feature being the military post.

After spending a day there I took the steamer Coeur d'Alene, owned by James Monaghan, Clem King and Captain Sanburn, for Old Mission, at the head of navigation on the Coeur d'Alene river, and upon arriving at that point changed conveyance to a mud wagon stage that ran between Old Mission and Wardner. It was in April and the roads were at their worst, and that, as

*Read by J. Edgar Strong for D. C. Corbin at a recent meeting of the Inland Empire Historical Conference in Spokane and supplied for this issue of the Quarterly by W. J. Trimble of the Spokane High School.

anybody will testify who traveled at that time, either on foot, horseback or by stage, meant about the worst that anybody ever saw.

It was not like old time roads on the Illinois prairies, that had no bottom, when stage passengers were required to walk and carry rails on their shoulders to pry the coaches out of the mud; there was bottom to the road between Mission and Wardner, but it was from two to three feet below the surface.

At the town of Wardner, I found James Wardner, Phil O'Rourke, Con Sullivan, Harry Baer and Kellogg, who owned the donkey that discovered the Bunker Hill mine. The men named except "Jim" Wardner, were the owners of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, at that time nothing more than exceedingly good prospects, and they courteously invited me to inspect what little there was to be seen, and afterward have dinner with them at the miners' boarding house, both of which invitations I accepted and enjoyed.

In our examination of the prospects, "Jim" Wardner had secured a gunnysack, in which he deposited various samples of the ore, and upon our return to his cabin dumped them in a pile on the floor.

Among the samples was one that would not have assayed much in silver and lead, but which would have given exceedingly high values in dynamite; in other words, "Jim" had picked up an empty sack—apparently empty—in which to deposit his samples and had been dropping occasional chunks of lead ore on a stick of dynamite during the day. We were both speechless for a moment, and some remarks were made which are not necessary to repeat here.

From Wardner I proceeded to the town of Wallace, which then consisted of three log houses, occupied by Colonel Wallace and his wife, another man and wife and a single man. S. S. Glidden, who then owned the Tiger mine, at what is now the town of Burke, had accompanied me from Wardner for the purpose of showing me the mines, but we were obliged to lay over at Wallace two days while men were clearing fallen trees from the trail—there was no wagon road between Wallace and Burke at that time.

We then proceeded to the Tiger camp. There was not much development on the Tiger and Poorman mines at that time, but what there was looked good, and after a day there I returned to Wardner for a further examination of that camp and to gain what information I could respecting other discoveries.

It all impressed me so forcibly that I concluded that a transportation line connecting the district with the Northern Pacific, the only railroad then in sight, would pay, and within a short

time had arranged to build a branch from that road to Coeur d'Alene City, had purchased the transportation line on the lake and river, and begun the construction of a road from the Old Mission to Wardner, and during the following winter was transporting ore, merchandise and passengers over it.

The business grew rapidly and grew profitable, becoming so attractive that two years later the O. R. & N. Company, then under the management of Elija Smith, began to look that way with longing eyes. This did not suit T. F. Oakes, then president of the Northern Pacific, who claimed that the territory belonged to his company, and he proposed to buy me out. Our negotiations were short, but satisfactory to both parties, and I sold the line to the Northern Pacific Company in the fall of 1888.

The following winter I spent in New York, but early in the spring of 1889, at the invitation of James Monaghan, James Glover, Frank Moore and others who had at some time previously organized the Spokane Falls & Northern Railway Company, I came to Spokane, and after a short time arranged to take the company over, finance it and build the road, and in October of the same season was running trains to Colville, 90 miles north of Spokane.

During the following three years I extended the road to Northport and the international boundary line, and early in the spring of 1893, having obtained a charter from the Canadian government, started the construction of the Nelson & Fort Sheppard Railway, from the international boundary line to Nelson, on Kootenai Lake.

Later during that season, with the road half completed, the great panic of 1893 broke upon the country like a thunderclap out of a clear sky, and within a few months nearly half the railroads in the west, including the Northern Pacific, were in the hands of receivers.

The following year brought the great flood of the Columbia river, which washed out some miles of my road between Marcus and the boundary line, causing very heavy damage; however, it was not a time to give up, and I went on with the determination to see it through.

It was with many misgivings as to what would happen next, and a feeling a little like the old man who fired off a gun containing 13 loads and was knocked over by the concussion, when his hopeful son called out, "Lay still, dad, there are 12 more loads in her."

It was a time when a man had either to brace up and fight for his life or lay down and be wiped out. I was fortunate in having associates in the enterprise who had known me long and who trusted me, and in the loyalty of my employes, who refused, at

the order of the anarchist, Eugene V. Debs, and his Spokane lieutenants to go out on a strike, along with the employes of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads, and so after a long and anxious period I managed to sail my ship into calm waters out of the reach of receivers.

A year or two afterward I had the road on a paying basis, and in June, 1898, through negotiations with C. S. Mellen, then president of the Northern Pacific Company, sold it to that company.

I had no thought at that time of engaging in further railroad construction, but in 1904 I was strongly impressed with the belief that a connection with the Canadian Pacific system would be of great benefit to Spokane and the Inland Empire and proceeded with a few friends to finance the enterprise, having the friendly cooperation through its very able president, Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, of the Canadian Pacific Company. The construction of the road is now much more than half completed, and I fully expect to have it in operation during the next six months.

D. C. CORBIN.

THE PATHFINDERS.*

The custom of assembling once each year to commemorate the founding of our city is to be commended for at least one reason. The natural tendency of the practice is to direct our minds from our own personal and purely selfish affairs, and to induce us to contemplate our city from another view than merely the place where we live and have our being and hope to make our fortunes out of real estate.

From year to year as we gather upon this occasion it will be a favorite theme to dilate upon the wondrous growth and manifold changes that have been wrought in the half century since the founders first stepped upon the inhospitable shore at Alki Point. It will always be full of interest to contemplate how the passing years have put their mark upon the face of things; for surely nowhere has the hand of man wrought with such energy and effectiveness, and well may those whose enterprise and devotion has builded all this look with pride upon their work and lay the unction to their souls that never in all the history of the world's development has a congregation of men done more.

Where a half century ago those intrepid founders, gazing across the waters of Elliott Bay, saw naught but the tangled forest frowning down into the tide, their children view to-day structures builded after classic form, with fronts reared high into the sky as if in valorous endeavor to learn if there be a sun which shines above the mists of Puget Sound.

Where in those days the stranger, who struggled to these shores, found no warmer welcome than that accorded by the lurking savage who coveted his scalp, he is now received into the abiding place of luxury and wealth, and the gentle trafficker in real estate has fallen on his neck ere the city's gates have closed upon him.

And how all things have changed! About this time a half century ago (and that is but a brief time in the history of a commonwealth) the inhabitants upon Puget Sound were all absorbed in the project of securing funds for the building of a possible wagon road across the Cascades and thence to where it would intersect the emigrant road across the Rocky Mountains, it being hoped thus to divert the tide of immigration which had been up to that time tending down to the Willamette Valley. Now

*Address at the second annual Founders' Day Banquet, Seattle, Nov. 13, 1906.

we can view almost without enthusiasm the spectacle of great transcontinental railroads making their way across the continent, and, indeed, we even find the leisure to invent obstacles against their entry into our city. It would be also fair to remark that as for the wagon roads, we have been content to let them remain in much the same condition they were fifty years ago.

In such a speedy and overwhelming way has this marvelous transformation been brought about that it is as difficult for us of the present day to imagine conditions then as it would have been for them to picture how these few years would transform the face of things.

But did I say that all was changed? We well remember how it is recorded that when the founders dragged themselves ashore on Alki Point, and looking across the bay beheld for the first time the site of the future city, the land and water were covered with a murky mist and steadily it rained. Thus they knew they had discovered Seattle.

But we shall have spent our time idly upon such an occasion as this if we do not find that lesson which it is meant the thoughtful one should learn from a view of our early history and the lives of those men who, leaving civilization and comfort behind, went out to seek a habitation within the trackless limits of an unknown land.

This city and state of ours are but in the building now, and that we may finally come into our own, men of strength, men of fortune, and above all men of faith, are just as necessary as they were upon the day the founders first undertook to penetrate the frowning wilderness that fringed the shores of Puget Sound.

If this city is to be builded to that point where it shall correspond to what we now hope, there must remain with us the builders, something of that spirit which mastered those who began the task and by their initiation made possible the work we now perform.

Call it what you will, call it the instinctive desire of man for exploration, call it the "wanderlust", if you will, that moved them, these men would never have sought these inhospitable shores and here remained to found a city and a state, if a sordid thought for their own welfare had been their only impulse. I am not idealist enough to believe that these men were actuated only by the grand idea of erecting an empire for those who came after to enjoy. Perhaps they were not even consciously moved by this idea, but that spirit nevertheless they had and it sufficed to make them heroes.

It was that spirit which armed a Stevens to go unattended through the wilderness that stretched from the Rocky Mountains to Puget Sound and by the force of will alone subdue a

devastating savagery that this fair land might be prepared for the abode of civilization and peace.

It was this heroic impulse that inspired a Bonneville to turn his back upon civilized man and setting his face toward a land as mysterious and unknown as the face of another sphere ride out to disclose a path where the myriad makers of an empire might later follow him.

It was this spirit which aroused a Marcus Whitman to set forth on horseback in the depth of a stinging winter to make the awful journey from Walla Walla to the Atlantic Coast. Riding eastward to where the Rocky Mountains cast up their icy wall to bar his path he turns along their front and rides and rides until he finds a pass he penetrates, for even mountains must fall down before the will of such a man; then onward undaunted and not faltering, for it is his task to warn the national authorities of the value of the empire report has told him they are minded to surrender to another flag. He stands before them at his journey's end, and with the fervor of a devoted soul crying not for himself, but for posterity, he pleads:

"Oh, sirs, out beyond and still beyond there is a land most fair and bounteous; there are verdure-covered hills that bloom in beauty everlasting and sleeping valleys which but wait the touch of man to yield God's choicest fruits; there are never ending plains that wave their golden grasses to a summer sky, and from out the swelling bosom of those plains majestic mountain peaks reach up their snow cheeks to meet the sun's caress, while from their sides, like Titanic tear drops, roll down gigantic rivers to the sea."

We may not emulate the deeds of these men, for the day of such deeds is past, but we may achieve in some degree their spirit.

If in a city like this where material prosperity has reached such bounds, where industry is awakening with such amazing strength, and speculation assures such wondrous rewards, men should forget all else but individual profit and think only of their city and what it comprises as the theatre and opportunity for their own financial advancement, it would not be surprising; but a generation of men whose only thought is this have added little to the true advantage of a city.

Wealth may accumulate, men may rear monuments of stone and marble, luxury may come with its enervating train, yet that be wanting to make our city truly great.

It would be an error to discourage commercialism, for thus are laid the foundations of economic strength; it would be wrong to forbid that man should hearken to the proper dictates of self interest, for it is only thus that he protects himself and family,

but let us not forget if we would have a city which deserves the pride and devotion we desire to yield it, that by increasing values, by amassing wealth, or even reaching luxury, we have not yet attained true civil greatness.

Amongst us there must arise men—high-minded men—who alone can “constitute a state”, who with something of the zeal of the founders will lay out the path to civil virtue and advancement.

Spite the fact that there never was an age, and perhaps there never was a place, where there is more temptation to desert some of the higher ideals, nevertheless, I say only what I feel it is my right to say when I declare that in no community may we easier find the elements of a wholesome and magnificent citizenship.

As we learn to live “in scorn of miserable aims that end with self”, as we approach the spirit of those intrepid fathers who counted naught a sacrifice so that it made for human betterment, so shall we build a city which shall merit and be accorded of all men the title great.

W. T. DOVELL.

DOCUMENTS.

It is of prime importance, in the reproduction of documents that great care should be exercised in reproducing them faithfully, errors and all; and that information be given as to the location of the document. In the last issue of the *Quarterly* the document about the first attempted ascent of Mount Rainier was explained as being in the possession of the Tolmie family at Victoria, British Columbia. All the other documents are in the collections of the University of Washington at Seattle, as are all the documents in this issue unless otherwise specified, as in the case of extracts from the old issues of the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D. C.

Causes of Indian Troubles.

Governor McMullin wrote this interesting letter to President Buchanan and kept in his office at Olympia a signed copy, which is here reproduced:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Olympia, Washington Territory, Oct. 20th, 1857.

To His Excellency, James Buchanan, President of the United States: Sir,

I have the honor to inform you of my arrival at this place on the 9th, and of my entering upon the duties of Executive of this Territory, on the 10th ultimo.

Immediately after my arrival, I availed myself of an opportunity to visit those portions of our territory bordering upon Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet, as far north as the 49th parallel of north latitude, more particularly to acquaint myself with the relations existing between our people and the Indians, both native and foreign, and to inform myself with regard to the character of defense necessary to protect the settlers from the depredations of these children of the forest.

I visited all the important points within our territory bordering upon Puget Sound and the Straits de Fuca; and also Victoria on Vancouver's Island, for the purpose of conferring with his Excellency, Governor Douglas, to the end that some mutual action might be taken, and some system of policy adopted to

prevent any further incursions of the northern hordes of savages, inhabiting the Russian Possessions and British America. He informed me that he had neither the power nor means to punish those Indians for past offenses committed within the territory of the United States, nor to prevent similar incursions in the future; but that he would communicate the facts to the "Home Government", and had no doubt that such representation, sustained by a request on the part of the Government of the United States, would meet with early attention, and that one war steamer would be dispatched to co-operate with a similar force on the part of the United States, in keeping those Indians within the limits of their own territory, and preserving peace among the tribes located upon the navigable waters of the two countries on this Coast.

It is a source of sincere regret that I am compelled to inform your Excellency, that this territory of Washington, containing a small and widely scattered population of about six or seven thousand souls, and lying upon our northern frontier exposed to the incursions of the numerous and warlike tribes of the north, is in an almost wholly defenseless condition. It is true that a few regular troops are stationed at isolated localities, remote from each other, and generally in numbers not much more than sufficient for their own protection. Aside from the smallness of the force, these troops can render but little service in the protection of the people here, or in repelling invasion from without, owing to the character of the Indians to be dealt with and the peculiar characteristics of the country.

The Northern Indians—a term which here includes all the aborigines residing north of the 49th parallel of latitude, on this Coast, and who are in the habit of visiting the interior waters of this territory—are an intelligent, bold and athletic race, perhaps more so than any other tribes upon the North American Continent, and delight in war, rapine and murder.

Residing upon the various arms of the sea which project into the land, and upon those extensive channels which separate Vancouver and other islands from the main land, they are bred to the sea and are all very skillful navigators. They display much skill in naval architecture, and their war canoes, carrying from thirty to one hundred men each, and propelled through the water, against wind and tide, at from five to eight knots an hour, present an imposing appearance, and are really very formidable to the present widely scattered population of the territory.

These Indians are found almost constantly prowling around the Sound—moving from point to point in their canoes, with great secrecy and celerity—killing the settlers here and there, as they find opportunity, and plundering houses, killing and carry-

ing off stock and keeping the country in a state of continual alarm. The sense of insecurity felt to our citizens, particularly in the northern portions of the territory, has been greatly increased by the recent murder of Col. Isaac N. Ebey, late Collector of Customs for the Puget Sound District. A party of these northern savages attacked the Col.'s house, on Whidby's Island, about midnight—killed him, cut off his head and bore it off in triumph. While they were engaged in plundering the house, the Col's family, together with G. W. Corliss, Esq., U. S. Marshal for the territory, and lady, who were guests of the family during the session of the U. S. District Court, barely escaped through a back window; and passed the remainder of the night in the woods.

Much alarm exists on the Island and through the surrounding country. Many of the people are collected in block houses for safety, while others have left, or are preparing to leave the territory altogether; and I fear that, unless energetic measures are speedily adopted to keep these murderers and marauders beyond the limits of our territory, the northern portion of it, so rich in its arable lands, its timber, its coal fields and fisheries, will be abandoned altogether by our citizens.

The Indian tribes within our own territory, living west of the Cascade mountains, numbering about twelve thousand, are showing many signs of discontent, being unquestionably stimulated and encouraged to acts of outrage and violence by the tribes east of the mountains. They are located chiefly along the shores of the Sound and the Straits de Fuca, from which they obtain immense quantities of shell-fish and other marine articles of food, and by a general and simultaneous rising, could annihilate our settlements, with perhaps the exception of the more considerable villages, in a single night.

They complain that the government of the United States has been giving away, and is still selling their lands to settlers, without making them any sort of compensation—that they have, in good faith, made treaties with the Agent of the United States, whereby they were to receive a compensation for their lands, and that these treaties have not been carried out in good faith by our government. They also say that the "Nesquallies", at the head of the Sound, are being paid for their lands, and the treaty stipulations being carried out in that particular case, while they are put off with promises by the Indian Agents, with the sole purpose of keeping them quiet until the white population becomes strong enough to drive them off entirely. They further say that their lands are being gradually taken up by the settlers—military and other roads cut through their country without their consent—their hunting grounds destroyed and their ancient

burial places desecrated. They do not understand by what right these things are done, nor upon what principles of justice, the government refuses to ratify the treaties and pay them for the land while it yet passes laws giving away and selling their homes, their hunting grounds and their graves. Reasoning thus, they regard the settlers as trespassers upon their domain, and consequently view them with extreme jealousy. This condition of things is daily growing worse, and the time may not be far distant when we may have a general Indian war, involving the tribes both east and west of the Cascades, with many of the powerful northern tribes as their allies.

I have before stated that the northern Indians are very skillful in nautical affairs. This is true, to a somewhat less extent, in relation to our own Indians who reside west of the Cascades, and on the borders of tide-water. Among these the whites have formed their principal settlements, and the waters of the Sound form the chief thoroughfares for both races. It will be readily perceived how formidable these Indians may become, who triple or quadruple the white population, should they unite with the more powerful northern tribes. Nearly all their journeys, and expeditions are made in canoes; and the channels, straits and inlets which surround the numerous Islands and ramify the whole country, afford them fine opportunities for their nautical operations, as well as excellent places of concealment.

The character of the country here is unique and peculiar. The prairies are generally small and the country mostly covered with a dense growth of gigantic trees. Another forest, the growth of a former age, equally dense and much more troublesome to the traveler, is found in most places lying upon the ground. These gigantic and partially decayed, prostrate trees are covered with brush, vines and undergrowth of all kinds, which render it exceedingly difficult to traverse the country while, at the same time, they form admirable lairs for wild beasts and lurking places for the wily savages. It will be seen from this, that regular troops can rarely operate to advantage, except as they are transported from place to place by water, there being but few roads passable for footmen, and a still less number for wagons and horses.

On the other hand, Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet are the great thoroughfares of the central and northern portions of the territory, so regarded and used by both whites and Indians. This great body of inland tide-water is perhaps the most remarkable of any in the world. It does not lie in a compact form, but is distributed into channels, inlets, bays and harbors, and interspersed with islands, so much so, that although only about one hundred and fifty miles in length, it has some sixteen hundred

miles of shore line, and is directly accessible to a country, on its borders, of not less than ten thousand square miles in extent. These waters are all deep enough for the largest ships, and generally so to within a few yards of the shore, thus rendering navigation both safe and easy.

The northern Indian never comes to our borders except in his canoe. He travels in it through the Sound, and returns the same way. Our own Indians reside chiefly upon the shores of the Sound, make nearly all their journeys by water and subsist chiefly upon the various kinds of fish, with which these waters abound, and the fruits of the chase in the neighboring forests. A war steamer, of moderate size and considerable speed, cruising in the vicinity of the 49th parallel, would be able to keep the northern marauders entirely beyond the limits of our territory; while a second vessel, of the same kind, cruising between that station and the head of the Sound, would keep our own Indians quiet, and render material aid to the Indian department here.

After a careful investigation of the subject by personal observation and otherwise, I am thoroughly convinced that the only practicable and efficacious method of protecting our citizens from the inroads of the northern Indians, and preventing a general war on the part of our own tribes, is, to station vessels of war upon our waters, as above indicated. And I do most urgently request your Excellency, in the name of the citizens of this territory, who have been encouraged to come here by the government, and who have risked their lives and property in this remote and isolated region of the confederacy, to consider these necessities of our people, and afford them such protection as is possible consistently with the welfare of the nation at large.

Without a naval force, propelled by steam, upon the waters of Puget Sound, there is, in my judgment, no safety to the inhabitants. It is impossible for land forces to operate to any advantage, for the reason before indicated, and it would require a force sufficient to garrison every settler's house on the lower part of the Sound in order to render any efficient protection. So well satisfied am I of the truthfulness of these statements, and the correctness of the positions here taken, that I would rather have one small but active war steamer manned by a hundred men, upon these waters, than a thousand regular troops garrisoned along the shores.

It is also a matter of urgent necessity that treaties should be ratified with those Indian tribes where the settlements of the whites have been made within the limits of their territory. This course of policy, judiciously carried out, would remove the chief cause of complaint amongst our resident Indians, while, at the

same time, it would be no more than an act of strict justice to them. This subject rises in importance just in proportion to the encroachments of the whites upon their territory, and the consequent danger of a general Indian war.

I would also respectfully suggest as an additional means of bringing the Indians upon the Pacific Coast into social relations with our government and people that the plans as intimated to me by my friend, the Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, be carried out to wit. That one or more of the Chiefs and Headmen of each of the tribes in this territory be invited by the President to visit the National Capitol, for the purpose of seeing and having a talk with the authorities and that they be returned to their respective homes by the overland route thereby exhibiting to them their utter inability to make war upon our government and thus more effectually to awe them into peace and quietness.

In conclusion I beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to the report of the citizens' meeting at Port Townsend, presided over by the Hon. F. A. Chenoweth, U. S. District Judge and attended by the U. S. District Attorney and numerous other citizens, also to the petition of the citizens of Whidby's Island herewith enclosed.

I would also call your attention to the communication of Governor James Douglas of Vancouver's Island, a copy of which is transmitted herewith. I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Obt. Servt.

(Signed) FAYETTE McMULLIN,
Governor of Washington Territory.

INDIAN DANGERS AT WHATCOM.

Bell. Bay, W. T., Apl. 5th, '57.
Gov. I. I. Stevens, Olympia.

Sir: I am requested by the citizens of Whatcom, to write you in regard to their unprotected state and beg that you will send them powder, lead and caps, to defend themselves against the incursions of the northern Indians.

Some time last week a band of these savages landed on my place and proceeded on foot to the town of Whatcom and broke into a house of one of the citizens and stole blankets, etc., and made good their retreat without waking a single man in the town—save the one whose house they plundered. It seems that this man imagined that he was surrounded and was afraid to

give the alarm, and they made him accompany them to their canoe, and he did not give the information until the following morning. I never heard of such a case of cowardice in my life. The Indians informed him that they came to survey the premises, in order to be able to take everything here and kill everybody, as soon as they were reinforced by their people. They had been up and inspected the Mill Post, etc., and have promised to kill Capt. Pickett, Capt. Peabody and myself certainly, and many others, who resisted them, when they came for plunder. It is most unpleasant, as well as most dangerous, to remain here. The citizens are all wrangling among themselves, and there is so much ill feeling existing that many intend leaving—if the Hancock does not make her appearance very shortly—as they have no confidence in one another. The “Massachusetts” to my surprise has left us, at the very time of all others that they should have remained with us, after having contributed no little towards making the savages more hostile. She makes an inglorious retreat when the winter has broken up, and we expect them in large numbers. But I am so disgusted with her actions that I shall say no more on this subject at present.

There should be some means taken to get a steamer to cruise at the lower end of the Sound and that speedily too, or we will all be obliged to leave here.

A Victoria Indian, who has a Lumma wife, has just arrived, with Capt. Wm. Webster, and informs us that they met about six miles this side of Victoria, the canoes of Stickenes, Hyders and Bella Bellas, numbering in all some 400 or 450 men—only two women amongst them—all painted and armed. They had just come down from the North. This goes to show that they will arrive in force, much earlier than we expected them, and we may any night expect an attack. If such a thing should happen, we will all be killed, as we can expect no assistance from the Mill Post, they having as much as they can do to protect their premises, their pickets not being finished and many of the soldiers being in irons in the guard house. We have formed into a volunteer company here, for general protection and safety; but it seems to have done little or no good, on account of a spirit of unity.

I am building a block house at my place for safety and protection of my property, as the block house at the Mill is too far off for us to retreat to in case of an attack. When that is finished, I shall feel easier, as I hope to be able to hold it with my ten men. If the savages come before that time, we will be badly off to take to the brush. If I had one big gun, I should feel no uneasiness about the matter as it would give confidence to my men, and they would not desert me, as they talk of doing.

I cannot tell you how unpleasant my situation is—the citizens have taken a stampede and it is almost impossible to give them any confidence. Besides, they have good grounds for their belief. I think it is very dangerous myself, to remain and I shall not stay unless the Hancock or some other steamer comes and cruises at the lower end of the Sound. If they should go to Seattle, as the Massachusetts did and stay there all the time, there would not be a man left in the county. They only remain now waiting for the arrival of a steamer, and trusting to Providence not to be murdered in the meantime.

The information in regard to the canoes can be relied on, not as coming from Webster (for he never was known to tell the truth) but from the Indian Frazer, whom I know well and would believe, in a matter of this kind, as soon as a white man. He has also told all of his tillicums here and put them on their guard. My Indians are terribly alarmed.

By the way, Webster laid down in the canoe and Frazer covered him with mats so that they could not see him—he did not move his head until he had passed them some distance.

I hope to have a little better organization amongst the citizens before long. If we had some powder, lead and caps and one big gun in my block house (there being one already in the station), it would tend very much to restore confidence. Very resp.

Your Obt. servant,

(Sgd.) E. C. FITZHUGH.

Fourteen canoes were seen going into the cove 6 miles from Victoria, about 450 Stickenes and Hyders painted and equipped for war. Four large canoes yesterday on Lopez Island. One canoe, supposed to contain 80 men were in to look after us last night (7th) retired after being fired into. They are all around us and gathering nearer every day. FITZHUGH.

Two Documents About Chief Leschi.

Governor McMullin was evidently desirous that justice should not miscarry if he could prevent it so he wrote this letter early in the morning:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, W. T.,

Olympia, January 22nd, 1858. ½ past 2 A. M.

Lieut. Col. Silas Casey, Comm'd'g, Fort Steilacoom.

Sir: I am just in receipt of a communication by express from the Sheriff of Pierce County informing me that he called upon you last evening, and requested you to furnish him today with suffi-

cient guard to protect him, in the discharge of his duty in executing the Indian Leschi who is now a prisoner confined at Fort Steilacoom and condemned to death.

He further informs me that your answer to him was that if you were formally requested by some person having authority, that you might or you might not furnish such guard.

I have therefore respectfully to request that you furnish such guard to George Williams, the Sheriff of Pierce County, as shall be necessary to protect him in the execution of his duty in the hanging of Leschi. I am, Sir, Very respectfully,

Your Most Obt. Servant,

(Sgd) FAYETTE McMULLIN,
Governor of Washington Territory.

The following letter shows no sign as to whom it was written, but it was found among other papers bearing the names of Governors Stevens and McMullin and was no doubt written for one of them.

Olympia, Washington Territory, May 4th, 1858.

Dr Sir:

Complying with the request made in your note of the 30th April, I have carefully examined the communication addressed by you to Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, in which a statement of the facts connected with the trial and execution of the Indian Chief "Leschi" is made, and will freely give you my opinion in regard to their correctness. Without entering into the minute details of the case, you have given its true general history from the time it came before the Courts, in a very concise manner. You might have added with perfect propriety that no criminal of any age, sex, or color, ever had a fairer trial than "Leschi". The investigation was deliberate, impartial and complete, his Senior Counsel is the oldest Attorney in our Territory, and ranks as one of the ablest criminal pleaders on the Pacific Coast, his Junior was as active and energetic as the sequel proved him to be unscrupulous and dishonest. The former permitted no — in the investigation and did all for his client that a correct, upright attorney could have done; the latter took all advantages offered by loopholes in the Law, or that could have been practiced by the most artful Pettifogger. But this is the inference naturally drawn from your statement of the case as it stands upon the record. It is unnecessary for me to add anything further than my full endorsement of that statement. Yours truly,

(Sgd) BUTLER P. ANDERSON,
Pros. Atty. Washington Territory.

Unpleasant Information About Chief Kitsap.

Steilacoom, June 16th, 1858.

Gov. Fayette McMullin,

Sir: I have the honor to transmit to you information received from Mr. Geo. Parkinson, who left here for the mines via Nachez pass a few days ago:

"We expected to find everything quiet as reported by some of the tribe which lately arrived from there (Clicatat nation) but judge of our surprise on being met on the other side of Green River by Kitsap and "Joe" a chief who informed Nelson that if he took the Bostons over the mountains that they would be scalped and Nelson share the same if caught" — "I thought the most proper course to pursue was to return to the Muckle-shoot and inform the Sergeant in command of it in order that he may inform the officers of the garrison of the result. Owhi, the head chief of the Clicatats has been already among the Naches Indians inciting them to war. He says that Kitsap is camped at Green River with a small body guard tolerably well armed, and that "Joe" is to go among the Nisqually Indians, but for what purpose he does not know. He further says, "If the Steilacoom people or officers of the garrison want to take Kitsap let them send me word and I will fetch him dead or alive in one week from now as I know where to find him".

Some other valuable information is contained in the Parkinson letter which I cannot communicate for want of time as the steamer leaves immediately. I thought at least this much you ought to know. Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) O. P. MEEKER.

HON. FAYETTE McMULLIN.

Father Chirouse Was Prudent.

The memory of the writer of this letter is still loved by all the Indian tribes among whom he worked as a missionary.

Dear Sir: I take the opportunity of Mr. Simmons' express to send some lines to your excellency to let you know that we have some troubles in the present time. One of our Indians (named Pams) and one of his sons named Alic, had murdered one of our citizens on the Snohomish River about fifteen miles from our place. We heard that a great many other Indians, dissatisfied with their treaty, had intention to break out, but I am very glad to see that now more than a hundred Indian soldiers are going to hunt for the murderers. All our Christian boys are determined

to get the murderers, live or dead. Mr. Simmons is doing all he can for the best and I think that he will succeed to restore the good order amongst the Indians. I would like to go to Olympia now, but knowing that the murderers want to kill me, I think it more prudent for me not to go anywhere until the murderers have been taken. I would be very thankful to you Dear Sir if you would be good enough to put my letters in the postoffice.

My best respects to Mistress McGill and to all your family.

I am in great haste, excuse me Governor, and please think that I remain your Very thankfull and very respectfull servant,

(Sgd) E. C. CHIROUSE,
O.M.Y.

EARLY EMIGRATION TO OREGON.

The following paragraphs published at the time of the Nathaniel J. Wyeth expedition to Oregon in 1832 have been gleaned for the Quarterly by Edward McMahan, from the newspaper files in the great library of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

From an editorial in the *National Intelligencer* of Wednesday, February 8, 1832:

We have been presented by the Agent, with a copy of a pamphlet entitled "A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character, who wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory—embracing some account of the character and advantages of the country; the right and the means and the operations by which it is to be settled; and all necessary directions for becoming an emigrant." Published by order of "The American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory." Such persons as feel an interest in the subject may procure the pamphlet at Mr. Riordan's Book Store, Pennsylvania Avenue.

From the *National Intelligencer* for March 19, 1832:

Those persons desirous of emigrating to Oregon, in the first expedition, are notified that the Committee appointed for the purpose of making arrangements, have determined upon leaving the city on Monday, 2nd of April, for St. Louis.

The expedition will leave St. Louis on the 10th of May. Those who have not made their arrangements will please apply to the committee as soon as practicable,

BENJ. HODGES
WM. WERTZ
J. COLLINS
R. MOORE
GEO. TOPHAM

From the National Intelligencer for March 30, 1832:

Baltimore, Mar. 27. A few days since a party of 26 young men from the East, arrived in this City on their way to the Columbia River, (The Oregon) in the extreme west of our country. Their travelling wagons, 3 in number, were peculiarly constructed, to be useful in their contemplated journey. The body of the wagon was calculated to be used as a boat, in crossing or passing rivers. The wheels being detached and put under it. During their stay here they encamped every night in a field near the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road depot.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Life of Stephen A. Douglas. By Wm. Gardner. (The Roxburgh Press, Boston).

Douglas had the misfortune to be on the wrong and losing side of the great slavery struggle that culminated in our civil war. Of the great hero and great antagonist of Douglas—Abraham Lincoln—we have several accounts. It is a regrettable fact that we have been unable, except in very few cases, to tell the story of our greatest American without at the same time attempting to belittle his greatest antagonist.

This is altogether unnecessary in the case of Lincoln, for Lincoln towers above all the men of his time. It is well to remember, however, that Douglas never met his equal or superior in the political struggle of his time till he encountered Lincoln. If then it took the greatest American of the century to master the "Little Giant", it would seem that Douglas' life deserves more than a condemning notice.

Mr. Gardner has added little to our knowledge of Douglas, perhaps there is little more to know, but he is deserving of some credit for collecting this and presenting it in readable form. The book is for popular use as is shown by the total absence of citations and bibliography. The author takes especial pains to picture the times in which Douglas lived and acted. "Only sixty years have passed, but with them has passed away a civilization, with its modes of thought and sentiment, its ethics and its politics. The country had but one-fifth of its present population. A third of our area was still held by Mexico. Wealth was as yet the poet's dream or the philosopher's night-mare. Commerce was a subordinate factor in our civilization. Agriculture was the occupation of the people and the source of wealth. Cotton was king not only in the field of business, but in that of politics. The world still maintained its attitude of patronizing condescension or haughty contempt towards the dubious experiments of "broad and rampant democracy." Dickens had just written his shallow twaddle about Yankee crudeness and folly. Macaulay was soon to tell us that our constitution was "all sail and no anchor." De Tocqueville had but recently published his appreciative estimate of the New World Civilization. . . . "It was a time of egotism, bluster and brag in our relation to the foreign world, and of truckling submission in our home politics to a dominant power, long since so completely whirled away by the

storm of revolution, that it is hard to realize that half a century ago the strongest bowed to its will." (p. 21).

The fever for new territory, for expansion, and for proclaiming our manifest destiny, took hold of every section except New England. "It was not a question of ethics or of sober statesmanship, but one of practical politics that divided the North and the South at this period. Each hoped to secure for itself the alliance and sympathy of the new states thereafter admitted. Each applied itself to the task of shaping the territories and moulding the future states to serve its ulterior views." (p. 31).

But it soon came to be a question of ethics. The moral awakening which was begun and kept going by Garrison and the abolitionists was beginning to bear fruit. The old school of compromisers, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, and their followers, did not realize it in their time, nor did Douglas who survived them, realize it in his. All this is clearly shown by Mr. Gardner. Each new acquisition of territory was viewed as so many possible slavery or anti-slavery states. To keep the balance in the Senate between the two sections was the all important thing long after the numerical majority as represented in the House had decided against further extension of slavery. It is one of the curious features of the times that a scheme of government which prevented the numerical majority from controlling the governmental policy should have met with so few attacks. Few saw so clearly as Garrison that it was the system of government that saved slavery so long, and still fewer had the courage to attack it.

One naturally looks in a biography of Douglas for some clear insight into his motives for repealing the Missouri Compromise as applied to Nebraska, but Mr. Gardner throws no new light on this problem. He seems here to follow Rhodes (Vol. I, Chap.V), almost literally. What value he places upon Douglas' reasons for the repeal as recorded in Cutts, pp. 87-91, (a brief treatise upon Constitutional and Party questions, and the history of Political parties, as received orally from the late Stephen A. Douglas), we cannot know. The time is gone, it seems to us, when we can simply charge it up to an ambition for the presidency and a desire to please the South. Douglas brought in his first bill for the organization of Nebraska in 1844 and renewed it every session till the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. All during the Oregon agitation he told how Oregon up to 54° 40' might be held for the United States by opening this territory to settlers and allowing others to pass through it and settle Oregon. As early as 1844 he protested to the Secretary of War against settling the Indians in that territory. In 1852-3 a body of emigrants of some 15,000 to 20,000 gathered on the border

of Missouri and threatened to invade Nebraska in spite of the law. Their attitude became so threatening that the president dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the frontier to head off the invasion, and ordered the commanding officer at Leavenworth to use the army, if necessary, in resisting them. If Douglas has stated the facts, and we do not know that they have been questioned, may he not have been perfectly honest in trying to have the territory opened by leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the people of the territory? Is it not possible in view of the fact that the people of California settled it similarly, and so easily?

The author thinks the administration Democrats "proved a quite unimportant factor" in the campaign against Lincoln in 1858. Certainly, Douglas did not so regard them, and, if the National party machine exercised but a fraction of the power that it wields today, no candidate would consider it unimportant in a close contest. Mr. Gardner does an excellent piece of work in the chapter where he traces the deadly effect of Douglas' answers to Lincoln's questions in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Especially the answers in the Freeport debate. This is an excellent study in cause and effect. Douglas' attitude toward Lincoln at the inauguration, and immediately after the fall of Sumter, might have been mentioned with good grace. Mr. Gardner's estimate of Douglas is worth quoting at some length.

"He was a practical man of action, whose course was generally guided by the accidental circumstances of the hour, rather than by fixed principles. His education was defective. He entered the great arena with little of either mental or moral culture. Yet, severely as we now judge him, he did not fall below the prevailing standard of political morals. His real sin was that he did not rise above the ethics of the times; that he remained deaf as an adder to the voices of the great reformers who sought to regenerate the age, and who were compelled to grapple with him in deadly struggle before they could gain footing on the stage.

"The time was out of joint and he felt no vocation to set it right. While his ethics has fared hard, his mental gifts have been over-estimated. The availability of all his resources, his overwhelming energy and marvelous efficiency among men of intellect, gave rise to the impression which still survives that he was a man of original genius (p. 236). * * * It is not to be set down in his list of sins that he failed to bridge over the widening chasm between the North and South, but it must be charged to him as a mental defect that he hopelessly failed to comprehend the significance of the great movements which he seemed to lead. That in the keenness of his interests in the evolutions of political strategy he failed to discern the symptoms of coming revolution. When the storm that had been brewing before his

eyes for ten years broke upon the country it took him by surprise. The ardor of his temperament, the eagerness of his ambition, makes his conduct at times painfully resemble that of a selfish demagogue. But the range of his vision was small. He erred less from the corruption of the heart than from deficiency of the mind. But what statesman of note during those strange and portentous years preceding the war could safely expose his speech and conduct to the searchlight of criticism? The wisest walked in darkness and stumbled often. It was not the fate of Douglas to see the mists amid which he groped, swept away by the hurricane of war," (p. 238).

With the author's final conclusion "young as he was, he had outlived his historic era, and there is a dramatic fitness in the ending of his career at this time," we cannot agree.

Perhaps Alexander H. Stephens overstates the matter when he regards the death of Douglas "as one of the greatest calamities, under the dispensation of Providence, which befell the country in the beginning of these troubles." (Vol. II, p. 421), but we are inclined to believe that had Douglas survived the war and wielded any large share of his old influence during the trying days of Reconstruction, many of the blunders of that period would have been avoided and the solid South of today would be less of a dreadful reality.

A somewhat careless use of pronouns and a number of obvious typographical errors mar the book, but taking it all in all it deserves a wide and careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

McDonald of Oregon. By Eva Emery Dye. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1906. Pp. 395.)

This is the latest story of Oregon's famed author. It is one of the best. To the people of the State of Washington and of the present generation it will unquestionably be the most entertaining. It concerns their locality, their home, their country—the Washington of which we are justly so proud. It is about their fathers, their mothers, their friends of the past, and, in the cases of the older surviving pioneers, themselves. It is history, romance, poetry.

Ranald McDonald, the hero, was one of the old Hudson Bay men, his father coming before that company, and the son being born at Fort George, the first settlement on the Pacific slope north of California. A very attractive story is weaved about him, the events being located in "Old Oregon," on the ocean and in Japan. These events concern, among others, the Indians of the first half of the Nineteenth Century—Cumcumly, Seattle,

Kamiakin, the Chinooks, the Cayuses, the Clallams and the rest. One chapter is devoted to the first war expedition on Puget Sound, when the Clallams were attacked by the Hudson Bay men, in 1828, in retaliation for a previous attack by them on a party of fur traders bound from Fort Langley to Fort Vancouver. The boy McDonald, on board the historic schooner, *Cadboro*, was with the attacking white men, who then taught the savage and warlike Clallams a lesson they never forgot. Mrs. Dye's narrative of this expedition is based upon the journal of Frank Ermatinger, one of the participants in the expedition, copy of which has been furnished by her to the *Quarterly*, and appears elsewhere in this issue. McDonald bore a charmed life, passing unscathed through adventures and vicissitudes of startling and wonderful character. Thrillingly interesting is the account of his going to Japan, his doings there, and the results. While much is made of McDonald in the book, McLoughlin, Douglas, Tolmie, Work, Stevens, Yesler, Denny, Maynard, Shaw, and hundreds of others of the first men and women of the country are entrancingly written of. Mrs. Dye always sees to it that the women in her books are fairly treated, and so in this, Mrs. Huggins, Mrs. Blaine, Angeline and the others—both Indian and white—figure prominently, creditably and readably.

It would be pleasant, indeed, to give this book further review and commendation, but, instead, it will, perhaps, be just as well, if not better, to give an idea of the manner of work of the talented author in securing the materials upon which this publication was based.

Mrs. Dye says the story of McDonald came to her accidentally while hunting out the facts for her "*McLoughlin and Old Oregon*." All the old Hudson Bay men said, "You ought to see Ranald McDonald. He knows more about McLoughlin than anybody." When she did find McDonald at old Fort Colville, and told him she was going to call McLoughlin "*The King of the Columbia*," he jokingly said "What, madame, call McLoughlin King of the Columbia! Why, madame, I am the King of the Columbia," and when he told his story, including his adventure in Japan, Mrs. Dye realized that here she had matter for another and greater book than the McLoughlin she then had in mind, and so carefully refrained from mentioning McDonald in that work, retaining this new hero for a book by himself. Arrangements were in progress for the McDonald story when McDonald himself suddenly died, not, however, until he had directed her to various sources of information on his remarkable career. Many letters and some manuscripts he had attempted to prepare had been loaned to Malcolm McLeod, of Ottawa, which he was unable to get back. After McDonald's

death Mrs. Dye wrote several times to Mr. McLeod at Ottawa, but could obtain no response. Efforts in other directions were equally unavailing. One day, in great discouragement, Mrs. Dye was returning from Portland to Oregon City on the trolley when she took the only vacant seat, at the side of Rev. J. H. B. Beaven, now pastor of the Park Street Baptist Church of Walla Walla. A slight conversation ensued, in which Mr. Beaven casually referred to the climate of Eastern Washington. Full of her subject Mrs. Dye immediately asked: "Were you ever at Fort Colville, and did you know Ranald McDonald?" "I knew him well," was the reply. "I visited the old man in his last years, and he told me he had a manuscript stolen by some one in Canada, some account of his travels and doings in Japan." "The very manuscript I am in search of!" exclaimed Mrs. Dye, more determined than ever to continue her quest.

About this time Mrs. Dye succeeded in interesting the private secretary of the Premier of British Columbia, Mr. R. E. Gosnell, later and better known as the editor of the *Victoria Colonist*. "I am going to Ottawa on official business," said Mr. Gosnell, "and I will look the matter up." In a few days Mr. Gosnell telegraphed that Malcolm McLeod was dead, and the unsettled state of his affairs had caused the delay, as his papers were in the hands of litigants. Again he wired: "I have the manuscript. Will bring it to Victoria." Scarcely had Mr. Gosnell reached Victoria before Mrs. Dye was ready for her journey, but while drawing on her gloves to start, came the word: "As Parliament is in session, I shall not have time to attend to the McDonald matter now." Mrs. Dye, however, went, and from Seattle sent word, "I shall not interfere with your Parliament; all I want is the manuscript." Although surprised at her appearance in Victoria, Mr. Gosnell received the American author very courteously, permitting her to examine McDonald's Japanese papers in a vacant wing of the Parliament building now rapidly filling up with arriving legislators of British Columbia. As Mr. Gosnell was unwilling to give up the papers, and feeling, too, that in a way they belonged to Victoria, Mrs. Dye resolved to take notes of what she could, but a few hours examination revealed that notes would be of no avail in such a mass of important and valuable matter. It happened that two public stenographers were stationed in different rooms of the wing, and to them Mrs. Dye applied for aid in intervals when provincial statesmen were not dictating private letters or public papers. The girls became greatly interested, came early, and kept their typewriters clicking until the janitors shut the doors at night, until one day the whole Parliament burst in with the sergeant-at-arms swinging his baton, "Clear out! Clear out! Parliament has gone into

committee of the whole," at the same time rushing the typewriters out of the room. The frightened women gathered up the precious sheets and fled precipitately, flushed with anxiety and excitement over the scattered pieces. Hurriedly all was arranged, the girls offering to finish the last paragraph, which they were now rapidly approaching. "No," said Mrs. Dye, "I have enough, I have the story," and, paying them, she departed with her treasure for Seattle and Oregon City. Finding many breaks and discrepancies, Mrs. Dye later obtained a loan of the numerous letters she had been unable to copy, and filled out many details of McDonald's experiences in Japan.

Another long search was made in Washington by Senator Charles W. Fulton, to obtain the government depositions made by McDonald when he was rescued by an American war vessel. These had been published in a Senate document that stirred Commodore Perry to the Japan expedition in 1852, but no spare copies could be found in the public archives. By good luck, however, Senator Fulton found a yellowed, old, weather-beaten copy in a second hand book store in Washington, for which he paid two dollars and a half, a little bunch of mildewed leaves that any casual observer might have considered waste paper.

Still a third search ensued for an old volume, "The Voyage of the Morrison," that Judge Wickersham, of Alaska, said he had once seen, giving an account of the Japanese castaways so often mentioned in McLoughlin and other Hudson Bay documents. An examination of libraries of the United States at last revealed an antiquated copy in the Boston Public Library. This was drawn out for Mrs. Dye by the late Dr. Judson Smith, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who forwarded it to his old-time pupil at Oregon City. The precious book was received, read and returned to its place in the Boston Library in exactly fourteen days—the two weeks allowed for the ordinary use of a library book—a remarkable feat when the distance and difficulties of the journey are considered. The wildest dream of the pioneers never pictured Pacific Coast readers drawing books from the Boston Public Library, and returning them with the ease and promptness of dwellers in the vicinity of the Hub.

Hawaiian, Canadian and American newspapers of a half century ago, revealed additional contemporary accounts of the McDonald affair that seems then to have created profound sensation.

Mrs. Dye has received many fine letters concerning her latest publication, of which the following, from Dr. William Elliot Griffis, author of "The Mikado's Empire," is a sample:

"Congratulations on your book 'McDonald of Oregon,' which I have begun to read, and which will probably spoil another night for me. I am glad that you can shout Eureka! while I am still in the tub. For years I have been trying to ferret out Ranald McDonald's whereabouts and personality, or footprints on the sands of time, but all inquiries and postage stamps, and machine made and autograph letters were alike in vain. But I am glad that you have found out the person and the facts, and added some prismatic of fancy to make a winsome 'Tale of Two Shores.' I am hoping some day to write more fully the story of the January and February of Japan's present June, and show some of the secrets of the outflowering of a nation. I am glad you have fulfilled my prophesy, that the story of McDonald would one day be fully written, and wish you all success."

These notes will give the reader an idea of how this latest Pacific Coast book came to be written, of the troubles of the enthusiastic and industrious author in getting together her materials and information, and of the value of the work to us all on this Pacific Coast. In connection with her historical and literary labors Mrs. Dye has, during the past few years, got together thousands of letters, pamphlets, reports, manuscripts, documents, etc., with which she has richly endowed the Oregon Historical Society, securing which, cost her much trouble and much money, and the value of which is very great.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

The Electoral System of the United States. By J. Hampden Dougherty. (New York: Putnam's Sons.)

This is the most elaborate history of the electoral count so far published, and traces in a very satisfactory manner the struggles over the electoral count from 1789 to the passage of the Act of 1887. This history of the count is followed by a chapter on the Appointments of Electors, another on the amendments offered relative to the elective system, and finally a suggested remedy by the author.

After one has read this carefully written work through he cannot help being struck by what seems to be an utter incapacity of Congress to deal with a question that has not been made a vital issue between political parties. That the subject of the electoral count has been of vital importance we all know and that it may again become such the author clearly shows, and yet almost every attempt at securing a remedy has been a questionable makeshift. The reason why the framers of the constitution did not provide for some adequate means of counting disputed returns, is of course known to all. Under the system laid down by them it was hard to see how disputed returns could

arise. Yet in the infancy of our government we radically changed, in practice, the methods of selecting a president and this new wine in old bottles has made us no end of trouble. "The country has twice been brought to the brink of revolution" because the constitution which simply says, "the votes shall then be counted" has not told us who shall count them, or even what a vote legally is.

The ordinary layman, unversed in the metaphysics of constitutional law would simply say the constitution has not provided for this emergency. Not so a constitutional lawyer, for he must deduce a constitutional theory to decide the question. And so in every emergency we have had equally great lawyers arguing that the president of the Senate should count, that both houses of Congress should count, that neither has the right. More than that they have not been able to decide with any degree of unanimity what the word count means. Does it simply mean add up? If so, what shall we add in case of disputed returns? and if we must determine which votes to exclude what shall be our criterion and who shall exercise the function?

But the worst is yet to come, after we have "counted" we have not been able to tell who did the counting.

Speaking of the election of 1800, the late Alex. Johnson said "the president of the Senate passed the certificates to the tellers of the two Houses, who "counted" them in the proper meaning of the word. The certificates of election which were made out by order of Congress from 1797 until 1821, all contained the distinct affirmation that the president of the Senate did, . . . open all the certificates and count all the votes of the electors." (p. 59). In harmony with Prof. Johnson's views, we find those of Pinckney in 1800, and of John Randolph in 1821.

McKnight, in his work on the Electoral Count, states the opposite view as to who did the counting. He holds that the two Houses did the counting in every election from 1793 on, and Congress seems to have taken this view of the matter as is shown by the concurrent orders and standing joint rules through which they carried out the process.

In the case of Missouri's vote in 1821 Congress could not even decide whether or not Missouri was a state or a territory and did not so far as that count was concerned.

"When the electoral count was made in 1869 the scenes of tumult and disorder eclipsed even the violent occurrences of 1857. A stormy debate followed in the House, lasting three days after the count was completed," and the acrimonious discussion "exhibited the same discordant views that had appeared in every preceding debate in Congress."

In the case of Horace Greeley, who died after the general election and before the electoral votes were counted we find Congress-

man Hoar objecting that Greeley was dead, "and was not a **person** within the meaning of the Constitution." The House supported this view, while the Senate decided in substance that he was a "**person** within the meaning of the Constitution."

The vote of Arkansas having been questioned, we find the dignified Senate going through this farce, as described by Senator Sherman:

"Each senator went up to the desk and examined the paper, and without having time to look at the law, without having even time to send to the library to see what the constitution of Arkansas required, we fell into the error of supposing a fact which did not exist. That the State of Arkansas had a seal, and therefore we rejected the vote of that state because of the want of a state seal to the certificate." (p.88.)

Coming down to the electoral commission act of 1877, Mr. Dougherty briefly sums up the net gain resulting from all this discussion as follows. "The outcome of practically one hundred years of discussion of a brief clause of the constitution was a law confessedly temporary in its operation, in which the doubts of a century are crystalized into statutory form." (p. 133).

The author's discussion of this disputed case is luminous, and we are prepared to expect that the learned judges on that commission would, like the learned lawyers of Congress fail to throw any light on the question. The commission left all the open questions exactly as they had been but they did decide to count the votes without going behind the returns, as the phrase goes, and that decision was by a strictly party vote—eight to seven.

Ten years later we have passed the act of 1887, which comes in for severe criticism at the author's hands. In the first place it lengthens the time between the general election and the meeting of the Electoral College, thus "giving opportunity for all sorts of political intrigues and tempts us into the very dangers against which the inventors of the electoral system aimed to protect us". Moreover, it is a clear usurpation by Congress. Where does Congress get the power to say as it does (section 2), that if a state does not settle its contest over electors at least six days before the day set for the electoral count, its vote shall not be counted? Furthermore, such settlement must be made by a law passed before such a contest arises. Not a single state has so far provided such a law. In case a dispute arises in a given state what more natural than for that state to **then** provide a law, and, will a vote under such circumstances be thrown out?

Another possible difficulty deserves pointing out. Suppose Jas. G. Blaine had been elected in 1892 (as he might very well have been, had he been willing to run), as his death occurred on

January 27, 1893, who would have been the constitutional successor of President Harrison? The whole subject is worthy of careful study and may be fraught with serious consequences.

In regard to the author's remedy, it seems sufficient to say that it is to be brought about by a constitutional amendment, which seems to us a theoretical possibility but a practical impossibility, unless it can be made an issue between parties, which seems rather doubtful.

Mr. Dougherty is deserving of much credit for his masterly study and no student of history or politics can afford to neglect a careful reading of it.

EDWARD McMAHON.

The Flora of the State of Washington. By Charles V. Piper. (Washington, D. C.; Smithsonian Institute. 1906. Pp. 637.)

While a flora of the state is not primarily historical in its nature, the appearance of this excellent work marks an epoch in the botany of the state and thus in the history of the state as well. Moreover, the author is one of the sons of Washington and the product of Washington's institutions, and history is measured by men and not by time.

In the preparation of this work Professor Piper has spent years visiting herbaria to examine specimens, hunting up old records to locate early collections, traveling back and forth through the state, visiting every mountain and valley, every nook and cranny. A state so diverse in its climatology needs careful study for a complete flora, and the book shows that this has been given.

Professor Piper is better fitted to write such a book than any other man. He was raised among Washington plants, and has been interested in them from his youth. He has lived in western Washington, getting his college training in the University of Washington, and among our trees and shrubs, collecting constantly far and wide. He has spent years in eastern Washington, in the state college as professor of biology, thus becoming familiar at first hand with the flora of the eastern section of the state. He then went into the department of agriculture, at Washington, D. C., thus getting near the great collections of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, with the Gray Herbarium at Harvard, and with the Britton collection, at the New York Botanical Garden. His work in the department of agriculture also required travel, thus giving him opportunity of meeting noted local collectors and examining their collections. In every way the man has been prepared for the work, and the work shows it.

The book considers the ferns and flowering plants only. The context may be considered under two heads, namely, the ecology of the state, and a catalogue of the plants in it.

The ecological portion opens with a short account of the plant collectors of the state, many of whom are well known as historical characters. Mention may be made of Menzies, Lewis, Douglas, Scouler, Tolmie, Gairdner, Wyeth, Nuttall, Pickering, Brackenridge, Geyer, Spalding, Lyall, Jeffrey and others; and what an array of names we get from them! There are the genera *Douglasia*, *Menziesia*, *Scouleria*, *Piperia*, *Wyethia*; and there are species after species of *nuttallii*, *tolmiei*, *piperi*, *menziesii*, *douglasii*, *gairdneri*, *jeffreyi*, *cusickii*, *geyeri*, *suksdorfii*, *lyallii*, *scouleri*, *hendersoni*, *howellii*, *brandegii*, *flettii*, *watsoni*, *liebergii*, *cottoni*.

On account of its varying ecological conditions the State is considered divided into six general zones or areas according to altitude, rainfall, and cold. These six zones are the Upper Sonoran, Humid Transitional, Canadian, Hudsonian, Arctic, and Arid Transitional. These zones are taken up in order, their boundaries somewhat defined, and the characteristic plants for each listed.

The Upper Sonoran area is the sagebrush area, now becoming the area of tomatoes, peaches and watermelons. This comprises chiefly the great basin of the Columbia, and extends southward. The plants of this region Professor Piper traces largely from the great basin region of Nevada and southeastern Oregon, and from California. A list of California plants found in the Upper Sonoran area is given, as is a list of the Great basin plants. He points out that plants would travel fastest in the direction of the prevailing winds. These are from the south, and often quite strong. The California plants seem to have come by way of Klamath gap, the Siskiyou mountains blocking the way northward along the Willamette valley. The passage of Willamette valley plants up the Columbia does not seem to have taken place, for which he accounts by the fact that these moist-region plants are illy adapted to the dry climate of the Upper Sonoran area.

The Humid Transitional area is the lower wet regions west of the Cascade range. It extends from southern Oregon northwards, and may be recognized in a general way as the region of the red fir, brake, salal, Oregon grape, huckleberry and dogwood. This he again divides into uplands, bottom lands, and gravelly prairies. The uplands are covered with firs and such other plants as one finds on the hills about Seattle. The bottom lands correspond in flora to our lake borders and deep-shaded gullies, where we find the ash, maple and devil's club. The

gravelly prairies are such regions as those about Olympia, where are found scattered oaks and pines. A list of Humid-Transitional area plants, found only west of the Cascade-Sierra Nevada range, is given, and another common to eastern Washington. He believes the latter reached here by way of Klamath gap. Along the coast the Sitka spruce replaces the fir. There also one finds other plants on account of the sandy soil and proximity of salt water. Throughout the whole area one finds peat bogs, which have a flora characteristic of such bogs elsewhere.

The Arid Transitional area, limited to eastern Washington, is that region between the Humid and the Sonoran, or very dry, region. This he considers made up of two fairly distinct strips, the lower or drier of which is characterized by the bunch grass and June grass flora, a treeless region just above the Sonoran sagebrush region. This includes the Walla Walla, Palouse and Big Bend regions. The higher and damper he calls the yellow pine belt. This is between 1,800 and 3,300 feet in altitude. The fir often accompanies the pine. Lists of plants of the Arid Transitional area are given, showing that many of them are common to California, to the Columbia basin or to the Rocky mountains. A comparison of the Humid Transitional with the Arid Transitional plants points toward the interesting hypothesis that many Arid Transitional plants have persisted from a former glacial period, and are now on the verge of extinction on account of changed conditions.

The Canadian zone is an illy defined one above the Humid Transitional. The characteristic trees are the white pine, lodgepole pine, hemlock, noble fir, amabilis fir, white fir, Engelmann's spruce and larch. Among these also grow red firs. Among its characteristic shrubs are the dwarf cornel and trailing mountain black berry. This zone is in scattered localities, and its limits are not well defined.

The Hudsonian zone is just below the Arctic, and is the highest of the timbered zones. It may be known by its characteristic plants, of which the following are noteworthy: Subalpine fir, black hemlock, Alaska cedar, white-bark pine, azalia, mountain ash, bear grass. A table of the plants of the Hudsonian zone, showing practically the same plants in this zone on the various mountains of this state, as well as those of Oregon and California, is interesting from the standpoint of geology. How did they get there?

The Arctic zone is that above the timber line, and thus consists of strips and patches on the high ridges and peaks. Here are abundant wild flowers, sedges and the heathers. A long list of characteristic plants is given, comparing their occurrence in this zone, on various peaks of this state, or Oregon, and in the

Arctic regions of the North. Such tables are extremely interesting.

How can we account for the same plants on top of Mount Shasta, Mount Hood, Mount Rainier, Mount Baker, Blue mountains, and the level Arctic regions of Alaska? Can seed blow from one cold peak to another? The general conclusion is that they wandered southward during a geological ice period, and when the climate changed to a warmer one the plants either receded to the north or up the mountains before the warmer climate. Those which went up instead of north were cut off, like detachments of a retreating army; some were overtaken on low peaks and overwhelmed; others more fortunate in scaling higher peaks are still finding favorable conditions. Long isolation, however, is apt to cause changes in the plants, thus resulting in new species. So such areas become interesting from the standpoint of evolution.

Professor Piper points out as of special botanic interest the Olympic mountains, the Columbia gorge, Klickitat county; Mount Stuart and the Wenatchee mountains, and the Blue mountains; the Olympics and Blue mountains on account of their isolation; Mount Stuart and the Wenatchee mountains on account of granitic character, dry situation and isolation; Klickitat county on account of its mixture of humid transitional and arid transitional climate and warm southern slope; the Columbia gorge on account of its varied conditions of moisture and soil.

An interesting page is a list of 188 plants known to occur only in the state of Washington. Two of these are the only representatives of their genera. So long a list spells unmistakably diversity of conditions, together with isolation.

The catalogue of the ferns and flowering plants of the state comprises most of the book. There is no key to the families. This is unfortunate, since the book would be of much greater use to those who are not primarily botanists, if such a key were given. From the family, however, keys are given to genera and species. The fact that it has these keys alone makes it a book that should be in every high school in the State. The book is not a manual, like Gray's or Coulter's, but a catalogue. There is not given, therefore, a description of the various plants. It is evidently not intended primarily as a book for amateurs, but a work upon which future works adapted to beginners may be based. What is given of each plant, so far as possible, is (a) the scientific name; (b) the common name; (c) the synonyms of the scientific names, and citations to literature, the latter being extremely valuable to investigators; (d) the type locality, that is, the place where the plant was first found; (e) the range, or general distribution of the plant, and throughout the United

States in particular; (f) the zonal distribution, it being well known that plants are not found everywhere over their range but are limited to certain localities by the soil, cold, or rainfall; (g) a list of the specimens examined by Prof. Piper as a basis for his conclusions.

The book includes many new species which seem to be founded on good distinctions. The fact that there are not more of them reflects great credit upon Professor Piper. It is often a temptation to taxonomists to divide old species into several or many new ones upon insignificant or poorly marked characters. Many men would have given us a doubtful list of new species as big as the work could stand without becoming ridiculous.

This work is one many of us have long expected, knowing that Professor Piper was at work upon it, and is a decided contribution to botanical literature. The only books of the kind for our territory are quite unsatisfactory, and no good book upon the classification of ferns and flowering plants of Washington can hereafter be written without acknowledging the debt we owe to Professor Piper.

THEODORE C. FRYE.

"The True History of The Civil War." By Guy Carlton Lee, of Johns Hopkins University. (J. B. Lippincott Company. 1903. \$2.)

This is the last published volume in the "True" series of biographies and histories and the reviewer is puzzled to know what has led a responsible house to publish the work.

The first half of the book is taken up with the causes leading up to the war, and in this part we get some curious information. The opening sentence informs us that "the seeds of dissension between the North and the South were carried to Virginia in the ships commanded by Newport, and to Massachusetts in the 'Mayflower.'" "As two distinct classes of English society settled America, so did two distinct principles actuate and control the settlement itself—material interests, as sought by the individual adventurer as well as by the whole colony; ideas, seeking a refuge in the wilderness from cramping intolerance at home." (13). "We have, then, two peoples who, though geographically undivided, inevitably drew apart from each other because the dominant strain in each originally sprang from different classes of society and because of the results of dissimilar environment." (14).

"Men who have been persecuted cultivate intolerance when they come into power: Consequently, the *laissez faire* principle was an impossibility in New England." (16). Now notice what we are coming to. "The immoderation of the abolition-

ist descended to New Englanders by direct inheritance from the narrowness of the Puritan," and here we have the author's dominant thought, the abolitionists were the North. Time and again he says this is not true. Then he proceeds with his argument based on the belief that it is true.

"Public opinion in the North, however, where domestic servitude was not profitable, grew more and more opposed to the institution, especially after the discovery that slavery and the tariff were irreconcilable, until at last the institution was then stigmatized as the 'sum of all villanies.'" The "latent antagonism of social organization" was stirred by the abolitionists until it "warped and distorted the view which the people of each took of the aims of the other" (19), until ultimate conflict became inevitable.

In the second chapter on "the slavery problem," we find that "though actually prohibited, slavery in strict legality was not formally abolished in Massachusetts until 1866, when it was ended throughout the United States by the XIIIth amendment. It is a curious fact that the legal termination of slavery in Massachusetts was accomplished by the votes of Georgia and South Carolina. Those states towards which the abolitionists had been most bitter." (37). Thus it is seen that these southern states heaped coals of fire on the Massachusetts head by returning good for evil.

The South could not perform the same Christian act towards New Hampshire because "Slavery in New Hampshire died a natural death, all negroes born after the constitution of 1776 was adopted, being considered free." (37).

"Vermont, by her constitution of 1793, prohibited the institution. In like manner, it soon disappeared from New Jersey and Pennsylvania. . . ." (38).

Jefferson's ordinance of 1784, was lost by one vote, and "it seems wonderful that an all-wise Providence, that is supposed to watch the destinies of nations, did not intervene to ward off such a cataclysm as resulted." (41).

The vast majority of the Northern people were sincere in their declaration that it was not their intention to interfere with the "peculiar institution" where it existed. "But such an ideal state of things was impossible. The day of compromise was a thing of the past." (47). "The time of judgment had passed: The passions of North and South were aroused. The abolitionist movement found its opportunity. The frothing of fanatics stirred both sections to a frenzy with which astute politicians played. It gave the leaders the shibboleth by which they led the United States into the turmoil of secession and the hor-

rors of that war that forced the renewal of the partnership the South sought to dissolve." (53).

"The South fought because it would brook no interference by the federal government in state prerogative, particularly as concerned with slavery, below Mason and Dixon's line. The North fought for its idea of the Union. . . . When, in 1856, the new Republican party succeeded the Whig, slavery became the vital issue." (54). "Previous to that time it had been mainly a question as to which organization should hold the balance of power, the South being specially desirous of protecting the institution." Hence it follows that the war was "in point of fact, a war of politicians."

Chapter IV. The nationalization of slavery, opens with Seward's statement that there is a higher law than the constitution, and then the author affirms, "the 'higher law' meant one thing when applied to slavery, and it meant quite another when considered in connection with the tariff," and finally, "that the national policy was shaped upon personalities, and that the selfish interests of ambitious politicians determined the course of national as well as of local affairs, are undeniable truths." (88). "The fugitive slave law caused more pitiful shifting and skulking to avoid responsibility than any previous piece of national legislation." (89).

The peace following the compromise of 1850, was rudely shattered by Douglas, "to further his ambitious schemes" and the understanding was, "that Kansas should be an acquisition to the slave-holding states." The Kansas-Nebraska act "was signed by the President amidst the firing of cannon and the shouting of its friends." (99). "There was no possibility of slavery taking root in the newly opened country; climate, soil and the very configuration of the land itself entirely unfitted it for anything but the energetic resources of free labor. It was useless, as Webster had said, to 'reaffirm an ordinance of nature, or to reenact the will of God.'" (100). Adams "was elected by Clay's casting the tie vote in his favor." (108). "The Whig party went to pieces on the rock of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the Republican party took its place," and so on to the end of the chapter.

In the seventh chapter (170), we read, "on the 9th of January, 1861, was struck the first blow of the civil war," but in the eighth chapter (186), we read, concerning the relief of Fort Sumter, "the descent of the fleet was in truth the inauguration of the war between the sections," and a little later we are informed that the whole question is enshrouded in doubt. "With the fleet in the harbor and Charleston menaced by the guns of

Sumter, South Carolina could place no confidence in Northern pledges."

"The ultimate defeat of the South was a foregone conclusion from the start." (210).

The chapters dealing with the actual war are written in the same slap dash fashion without historical insight or order. Only the more important battles are touched upon, and the generals come in for fair treatment on the whole, all except McClellan, who "did not wish to fight. He was either a coward or disloyal. That he was the former cannot be established." (296).

To point out all the errors of statement and fact would require a volume. There is in the book much material not usually found in a book of its size, but it is very poorly handled. The student of history will read it with mingled feelings of disgust and amusement. It is too full of errors to be of value to the reading public.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage. 1684-7. With historical and biographical introduction, annotations and index. By Henry Reed Stiles, A. M., M. D. (Albany, N. Y.: Joseph McDonough.)

This volume is the third and last of a series on the "Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley," projected by the late John Gilmary Shea, L. L. D. The first volume issued in 1852, comprised the narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin and Anastase Douay. The second, issued in 1861, contained those of Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Seur, Gravier and Guignas. The present volume is reprinted from the first English translation of 1714, of the original French edition of 1713.

Rene Robert Cavalier, better known as La Salle, from the name of the family's estate, stands "second only to Champlain, among the heroes of Canadian history." The first voyage of La Salle (1669-1675), on which he started from La Chine with the Ohio river as his objective point, is partly involved in obscurity, but it is believed that he discovered the Ohio river and also the Illinois river. His second voyage (1678-1679), was made in conjunction with Tantis, La Matte and Hennepin. After building a fort two leagues above the falls of the Niagara, another at St. Joseph, on the Miami, and a third at Fort Crevecoeur, on the Illinois, in the present state of Illinois, the party descended the Mississippi to its mouth and returned to Canada.

The third voyage made from France was begun from France in July, 1684, and had for its object the founding of a French and Indian colony on the Gulf of Mexico, and one in the Mississippi valley with a view to holding the territory for France. The

expedition comprised four vessels and about 280 persons, and it is of this party that Joutel writes.

Henry Joutel was a native of France, had served seventeen years in the army, was a practical man of affairs, a confidant of the commander-in-chief, and had general charge of such matters as the provisioning, sheltering and general care of the party. His journal is simply and candidly written and gives the impression of sense and intelligence. Nowhere can one get a more vivid or interesting picture than in this journal.

The volume is enriched by notes written originally for a limited edition by the Caxton Club of Chicago. These notes by Prof. Melville B. Anderson have been incorporated with the author's permission.

A biography of "the discovery of the Mississippi," by Appleton P. C. Griffin, is an added feature. The book is carefully indexed.

Episodes From "The Winning of the West." By Theodore Roosevelt. (New York: Putnam's Sons.)

This little book, evidently designed as a supplementary reader in history, for school use, is made up of twenty-three short sketches from President Roosevelt's larger work, "The Winning of the West." In it the author's powers of description are shown at their best and it is needless to say the book is interesting. The chapters dealing with the Backwoodsmen; Boone and the Long Hunters; Clark's Conquest of Illinois; King's Mountain; and St. Clair's Defeat, seem to us, especially well done. In the interest of historical accuracy, however, it would have been better had the story of the dance at Kaskaskia not been reprinted.

Some reference should have been made to the chapters of the larger work from which the extracts are taken, then the interested reader could readily continue his reading upon the topics in which he became interested. Some of the illustrations will no doubt awaken much interest, especially the floating mill on the Ohio and the emigrant boat.

RECENT BOOKS.

The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic church, by F. E. Warren, D. D. (Clarendon Press, Oxford), contains an interesting chapter on the history of the Celtic Church down to its union with the Roman branch. The second and third chapters, which complete the book, deal in detail with the liturgy proper.

Volumes twenty-eight and twenty-nine in the series, "Early Western Travels," edited by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, have just been issued from the press of the A. H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The former and about one-third of the latter is devoted to a reprint of T. J. Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies and Oregon Territory." Farnham will be remembered as one of those inspired by Jason Lee, (See, Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 27). The last part of the latter volume contains a reprint of Father P. J. De Smet's "Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mts., 1845-6." Doctor Thwaites writes the introduction and critical notes.

Robert Stribling, Lieutenant Colonel C. S. A. (Franklin Press Co., Petersburg, Va.), has written a small volume on "The Gettysburg Campaign and the Campaigns of 1864 and 1865, in Virginia." The work is based on the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," and has an added interest because of the part taken by Colonel Stribling as a Confederate officer.

"Alexander Hamilton, an Essay on the American Union," by Frederick Scott Oliver, (Putnam's Sons), is a bulky volume, setting forth Hamilton's part in bringing about the American Union. The author styles himself as a "writer of a dusty historical essay". He thinks Hamilton's life is much in need of a competent interpreter. "The present volume does not aim to supply the deficiency." Mrs. Atherton's "The Conqueror" is the "only vivid account of 'the man'" Hamilton that meets with Mr. Oliver's approval. His account is neither vivid nor an interpretation.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Seattle Founders' Day Banquet.

One year ago after the Washington University State Historical Society unveiled six bronze tablets marking historic places in Seattle, and a granite obelisk at Alki Point, marking the landing place of the founders of the city on November 13, 1851, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce inaugurated the Founders' Day Banquet. It was a brilliant success as was the second one on November 13, 1906.

The spirit behind this newly established annual festival was well epitomized by Judge Thomas Burke, the toastmaster of the occasion, in this sentence: "When Seattle, one hundred years hence, has its teeming millions—five of them—let us hope that Founders' Day will be celebrated with as much ardor as is shown on this occasion." It is thus seen that the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and others who participate, are cherishing the memories of the past for the enlightenment and entertainment of the future.

The programme of this second banquet was as follows:

Introduction of Toastmaster Burke by Josiah Collins, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Committee.

"The Real Pioneers" (Indians), by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

"The Pathfinders," by W. T. Dovell.

"Small Beginnings," by E. L. Blaine.

"Pioneer Lawyers," by Hon. C. H. Hanford.

"Why Seattle Grows," by C. S. Miller.

"First Women of Seattle," by Thomas W. Prosch.

Vocal Solo—"The Old Settler," by Mrs. W. H. Whittlesey, accompanied by Walter B. Whittlesey.

Violin Solo—Aubrey Levy, accompanied by Eugene Levy.

"America," sung by the audience, led by Mrs. Whittlesey.

The addresses were all full of the spirit of the hour. One of them "The Pathfinders," is reproduced in this number of the Quarterly. Mr. W. T. Dovell was introduced as a native son of Washington, whose former home was in the city of Walla Walla.

American Historical Association.

The annual climax in the work of historians in this country is the meeting of the American Historical Association. This year the honor of entertaining this great convention fell to Providence, Rhode Island, during the four days, December 26 to 29.

Among other good things provided in the programme was a conference of state or local historical societies. In this conference the Washington University State Historical Society was represented by Professor Edmond S. Meany, secretary of the society and managing editor of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*.

At the same time and place meetings were held by the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Bibliographical Society of America, the American Sociological Society and the New England History Teachers' Association.

The first session of the American Historical Association was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association, when the annual addresses were given by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, president of the American Economic Association, and Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, president of the American Historical Association.

The second session was devoted to European history and those who participated were Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin, Henry Osborn Taylor of New York City, Louise Ropes Loomis of Cornell University, Professor James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University and Professor Paul Van Dyke of Princeton University.

The third session was a joint meeting with the New England History Teachers' Association. It consisted of a conference, a report and discussion. The chairman of the conference was Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University. Those who participated in the discussion were H. P. Lewis, superintendent of schools, Worcester, Mass.; Herbert D. Foster, professor in Dartmouth College; John T. Manning, Public School No. 8, Bedford Park, New York; Lucy M. Salmon, professor in Vassar College; Julius Sachs, professor in the Teachers' College, Columbia University; and James Sullivan, Jr., High School of Commerce, New York City.

The fourth session was a joint meeting with the American Economic Association, and was devoted to economic history. Those who participated were Professor Ulysses G. Weatherly, of the University of Indiana, Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University, Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of

Wisconsin, Professors Simon N. Patton and Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania.

The fifth session was devoted to conferences and those who participated were: Professor Max Farrand of Stanford University, Professor George B. Adams of Yale University, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago, Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College, Professor George P. Garrison of the University of Texas, Professor John O. Sumner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh of the University of Iowa, Professor H. V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania, State Librarian John P. Kennedy of Richmond, Va.; Custodian of Public Records Luther R. Kelker of Harrisburg, Pa.; Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, and Frank H. Severance of the Buffalo Historical Society.

The sixth session was devoted to American Colonial history, and was participated in by Professor Susan M. Kingsbury of Simmons College, Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, Professor Barrett Wendell of Harvard University, Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan, and George Louis Beer of New York City.

The seventh session was devoted to later American history. The following took part: Clarence S. Bingham of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Ulrich B. Phillips instructor in the University of Wisconsin, Professor Evarts B. Green of the University of Illinois, Professor Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, and Professor James A. Woodburn of the University of Indiana.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Portland, Oregon, was the place of meeting of this important exponent of historical work on the Pacific Coast. It was the third annual meeting of this branch of the national organization. Four workers in history—Max Farrand and Clyde A. Duniway, of the Stanford University Faculty; J. N. Bowman, of the University of California Faculty, and Mr. Don E. Smith, thought enough of the meeting to make the journey to Portland. The State of Washington was not represented nearly as well as it ought to have been. There were three earnest members from this state: Mr. T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Miss Lena Dodd of Kalama and Miss Katharine B. Judson of the Seattle Public Library.

The programme included the following papers:

Professor J. N. Bowman—"Cook's Place in Northwestern History."

Professor Clyde A. Duniway—"Suggestions on the History of the Federal Relations of the States."

Professor Max Farrand—"Criticism of American Historical Documents."

Professor Joseph Schafer—"Origin of the British Interest in the Northwest."

Mr. Don E. Smith—"Some Considerations on the History of Spain, and Spanish America in the 18th Century."

Professor H. Morse Stephens—"The Organization of Work with Historical Manuscripts."

Professor F. G. Young—"Finances of the Cayuse War."

The American Historical Association has surveyed thoroughly the field of historical society work in this country. The committee doing the work consisted of Reuben Gold Thwaites of Madison, Wisconsin; Benjamin F. Shambaugh of Iowa City, Iowa, and Franklin L. Riley of University, Mississippi. The report is full of interesting information. The following extracts will especially attract readers in the Pacific Northwest:

"After all, the principal desideratum is, as we have indicated, the personality back of the work, rather than the form of organization. It would be unwise, even if possible, to attempt the making over of men or of methods that in their respective environments either promise or have already attained satisfactory results. What is needed, rather, is the betterment of existing methods, and especially the enlisting in the service of well-trained and vigorous executive officers.

"Inspired, doubtless, by the example of the Wisconsin society, which is in close, although not official, connection with the University of Wisconsin, there has recently been a strong tendency on the part of Western and Southern historical organizations to associate themselves with their state universities. At the university town, of all communities in the state, exists a body of scholars who can most profitably utilize the collections of the historical society. The scholars need the inspiration of persistent, intelligent collection and publication; the society managers need the academic atmosphere and academic counsel in and with which to broaden and solidify their work, while the historical library finds its excuse in the largest possible circle of users. Recognition of these facts has, wherever possible, led to a closer union between society and university; but in several states, as in Missouri and Washington, where union with existing agencies seemed impracticable to the universities, the latter have secured the organization of rival state societies at their own seats. Such an arrangement, while doubtless benefitting the

universities, is apt to result in divided interest and appropriations. In several Western States difficulties of this character present problems that may be many years in the solution."

Later in the same report, under the head of "Interesting the Public," are the following paragraphs:

"Indeed this matter of arousing and maintaining public interest is of itself an important function of an historical society; but obviously this should be an intelligent, discriminating interest. Field meetings, popular lectures, work with the schools, some measure of coordination with pioneer and old settlers' societies of the district, pilgrimages to places of historic interest, the promotion of anniversary celebrations, and the placing of tablets upon historic sites—all these are within the province of the society.

"The enlistment of college and university interests is likewise highly desirable, especially in the matter of research and preparing material for publication; although in becoming academic, the society should be careful not to remove itself too far from the understanding and sympathy of the common people. Popularity and exact scholarship are not incompatible. One of the principal aims of an historical society should be the cultivation among the masses of that civic patriotism which is inevitably the outgrowth of an attractive presentation of local history."

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRE-HISTORY OF PUGET SOUND.

Harlan I. Smith, formerly of Saginaw, but since 1895 of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, has on the press of E. J. Brill, the publisher of Leyden, Holland, a voluminous report on his scientific researches into the prehistoric culture of Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia. This book, entitled "The Archaeology of Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia," is one of the series of memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific expedition, on which Mr. Smith was the American archaeologist. The expedition, financed by Morris K. Jesup, president of the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, had for its object the investigation of man, past and present, on the North Pacific Coast from Columbia river in America to Amur river in Asia. Mr. Smith's present memoir will be illustrated by photographs taken by him in the field and by pen drawings of over 200 artifacts and objects of art. This book completes his general report on the archaeological work done by the expedition in America, reports on the southern interior of British Columbia, the cairns of British Columbia and Washington, and the shell heaps or ancient village refuse piles of the lower Fraser, having already appeared and the remaining matter being details of

neighboring regions rather than general increments to knowledge. The reports are published as archives to record the knowledge gained so that it may never be lost, as by the burning of one manuscript. They find their way into the libraries of learned societies, museums and universities in all parts of the world from Japan to Argentine republic, and from them material for newspapers, magazines, text books for schools, encyclopedias and lecturers is taken by virtue of their not being copyrighted and the facts being free for any seeker to abstract for his own particular purpose.

Another of the pioneers of the Pacific Coast has gone. George E. Cole, who died in Portland, Oregon, Dec. 3d, 1906, came to California among the first of the Argonauts. Like the others he was in quest of gold. After drifting about for some months he started for some newly discovered gold mines in Northern California. Routes of travel were different from those since. To get to these California diggings he sailed on the brig Reindeer, October 24th, 1850, for Umpqua City, near the mouth of Umpqua river, in Oregon, some hundreds of miles northwest from the place to which he was bound. The brig had in all about seventy passengers, most of them, queerly enough, destined for Portland, other hundreds of miles northeast from the point of debarkation. Among these passengers was Philip Ritz, who later came to Washington Territory, and became one of its most influential, valuable and distinguished citizens. Cole and Ritz had crossed the plains together, and were warm personal friends, chumming it frequently, and being associated in interest many times until the death of Ritz, forty years later. They were diverted from the California mines and settled in Oregon instead, where they dwelt ten or twelve years, when they removed to Washington, establishing themselves in the Walla Walla country. While in Oregon Mr. Cole served in the Territorial Legislature two years, he being a member of the House of Representatives in 1852-53, with Ebey, Chenoweth and others, when the counties of Pierce, King, Jefferson and Island, on Puget Sound, were created. He served as first clerk of the U. S. District Court in Oregon, in 1859-60. In 1863, while a resident of Walla Walla, he was nominated for delegate to Congress by the Democratic convention of Washington Territory. His opponent was Rev. J. O. Raynor, a Methodist clergyman then serving as chaplain at the military post of Fort Steilacoom. The Territory was Democratic in its earlier years, and Cole was elected. The pay of congressmen at that time was \$3,000 per annum, in paper money worth only 50 cents on the dollar. Delegate Cole found it very difficult to live in Washington City, and maintain his family on his allowance

as a member of Congress. He stood by President Andrew Johnson in his struggle with the Republicans, who considered Johnson not only a political apostate, but a traitor, and who all but successfully endeavored to remove him from the chief magistracy by impeachment. Johnson appointed Cole Governor of Washington Territory, to succeed William Pickering. Cole held the office but a short time, when he yielded it to another appointee of Johnson's, Marshall F. Moore, a war Democrat and ex-Union soldier. Cole removed to Portland, becoming a Republican in politics, and being appointed by President U. S. Grant postmaster of the city in 1873, an office that he held for eight years. He then removed to Spokane county, where he became a farmer and citizen of prominence, his last public service being that of county treasurer. Mr. Cole was married twice, his first wife being an Oregon woman and the second Eastern, both being dead. He also had two children—Fred and Ella. In 1905 Mr. Cole published a small book of 95 pages, giving in pleasant manner his experiences and observations in "Early Oregon, 1850 to 1860." Born in Trenton, N. J., Dec. 23d, 1826, he lacked but twenty days of being 80 years of age at the time of his death.

Transplanted for a Year.

Professor J. N. Bowman, head of the history department of the State Normal School at Bellingham, is absent on a year's leave of absence. He received a temporary call to the assistant professorship of Medieval History at the University of California. He is enjoying the work at Berkeley and friends in the Northwest are delighted over his increasing success.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

The value of the book we are here reproducing has been severely criticized by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. In a later issue his views will be given, but the editors believe that there is enough of value in the book to warrant its reproduction especially in view of the fact that it is exceedingly rare, and in view of the further fact that it is being quoted and criticised by different sides of the Whitman controversy.

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.*

In 1491, the western hemisphere slept unknown in the abyss. In 1492 Spain redeemed it to the world. Between 1512 and 1541, she settled Mexico, occupied Florida, traversed the whole north-

*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

ern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and explored the interior of the continent as far as the fortieth degree of north latitude. In 1543 she explored the coast under Cabrillo and Bartoleme Ferrelo, as high as the forty-fourth parallel, and from that year till 1580 we hear of no other adventure in a northern latitude. In the last mentioned year, however, Sir Francis Drake appeared in the North Pacific, and as the British government have seen fit to lay great stress upon his discoveries, it is necessary that we should give them particular attention.

Drake was one of the most distinguished of the buccaneers who cursed the face of the ocean during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He had heard of the enormous profits derived from the pillage of the South American Spanish settlements, and appealing to Queen Elizabeth (who secretly encouraged this system of warfare, in flagrant violation of the laws of humanity and of the rights of Spain to her Pacific discoveries), received her aid to his nefarious schemes. With, therefore, no object beyond piracy and plunder, he entered the Pacific in 1578, and during the course of that and the following year, ravaged every town of note on the coast of South America, committing the most barbarous outrages on their unoffending inhabitants. Being at last gorged with spoil and satiated with ravage, his next object was to secure a safe retreat; but fearing to take the risk of a return through the Straits of Magellan, lest the exasperated Spaniards should concentrate their forces there to cut him off, he resolved to return home by way of the Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. He accordingly ranged along the coast as high as the 42d or 43d degrees of north latitude, when, being pinched by the cold, he turned back and ran into the bay of San Francisco, in lat. 38. Here he stopped five weeks to refit, and for the purpose of awing the natives into submission, made a pompous display of colors and music, which he afterwards very modestly called taking possession for the British Crown. Though Drake knew from the accounts of the natives, and the articles of European manufacture he found among them, that the country had been discovered and visited long before, he could not overlook so favorable an opportunity of covering the dishonest nature of his enterprize; so he assumed the character of a discoverer, and performed the double service of saving both himself and his mis-

tress from impertinent inquiry by the evasion. He was rewarded on his return home for the murders he had committed and the plunder which he shared, by a baronetcy instead of a rope, and descended to posterity as **Sir Francis Drake**, the celebrated navigator, instead of Drake, the bold pirate. On this infamous basis do the British Government found their claims to Oregon, and it may be regarded as significant of the ramifications of the design. They insist that Drake explored the coast as high as 48° , and rely upon the statements of a work called the "World Encompassed," published by an unknown compiler, from "notes of the Rev. Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this (Drake's) employment." But as this journal was not made until **sixty-three** years after the voyage was made, and as its incongruous statements are directly contradicted by a work published immediately after the return of the expedition, when this Mr. Fletcher and all the parties were alive, and able to refute it, we are not bound to bestow a grave consideration on its statements. The following extract will serve to show the consistency and veracity of the Preacher's statement:

"On the 3d June (1580) we came in latitude 42° N., but in the night we found such an alteration of heat to extreme cold, as caused our men to grievously complain. The land bearing farther out in to the west than we had imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware. The 5th of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore and cast an anchor in a bad bay, where we were not without some danger by the **extreme gusts and flaws** that beat upon us. In this place there was no abiding, on account of the extreme cold, **and the wind still directly bent upon us**, commanded us south whether we would or no. From the height of 48° , in which we now were, to 38° , we found the land low and reasonably plain, and in $38^{\circ} 20'$ fell in with a fit and convenient harbor, where we anchored. During all this time we were visited with like nipping colds, **neither was the air during the whole fourteen days so clear as to enable us to take the height of sun or star**. Though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place toward the east, **but rather running in continually north-west, as if it were directly to meet with Asia.**"

Really, this preacher expects a great deal from our simplicity, for he coolly tells us that he accomplished a sailing distance of nearly, if not quite, **four hundred miles** under the most adverse circumstances, in **two days**. Moreover, we find upon an exam-

ination of the maps, that the coast between these latitudes, so far from running continually "**north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia,**" does not in any part trend one point toward the west. By comparing the two accounts, we find that the first historian (Mr. Francis Pretty), whose relation being published immediately upon its conclusion, may be regarded as the official journal of the voyage, sets the latitude of 5th June at 43° , while the other, whose work was not ventured before all the actors had departed from the stage, marks it 48° . It may be that Fletcher's manuscript has its degrees of latitude indicated by figures, and that a peculiarity of formation has confounded 43 with 48; but if the inconsistency is not explained in this way, we must of necessity conclude that the preacher, whose hard task it was to make robbery and ravage square with the ordinances of religion, has been gradually brought to consider romance as his peculiar province, and to estimate a serviceable fiction over a commonplace fact. The character of this production of Mr. Fletcher's appears to have been pretty well understood by the historians of the last century, for while but three writers previous to 1750 (and those of but little reputation*) adopt his statements, they are rejected by the great mass of authorities, comprising Ogilby, in his *History of America*, De Laet, in his *History of the New World*, Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, Locke, in his *History of Navigation*, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his biography of Drake, and Dr. Robertson, in his *Standard History of America*, none of them allowing Drake the credit of an advance above 43° , while the latter positively states that he turned back at the 42d parallel. When, in addition to the indisputable veracity of these writers, we take into consideration they are all, with one exception, Britons, who cannot be accused of an indifference to the glory of their country, we must reject the claim which is based upon the counter statement, as without foundation. Even admitting the latitude they ask, the very principles of international law they have advanced plunges them into an inextricable difficulty. By the rule which we have extracted from Vattel, **a discovery**, to confer a title, is clogged with a proviso in the concluding clause, that **a real possession** must follow soon after. Now we shall see in the progress of our inquiry, that **one hundred and ninety-**

*John Davis, Admiral Monson, and Captain Burney.

eight years elapsed before another English navigator entered the northern latitudes of the Northwest coast. As the most romantic imagination can hardly construe this into being **soon enough after**, we shall not hesitate to strike the pretensions, on the score of Drake, from off the record.

From the date of the expedition of Cabrillo and Ferrelo (1543), we hear of no further discovery to the north, except what is contained in the account of a voyage made by Francisco Gali, or Guelli, a merchantman, who in his course from China to Mexico is said to have reached the vicinity of the American continent, in $57\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, and to have sailed along in sight of its coast till he arrived at the bay of San Francisco, in latitude $37\frac{1}{2}$. But little reliance is to be placed upon this account, however, as by Guelli's own statement the land first seen by him "was very high and fair, and wholly without snow," which could not have been the case with the land in that latitude. It makes but little difference whether he is entitled to all he claimed or not, for subsequent discoveries cover all the ground which this could have occupied, if it were ever so substantial.

The next discovery by the Spaniards on the Northwest coast took place in 1592, by Jean de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who received the direction of a squadron fitted out by the Viceroy of Mexico for the discovery of a strait which was supposed to lead into the Atlantic ocean. Arriving between latitudes 48 and 49, he fell upon the great arm of the sea which separates "Quadra and Vancouver's Island" from the continent, and which now bears his name. This he thoroughly explored along its eastern course, and, having remained in it for twenty days, sailed again into the Pacific at its northern outlet in 51° , and then returned to Mexico. From the policy pursued by the Spanish Government of concealing everything that related to their American possessions, the existence of this strait was unknown to the rest of the world for a long time, and when its discoverer disclosed it to an English merchant some years afterward, it was derided as a fable.

In 1787 an Austrian vessel fell upon it and entered it to the distance of sixty miles, and as it corresponded in all its remarkable peculiarities with the one described by De Fuca nearly two hundred years before, justice was at once rendered to his memory by the bestowal on it of his name. From 1592 up to 1774,

the Spaniards occupied themselves principally in forming settlements upon the coast and in the interior of their northern possessions; but in the latter year another expedition was despatched under the charge of Juan Perez, which traversed the coast up to the 54th degree, down to forty minutes of which point the Russians had already extended their trading settlements. Proceeding south, Perez anchored in a spacious bay under 49° , which he named Port San Lorenzo, but which, on a subsequent visit by Captain Cook, received from that navigator its present name of Nootka Sound. After leaving Port San Lorenzo, Perez saw the Strait of Fuca in his southern course, but did not stop to examine it. In the following year another expedition, under Heceta, Bodega and Maurelle, examined the whole shore from 40° up to 58° , and the former, on his return voyage, while between 46° and 47° , noticed an opening in the land at $46^{\circ} 16'$, which appeared to be a harbor or the mouth of some river. He reported the fact, giving his opinion to that effect, and subsequent Spanish maps accordingly laid down a river there, which they called the San Roque.

We have now brought the Spanish discoveries down to 1775, to which time no other European nation had set foot upon the coasts between 38° and $54^{\circ} 40'$, neither had any ever reached a higher latitude than 43° .

In 1778, three years after this latter expedition, Captain Cook arrived in the North Pacific, and under $49\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ fell in with the port San Lorenzo of the Spaniards. This he named Nootka Sound, and ascribed the merit of its discovery to himself, in the face of numerous evidences that Europeans had been there before him, for he tells us in his own account that not only did the natives appear familiar with his ships, but he found among them articles of Spanish manufacture. Thus vanishes Cook from the shadowy list of English discoverers of the Coast of Oregon; for until the word discovery is born again and receives a new definition, it will hardly possess sufficient elasticity of application to stretch its qualities to two distinct visitations of the same spot, separated by a distance of three years; and unless its meaning is considerably enlarged, it will scarcely extend from the outside of an island twenty miles at sea to the body of the continent behind it.

Having disposed of the two main pillars of the English title,

we next come to the examination of the filling in, the flimsy material of which we shall find in keeping and correspondence with the unsubstantial quality of the first.

In doing this, we shall be obliged to extend the scope of our narrative somewhat, as well to correct certain gross misrepresentations which have been made to the injury of the Spanish title, as to afford a proper idea of the unworthy subterfuges which the desperate diplomacy of Britain has employed to effect the establishment of their own, in opposition to it. This course is necessary, moreover, to a correct understanding of the whole subject, as the circumstances to be related nearly kindled a general European war, and as they led to a treaty whose **claimed** concessions on the part of the English admits virtually the integrity of the title of Spain.

[Continued in next issue.]

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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To establish and maintain a society for the collection and preservation of historical facts and records; to gather and preserve memorials of the pioneers and early settlers of the Territory and State of Washington; to purchase, own, hold, enclose, maintain and mark the places of historical interest within this State by suitable and appropriate monuments, tablets and enclosures; to promote and engage in historical research relating to the Indians and Indian tribes; to engage in, carry on and promote historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary and scientific researches, and to publish the results of the same; to collect, collate, bind and put in convenient form for use and preservation the papers, documents, materials and records collected by the society; to publish, provide for and superintend the publication and distribution of, any papers, manuscripts, documents and records collected by the society; to establish and maintain a library; to encourage and promote the study of history, and especially of the history of the Territory and State of Washington, at the University of Washington; to act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping; to purchase or construct a suitable building for safely housing and preserving the historical and other records belonging to the society or committed to its care, and for its use and accommodation in all other respects; to receive, accept and fully acquire by purchase, lease, gift, or otherwise, lands, tenements and hereditments, and all such personal property as it may deem desirable for its interests, including stocks in other corporations, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages, bills receivable and choses in action, and to sell and dispose of the same (except that the papers, books, documents, historical and other records belonging to the society, shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of, but duplicates or superfluous copies thereof may be exchanged or otherwise disposed of); to borrow money and to make and deliver its promissory notes or other agreements to

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

HUGH WYNNE, A HISTORICAL NOVEL.

"I am an historian," said Niebuhr, "because I am able to construct a complete picture from the fragments that have been preserved." It is an interesting statement from one competent to speak as to the importance of the imaginative faculty in historical work. The novelist too must exercise imagination, and the possession of this common trait has led many a writer of fiction to tell the story of historical events. Undoubtedly in most cases the story is the object. With some, however, the main purpose, and in all at least a conscious desire is to draw a picture of genuine historical value. Professor Morse Stephens, in his paper on "History," in **Counsel Upon the Reading of Books**, has made a strong plea for the historical novel based upon the importance in historical study of this faculty of imagination. He claims that "the reading of historical novels is likely to lead to a less incorrect knowledge of the past than the reading of inaccurate histories." And one is not inclined to take exception, provided his requirement with regard to all historical reading is met, that "it is the first duty of every reader of such volumes to fix in his own mind as soon as possible the class to which the writer of the book perused belongs."

Inasmuch as they are confessedly fiction, it is perhaps unfair to subject historical novels to the canons of historical criticism. Certainly from the standpoint of the establishment of truth it would be a profitless task. As an essay in criticism, however, such a study may well prove of value. Where no authorities are cited, a long and careful investigation is required to determine either the facts in the case or the basis of the statement that is made. Questions of interpretation and of processes of construction are then presented, and finally a judgment upon the whole must be pronounced. When the author of **The**

Rose of Old St. Louis, in describing the dress of Gouverneur Morris, speaks of "his fine lace ruffles falling over his long white hands, and his immaculate stockings and pumps with their glittering buckles," and a contemporary states that Gouverneur Morris "has been unfortunate in losing one of his legs, and getting all the flesh taken off his right arm by a scald, when a youth," it is fairly obvious that the novelist's imagination had not been properly restrained by historical facts. Generally, however, the problems that arise are not so simple, and their solution demands something more than a mere knowledge of facts.

In the winter of 1901-02 the writer suggested to a class of advanced students in historical criticism at Stanford that a few weeks be spent upon the critical examination of some historical novel, attempting to make a practical application of the principles that had been studied. The suggestion was welcomed, and, largely because the material available was sufficiently extensive to promise profitable results, Dr. Weir Mitchell's **Hugh Wynne** was chosen as the subject of investigation. It was expected that no more would be accomplished than the reaching of some determination as to the extent, accuracy in statement, and use made of historical facts in the story; but not only were the results interesting in themselves, a genuine value also attaches to the insight that was obtained, through the courteous kindness of the author, into the construction of a successful historical novel.

After reading sufficient of the novel to get the general trend and purport of the story, all the available historical material was gathered, classified, and then divided among the various members of the class with instructions to attempt to verify or disprove, wherever possible in the first chapters, statements of historical facts or descriptions of the life and manners of the time. Very quickly a similarity was noticed between certain incidents and descriptions in **Hugh Wynne** and corresponding parts of Watson's **Annals of Philadelphia**. The number of these increased and the similarity was so striking that it was at first assumed that Watson's **Annals** was the source of information for most of the historical material embodied in the story of **Hugh Wynne**. Longer and more careful examination, however, necessitated a modification of such a hastily formed conclusion, and the following was the joint report of the class submitted upon the study of a little more than half the novel:

Sources of Information for the Writing of "Hugh Wynne."

- (a) 75-100 strikingly close resemblances between passages in **Hugh Wynne** and Watson's **Annals of Philadelphia**.
A still greater number of instances of resemblances not so close, but yet possible that in these latter instances the novel is indebted to Watson.
Some of the former resemblances are so striking that only two conclusions are possible: either (1) Dr. Mitchell drew from Watson, or (2) both borrowed from the same source.
In other cases the differences indicate that Watson's statements were modified by reference to other sources, or that these other sources were used independently of Watson.
- (b) One of the most probable of such sources is Christopher Marshall's **Diary**. (Impossible to verify absolutely, as the Library possesses only the early [partial] edition of 1839.)
- (c) Another probable source of information is the **Pennsylvania Magazine of History**, notably the following articles:
 - (1) Diaries and Journals of Hiltzheimer, McMichael, Montresor, Mrs. Henry Drinker, and Sally Wister.
 - (2) Letters of Lee, Benjamin Marshall, Paine, Reeves, Rebecca Franks, and others.
 - (3) Directory of Friends in Philadelphia, 1757-60.
 - (4) Keith's Andrew Allen, Flanders' John Dickinson, and others.
 - (5) Stone's Philadelphia Society 100 Years Ago, Baker's Camp by Schuylkill Falls, Exchange of Lee, and Itinerary of Washington.
- (d) Certain points are most reasonably explained by the use of the manuscripts and maps in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, referred to by Watson and Winsor. (One member of the class reported that Dr. Mitchell "undoubtedly" used these.)
- (e) Of later writers, several very striking resemblances to Fiske's **American Revolution** are noted.

When it was evident that tangible results were being obtained, the writer ventured to send a letter to Dr. Mitchell explaining what was being attempted and asking him if he were willing to answer the question whether he had not made quite extensive use of Watson's **Annals** in the writing of **Hugh Wynne**. His reply is the best commentary upon their report:

"Philadelphia, Pa.

"Dictated Feb. 15, 1902.

"Dear Sir:

"I am very pleased to answer your letter of the 8th and to reply to your questions.

"I used Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, but with great care, as the book is extremely unreliable. I made much more use of diaries of the times, as Miss Drinker's, Christopher Marshall, Shoemaker, and others. I also read enormously for years, letters of the time published and unpublished, and books relating to the period, which of course are open to any one. One of the most valuable to me was Barker's Itinerary of Washington during the War. Also I was much helped by the interesting letters (unpublished) of Col. Bradford, Dr. Rush, and Wilson.

"I ought to add that I was over seven years preparing myself to write this book. This may give your young students an idea of the care necessary to reach certain ends. Every important chapter, **save one**, in the book was rewritten three or four times. I leave the students to discover **which chapter**. It is perhaps the most important one & remains with scarcely an alteration.

"Yours truly,

"S. WEIR MITCHELL."

On receiving a copy of the class report, Dr. Mitchell was sufficiently interested to write with his own hand in response:

"1524 Walnut Street,

"Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir:—Even a too busy life & the late passing of my 73rd mile stone will not, or shall not deny me the pleasure of saying thro you a few words directly to the young men who have honoured my book with their critical attention.

"I desire to confess to the failure to say what by **most important** I meant—I should have said, that, what I regarded as the **best chapter**—had been left unchanged.

"I certainly did use Watson, but did not always trust him—as to mechanics—I found in the M. S. at the Phila. Libr'y M. S. additions to Watson—All the Diarys you mention, I used &—especially Baker's Itinerary. Graydon's Memoirs were of utmost value—&—Col. Bradford's M. S. letters.

"As to Arnold—There are endless M. S. letters—He was a scoundrel—all thro—& a grand soldier—or fighter.

"I want to say a word as to Washington—I read all the lives—diaries—M.scripts, etc.—& then—somehow the great simple heroic figure took shape & I knew what he would say & do.

"As to historic fiction a word—The historic people should influence the fates of lesser characters—but never be the important persons of the story—They must be won—by some process such as I have described—If once in yr. possession and

charactered, you or they hesitate as to what they are to say or do—you will fail.

"What is called atmosphere: a sense of fitting & influentially valuable environment—is hard to define. To secure it for another time is to be done by immense study of manners customs, dress, diet, hours, amusements, politics, etc. While writing *H. W.* I used to amuse myself by visits to the Willings or Chews—or Cadwaladers & see the dresses—& table & talk with the people—etc. &—be sure I was in a company become familiar & easy—

"Mere archaic allusions will not answer—Indeed too constant effort at such methods of getting atmosphere, result in destroying interest & cause precisely the opposite of what the writer meant to attain—It is a common error—

"A word more—The historical autobiographic novel is rare—*Waverley* & a few more—It needs to acquire the invaluable, all seeing, 3rd person—I got it in *H. W.* by the novel device of the use of his friend Warner's diary—

"But you want History & this is all about fiction—Give finally my regards to these near & far distant young countrymen. I send you for them what lately I said in verse of Washington*—

"To end—I have written a long letter—Tell them never to write long letters—

"Yrs truly,

"WEIR MITCHELL."

"5th April 1902."

In the meantime the members of the class had been at work attempting to solve the new problem that had been set them; of determining which chapter had not been rewritten. Perhaps Dr. Mitchell might not be pleased to learn that some of the class essayed the task by considering the errors that had been noted in various places, believing that the chapter which contained the greatest number of mistakes would probably be the one that had not been revised. He would have been quickly relieved, however, by the paucity of results. Others considered the question as one of style. But the majority attempted to determine which was the "most important" chapter in the book. It resolved itself then into a matter of opinion, and as usual in such cases there was much diversity. There were three chapters, however, which seemed to claim consideration above the others—the siege of Yorktown, Andre's execution, and the Quaker meeting—but no amount of argument could bring about an agreement upon any one of them. To settle the question, Dr. Mitchell was again appealed to,—this time by a member of the

*"The Birthday of Washington," printed in *University of Pennsylvania Bulletin*, Feb., 1902.

class,—and apparently other questions were asked and particularly upon certain disputed points in the account of the battle of Germantown.

"20th April 1902.

"1524 Walnut Street,
"Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir:

"My last and long letter to Prof. F. answers some of your queries. The chapter in question I was wrong to call '**most important.**' It was to me the one I believed would be the most difficult. It is that in which H. W. visits Washington the night before Andre's death. I wrote it easily & never materially altered it.

"As to the sources whence I drew the battle of Germantown—they were many—diaries, traditions—all the histories—lives, etc. I burned my notes, being cursed by accumulating M. S. & even had I them still, I could not answer you. I regard the Quaker meeting as the chapter to which I should have given the place as most **important.** As to this you are right. A good deal of the talk is taken in bits out of unpublished letters of Wetherill, Waln, etc.—of course I used Watson, but always cautiously. Pray let Prof. F. see this letter. I am much pleased by the intelligent interest my book has excited in the minds of my young fellow citizens.

"I read even more largely for Francois, and am told that it is the truest picture of the Paris of that day; a picture usually overcoloured as by Dickens.—

"Yrs truly,

"WEIR MITCHELL.

"James Cone, Esq.,

"My statement ought to have been—What chapter of importance was unaltered?"

The letters have been allowed to tell their own story for they reveal, better than any second-hand account could, many interesting things, some of which were quite unexpected. Though quite apart from the main purpose, the insight that was obtained into certain traits of the author—his interest, his kindness, his courtesy and patience—could not fail of recognition and appreciation by those for whom he took so much trouble. The time and care taken in preparation for the writing of **Hugh Wynne** will surprise all but the few who know, and should stand as an example to everyone attempting this form of writing. But the handling of the material after it has been gathered will ever remain the most difficult task, and Dr. Mitchell's letter

in explanation of the methods he followed is as valuable as it is interesting. No stronger testimony to his success in this direction could be found than the oft-repeated complaint of every member of the class studying **Hugh Wynne** that the story was so interesting that all criticism was forgotten, and a second, even a third reading of many chapters failed to remove the difficulty.

When one knows of the long and careful study that preceded the writing of **Hugh Wynne**, one would not expect to find many historical inaccuracies in the novel, nor is this expectation disappointed. Here and there are slight discrepancies within the story itself, apparently due to a slip of memory or to some uncertainty as to the actual course of events. In the brief sketches of some of the characters attending the first session of the Continental Congress in 1774, names of men are included who were not present until a later day. But such quite excusable and perhaps intentional anachronisms are the most serious deviations from strictest exactitude. Yet all these give but fragments, and the picture remains to be completed. This Dr. Mitchell leaves entirely to the imagination of the reader. From the standpoint of the novelist it lends strength, from the standpoint of the historical student it is the story's greatest weakness. The imagination must construct the picture from the analogy of scenes with which it is already familiar, and in the case of the average reader this will differ widely from the reality. The story is not thereby affected, but the historical picture, through the fault of the reader rather than of the author, will prove decidedly untrue.

In the portrayal of historical characters, Dr. Mitchell has shown perhaps his strongest side. "Put yourself in his place" is the precept of the historian in such delineation as it is of the novelist. Human nature is the same in one generation as in another, and provided only he strictly guards the use of his imagination by all the facts ascertainable in the case, the novelist in his presentation of historical figures may well succeed where many an equally painstaking but less imaginative historian has failed. His letter of April 5th shows how carefully and with what sympathetic appreciation Dr. Mitchell prepared himself for this phase of his work, and one recognizes quickly the inception of that really daring attempt, "The Youth of Washington," which appeared in the *Century* a few years ago.

This phase of the story appealed especially to the writer, and in a final note he expressed his appreciation of this, and his

particular interest in the character of Wilson. Dr. Mitchell's reply may well serve as a close to this imperfect sketch of a study, which proved as profitable as it was interesting:

"No. 1524 Walnut Street,

"Philadelphia, Pa.

"April 28—1902.

"Dear Prof. Farrand.

"Your interests, and mine, have led us into what is an unusually lengthy correspondence.

"Many thanks for your note of April 21st, which gives me the opportunity to say a single word in relation to James Wilson. I was able to find very little about his younger life except that he was tutor in the Grammar School or what was then called the Academy of the University, but a good deal of light has been thrown upon his great services in connection with the Constitution in '87. There are many unused documents in the Historical Society which contribute large knowledge as to his legal character.

"As to the rest I did more guessing than I should have done if I had had the time for larger search.

"Yours truly

"WEIR MITCHELL."

MAX FARRAND.

THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON.

God of the nations! Thou whose hand
Led forth their best across the sea,
To find in this unfettered land
Thy largest gift—the soul set free.

Bless Thou the land Thy bounty gave,
Thy feeble few are grown a host;
From eastern sea to western wave,
Blest be their homes from coast to coast.

Give them Thy peace, but if arrayed
Once more against some evil power
They draw again a righteous blade,
Be with them in the battle hour.

As when upon the Cuban deep
The thunder of our cannon spoke,
And from sad centuries of sleep,
The stately form of freedom woke.

Remembering him we praise today,
Hushed is the mighty roar of trade.
And, pausing on its ardent way,
A nation's homage here is laid.

Where on the great Virginian's grave,
Look down the new-born century's eyes,
And by his loved Potomac wave
In God's long rest, his soldier lies.

A hundred years have naught revealed
To blot this manhood's record high
"That blazoned duty's stainless shield
And set a star in honor's sky."

¹Read by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell on University Day at the University of Pennsylvania, February 22, 1902, and published in the Bulletins of that institution for February, 1902.

In self-approval firm, his life
Serenely passed through darkest days;
In calm or storm, in peace or strife,
Unmoved by blame, unstirred by praise.

No warrior pride disturbed his peace,
Nor place, nor gain. He loved his fields,
His home, the chase, his land's increase,
The simple life that nature yields.

And yet for us all man could give
He gave, with that which never dies,
The gift through which great nations live,
The lifelong gift of sacrifice.

With true humility be learned
The game of war, the art of rule;
And calmly patient, slowly earned
His competence in life's large school.

Well may we honor him who sought
To live with one unfailing aim,
And found at last, unasked, unbought,
In duty's path, the jewel, fame!

Ay! Keep your laurels green for him,
And that great memory proudly guard,
Lest time's mere repetition dim
A grateful nation's high award!

Thus, mindful of a faithful past,
We arm us for our present need,
Lest factious storms his harvest blast,
And freedom, overgrown, exceed;

For that dark race our arms set free
Waits justice from our timid sway,
And those far islands of the sea
In freedom's school must win their way.

Ay! We are lords of many lands
And soon or late may sadly learn

That history with impartial hands
Will give us only what we earn.

Oh, teach us to not lightly hold
The freeman's right himself to rule,
And not from sloth, and not from gold,
To be the civic despot's fool:

For He who girded us with power,
And gave us strength to do the right,
Will ask us, in His own stern hour,
"How have ye used the gift of might?"

Since, till this harried earth shall gain
The heaven of Thy peace, O Lord!
Freedom and Law will need to reign
Beneath the shadow of the sword.

O, Thou, who bade us seek and find,
Teach us to seek with humble art
Through laws of the Eternal Mind
The wisdom of the Eternal Heart:

Lo! Science on her soaring wing
To heights we dream not now, shall move,
Until her broad horizons bring
Thy larger morn of boundless Love.

Thus from the childhood of the soul
We grow toward manhood's stature still,
To see at last the years unroll
The Gospel of the Master's will.

Hail! Gracious Mother! Thou whose youth
Sent forth a brood of sturdy men
Who stood for freedom and for truth,
And used the sword to free the pen.

Still ever in thy learned walls
The will, the wish, the vigor live!
Ay ready, if our country calls,
To meet what fate may duty give.

Almighty Father! Bless that home
Of youthful hopes and honest strife;
Wherever these Thy children roam
Be Thou their stay in death and life.

That when with years they bring us here
The simple tale of service done,
Or victories to a nation dear,
Or triumphs peaceful lives have won.

Here shall the mother, at whose knee
They heard the words that guide and guard,
Glad of her children, proudly see
In noble lives, her best reward.

S. WEIR MITCHELL.

COOK'S PLACE IN NORTHWEST HISTORY.*

One year ago the Pacific Northwest celebrated by an exposition the centennial of the expedition of Lewis and Clark. In the Northwest the spirit for celebrating is of recent date, yet that alone is not sufficient for the selection of Lewis and Clark as the objects of celebration. In 1878 the Northwest was no doubt still too young, and the date too near the origin of the World's Fair idea to celebrate the centennial of Cook's voyage; in 1885 they were too much excited by recent railroad development to be interested in the centennial of the coming of the first trading vessel to the Coast; and in 1892 Washington was too new a state and Idaho too new a territory for Old Oregon to attract the world's or even the local attention from the Chicago Fair to the centennial of Vancouver. Yet one year after the World's Fair at St. Louis, the Northwest celebrated in honor of Lewis and Clark. The greater part of the reason for the celebration of this event must be sought in the East.

The celebrators were pioneers and sons of pioneers from the Eastern States, imbued with the feelings of America and proud of the national heroes, especially those heroes who touched their adopted homes. Lewis and Clark were heroes; their published "Travels" were scattered broadcast over the country—an incentive to the dreams of pioneer youth, and a solace to those who were building the Old Northwest or trailing the Wilderness Road. Those men and women who followed the Oregon trail and laid the basis of the life in the new Northwest were dominatingly from those states along the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers; the second generation of those states which had been peopled by the economic effects of the war of 1812—that westward movement over the Alleghany mountains, accelerated by the "Travels" of Lewis and Clark appearing in the year that saw the end of the war. In such an energetic westward-moving age, Lewis and Clark—the first Americans to cross the continent—easily became heroes. But behind this Charinism lies the fact that McKenzie had crossed the same continent at its greater breadth some thirteen years before; and that for more than forty years the trappers and traders were pushing up the Missouri;

*Prepared for the Portland meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 30 November and 1 December, 1906.

and sixty years had passed since the Rockies themselves had been sighted. The names given by Lewis and Clark have practically all passed away; their scientific knowledge still stands a monument in the development of the new country—but their popularity hardly rests on these. Of greater importance is their effect on the trade movement of the time. Their preparation accelerated the activity of the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal and led it later to the Coast; their return set in motion Astor and his Pacific Fur Company, and led, by water and land, to the first American settlement on the Coast. In both these cases Lewis and Clark only accelerated already existing movements; the Northwest Company had originated and expanded westward out of rivalry to the Hudson Bay Company; Astor's overland fur trading was but the culmination of the old French movement up the Missouri River. The westward movement and spirit of the Louisiana purchase in the days of Lewis and Clark; the westward movement, the opening of the ginseng and fur trade with China, and the beginning of the whale fishing after the second war with England gave the social canvas on which the deeds of Lewis and Clark were painted in glowing colors. Aside from the romantic popularity they had tangible effects in trade, in both Canada and America. The romantic popularity brought no settlers to Oregon; the Americans who did visit by water or by land came for fur. The tangible effect of the expedition was fur in some of its forms.

Yet here again Lewis and Clark are neither originators or culminators: Cook begins and the Hudson Bay Company ends.

The foregoing has already hinted at the part played by fur in the Northwest lands. It is Cook's place in it that is the problem of this paper.

The term "Northwest" on the Pacific meant among the traders in the earliest day the coast from Nootka and the Columbia northward to the Russian settlements; later it became synonymous with the Oregon Territory—the coast between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$; with the settlement of the Oregon question the term "Pacific Northwest" designated the American portion, while the Canadians projected their term to the Alaskan border. In Cook's day these distinctions were not made, so in this paper close lines have not been drawn, yet the American side for the most part has been followed. The Northwest, then, at first was international trading-ground; it was divided between England and America and divided again into states; it was the source of ware

for trade in China; its frontage and its source of trade on the Pacific binds it in vital relations to this great ocean; and through the trade and politics of the various nations thereon, the Northwest assumes the dignity of a position in the world history. In these various relations—states, the Northwest, the United States, the Pacific and the world—Cook assumes his relations and his place.

It is in his last voyage that Captain Cook touches the Northwest—the last of those voyages which began as a result of the spirit of the early eighteenth century wars. To know the world beyond Europe, which France was losing and England was gaining, and in which all Europe began to be interested, Cook, as an Englishman of his day, commenced his voyages around the world. He opened to the eyes of the Western world the waters and the lands of the South Sea and hunted for the Northwest Passage sought by his countryman Drake two centuries before him. From the Hawaiian Islands he sailed in his last voyage for the New Albion of Drake, bearing instructions to survey its coasts from 45° to 65° and discover the western entrance of the Northwest Passage. He sighted land on the present Oregon coast, and left the names Foulweather, Perpetua and Gregory on the capes before him; setting to sea, he sighted land again, slightly south of a point which he named Cape Flattery. To sea again, he touched land not many miles further north at a sound to which he gave an English designation, but later retained the Indian name of Nootka. Here he remained nearly a month studying the land, the flora, and fauna; the Indians in their different aspects, and traded with them for furs. He passed northward, touching here and there, naming points, islands and bays, taking latitude and longitude, meeting with the Indians and securing furs from them. He looked for designated Spanish points and further north found traces of the Russians. He left the coast for Hawaii, where he lost his life; his fleet, under the command of Lieutenant King, proceeded to the Asiatic coast, touching, among other places, Kamtschatka and Canton. At the former place they learned of the Russian interest in furs, and at the latter they learned the value of these furs in China and the possible great profit accruing from direct trade between the Northwest and the Middle Kingdom. Within one year after the publication of the "Voyage 'Round the World" the first trader appeared on the Coast from Macao, and a company had been formed in England for this recommended trade.

The results of the voyage are threefold—scientific, nautical and the discovery of the fur; the effects also are threefold—the fur trade, the Chinook jargon, and the political questions arising out of the trade. By scientific result is meant the knowledge gained of geography, the climate, the flora, the fauna; the Indians, their language, their religion, and customs. By nautical is meant that practical knowledge of use to the navigator. The questions of fur, fur trade, the jargon, and the political relations are in themselves explicative. In applying these results and effects to the Northwest history and its various relations an approximate estimate of the place of Cook's voyage may be ascertained.

As to science: Through the knowledge of the geography, Indians, the flora and fauna in Nootka Sound, he touched the early Oregon Territory, and only indirectly the American Northwest through the similarity of these matters in contiguous lands. This was the first published knowledge of this kind regarding this locality and still stands as the beginning of the uncovering of a new land and people. In the relationship of the Northwest to the Pacific and the world he holds a much more important position, in closing the long problem of the segregation of the American and Asiatic continents. Columbus, until his last voyage, felt that he had touched Asiatic islands; de Leon searched for the Fountain of Youth and Coronado for the Cities of Cibola, both pictured by Mandeville in Southwestern Asia. Magellan, Drake and Gila separated the southern ends of these continents and projected their union far to the northward. The legendary Straits of Anian of the sixteenth century were finally proven by Behring in the eighteenth. Cook then closed the problem in giving the distances between the continents, and the vastness of the Pacific. He closes the problem which Columbus began.

As to navigation: Cook's observations of longitude and latitude were the most accurate up to his day. The chronometer was not yet a decade old when he introduced it into the Pacific; and thereby his observations of longitude were especially accurate. His survey of the Coast where sighted, of Nootka and Prince William Sounds and Cook's Inlet were of such accuracy as to be of great practical use to the navigators piloting the fur traders in the succeeding decades; and Nootka Sound in fact became from the first the rendezvous and general port on the Northwest Coast until at the end of the controversy with Spain

it was superceeded by the Columbia River. The names of Foul-weather, Perpetua and Flattery are permanent on the maps of Oregon and Washington—the first permanent names given by Europeans. In the relation of the Northwest to the Pacific and to the world he gave it its relative position on the ocean, and by the publication of his "Voyage" made it easy of access so soon as occasion should demand its visitation. In all these questions of navigation, Cook left nothing of permanence except three names on the Oregon and Washington coasts. His surveys were later superceeded and enlarged. His place here is that of the pioneer explorer.

Regarding the fur question, it is necessary to consider its dual nature of location and trade. By his trade and that of his sailors, Cook secured commercial evidence of the fur-bearing animals' presence on the whole Coast from Nootka northward; by this same means and by his intercourse with the Indians he learned of the different kinds of fur animals. The fox and the sea-otter, the bear and the marten, the wolf and the hare, he mentions most frequently. Geographically this is within the Old Oregon Territory; and historico-geographically it is also within the American Pacific Northwest. It is at Kamtschatka and Canton, however, where the remainder of this work is done. At these places Cook's men learned the value of the furs they had secured out of curiosity and had used as rugs on deck and as covering in their cabins. For these half wornout furs such great prices were paid, as it seemed to them, that a mutiny was with difficulty avoided preventing their return to the American coast in order to make their fortunes. In Canton they received less than in Kamtschatka for furs to be used by the Chinese in the North China trade; the Russians being nearer this trade could offer more for the reason that they were also nearer the Kurile and Aleutian Islands where they found in decreasing number the sea-otter which the Chinese held in high esteem. Moreover, in the words of Lieutenant King, these highly-prized sea-otter "are exactly the same we met with at Nootka Sound, which have already been fully described, and where they are in great plenty." At the close, King recommended fur trade directly between America and China, and gave many suggestions as to its conduct. On the basis of these facts and suggestions the first trading vessel in the Northwest waters made its appearance within one year of the publication of the "Voyage 'Round the World"; and a company was formed in England to carry on the trade.

Cook, however, was not the first to learn of the fur animals in America or to trade in furs with China. This honor belongs to the Russians. Some of the sailors of Behring's last voyage learned of the presence of the animals in America and their value in China; in fact, two years before the arrival of Cook a trade was already in existence in the islands and on the coast of America. Yet the Russian fur trade from Siberia to China reaches back to the very beginning of the century. Again, the presence of these Russians in the northern waters was known to Cook; and their discovery of furs in these waters was known to the world by the publication of Behring's voyages in German, English and French, twenty years before Cook began his voyage. In this regard Cook's part is not in the first discovery of the fur and the possible trade, but in making it generally known to the Western world; and in directing trade immediately between America and China, instead of, as with the Russians, the coast trade along the northern islands and lands. Russia held this as a national possession; Cook gave it to the world and opened the trade to the nations.

Again, Cook's high place is endangered by the Hudson Bay Company in its westward movement overland; accelerated by the results of the Seven Years' War, and by the activity of the Northwest Company beginning the year of the publication of the "Voyage." Russians had already found the fur; it was but a question of time until the Canadians, and even the trappers on the Missouri, would have found what Cook found. His place, then, is not an indispensable one; his importance is in the internationality given to his knowledge; and the readiness of Europe and America to begin this trade places him at its starting point.

The discovery of fur and the possibility of its trade brought the United States first into contact with the Northwest. Ginseng was too scarce in America to sustain a trade with China; aside from it the Americans had nothing within the Chinese demand. The Northwest now opened a new field. The coming of Kendrick and Gray, and the discovery of the Columbia, and the later coming of Astor's Pacific Fur Company and the founding of Astoria laid the basis of the political questions down to the settlement of the San Juan Controversy. For China, Cook's voyage opened a whole eastern broadside against her isolation. The Russian fur trade since the days of the Nertschinsk treaty and the English trade since the inheritance of India had now been increased by the renewed activity of the English and the addition of the

Americans. With this trade begins the opening of the Northern Pacific. The Russians had coasted its northern shores and islands and in due course would, no doubt, have made it another Baltic; until the coming of Cook in his three voyages, Spain dominated the South Sea excepting where the Dutch dominated in the East Indies. Following Cook's last voyage came English, Americans, French, Dutch-Austrians, and the renewed entrance of Spanish and Russians. Moreover, into this new center of trade, opened by Cook to the world to meet the world's demand for furs, Cook's voyage incited the western movement of the Hudson Bay Company, the early growth of the Northwest Company and its more rapid progress to the Coast, and also the free trappers via the Missouri. In this latter movement into the Northwest via the Missouri Lewis and Clark find their place at a later day. Cook, then, was not the first discoverer; his place is that of the opener of the Northwest, and with the world's readiness to enter, the beginner of its real history.

Out of the trade on the Coast grew the Chinook jargon; its first steps are noted at Nootka, but its real growth and development are seen at the new trade center on the Columbia. Its prime service was in the barter between the Indians and the whites, but later it became and continues still an intertribal language. Cook took no part either in its origin or its development; but does touch it indirectly in directing to the Northwest Coast those traders by sea who did give it origin, and the Canadians by land who developed it.

Into political relations it is through the fur trade that the Northwest enters. Fur brought the English traders and through them arose the political interests on the Coast. The presence of these traders roused the Spanish to tardy action to hold in check the English and also the Russians further north. The clash occurred at Nootka and the Northwest was hurled into the world history; for this clash was heard as far as the Falkland Islands and the National Assembly of the French Revolution. It was fur that brought Gray to the Columbia and Astor to Astoria and helped in the creation of the Lewis and Clark expedition; and on these America based her relations with Spain and her half-century struggle with England over Oregon. In this struggle for the Northwest, Cook occupies no indispensable place even indirectly. The Russians were there and moving southward before his arrival, and it was their presence which primarily brought Perez to the north—a clash was inevitable. The Eng-

lish-Canadian fur companies were moving westward along the line of Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, while the Americans were ascending the Missouri Valley. Both these movements would overlap on the still undefined border between Canada and the Louisiana Purchase, while west of the Rockies the river systems would bring them into conflict between the Fraser and the Columbia; and each of these in turn with the Russian and Spanish interests to the north and south respectively—again, inevitably clashes. Again in another sense the tendencies were already in existence for a clash in the Northwest some time, whether through fur trade or through slower expansion. Since Columbus' day seven European powers had struggled over the possession of America, north and south; from the Line of Demarcation to the end of the so-called Colonial Wars this conflict had been too intense for us to feel that the Northwest could have escaped this international warfare. These clashes were inevitable; they did come through the fur trade—and Cook's place in them is that he occasioned this fur trade.

In the relation of the Northwest to China and the long train of consequent political events for the latter, we note the same part played by the fur trade—and there again Cook enters.

In the political relations of the Northwest to the Pacific it is the fur trade of the former that makes the unknown sea an international ocean. Until the days of Cook the South Sea had been for the most part a Spanish sea between her possessions in the Americas and the Eastern Islands; but with the opening of the fur trade it merges into the internationality of the northern waters to the extent that within a generation even the name "South Sea" is lost in the greater Pacific. Up to this time what international interest in the Pacific did exist had been centered on its Asiatic shore—the East Indies and China; it is the Northwest that makes it international, and centers the first international interest and conflict on its American shores—and here again Cook's place is seen.

In the political relations of the Northwest to the world it is the fur trade again that bears the burden. It is the Northwest which makes the Pacific a part of the great European international Atlantic; and when the Northwest and its fur trade had played their part other interests succeeded to make the Pacific the new Atlantic and to reduce the Atlantic to the position of a new Mediterranean. Europe is now bounded on the west by the Pacific Coast; the shortest and quickest way between

Europe and Asia is now via the Pacific, and the old sixteenth century problem of cutting the Isthmian canal has resolved itself into a question of giving the Atlantic Ocean an outlet into the Pacific. The Northwest is a link in this long chain of events reaching from the international Mediterranean of the fifteenth century to the international Pacific of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and Cook's place is again seen. In one other aspect the Northwest plays a world part. From time immemorial to the days of Cook the borderland between Europe and Asia has been on the east Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, and later along the variable political and cultural lines between Russia and Asia. With the entrance of the Northwest fur trade Europe began to see Asia on her west; and as this fur trade culminated in the opening of Japan, Asia began to see Europe in the east. A new border between the two arose in the Pacific; politically it is now on the Asiatic side, in the Territories and Spheres of Influence of the European nations; culturally it is on both shores—in the Boxer movement on the one side and the Asiatic Exclusion Movement on the other. In the development of this new Europe-Asia border the Northwest played its part—and Cook's place is again evident.

In taking a general view of Cook one notes that in the Northwest he leaves the first permanent names and selects the port for the early traders; that he is the scientific pioneer, the harbinger of the fur animal and the inciter of the fur trade. Because of the fur trade in itself and its resultant interests in politics and culture, his highest place is in discovering the fur in the Northwest, and making it generally known at a time when the world was ready to receive it. Here he occupies a vivid and distinct place in many respects, in the economic and political history of the Northwest; in China and the East; in the great political disturbances over Nootka, Oregon and the San Juan Islands; in making the Pacific into an international ocean and the new Mediterranean Sea; and lastly in the creation of the antipodal borderland between Europe and Asia. Cook's place is not an indispensable one—in the sense of the indispensibility of the preaching of St. Paul, the crowning of Charlemagne, and the Norman Conquest. The tendencies and movements were already actively directed toward accomplishing in some way or other what he accomplished. His place is somewhat like that of Columbus for the New World; he actively opened the Northwest to the world and bid the nations enter.

J. N. BOWMAN.

TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INDIANS.

During the Indian war of 1855-56 it became necessary for Governor Stevens to communicate with certain parties living on Shoalwater Bay. There was at that time no mail or express, or any other regular means of communication between Olympia and any place on either Gray's Harbor or Shoalwater Bay. The Governor got his letter ready and asked me if I would undertake to carry it to the parties addressed on Shoalwater Bay. I was, at that time, quite a young man, on duty at the Executive Office in connection with the Indian war then in progress, and I agreed to carry the letter.

The Governor then instructed me to proceed to the residence of Judge S. S. Ford on the Chehalis River and there hire an Indian and canoe and proceed down the Chehalis River to some proper place near its confluence with Gray's Harbor. There I was instructed to tie up the canoe and proceed on foot, under the guidance of the Indian, to Shoalwater Bay.

I left Olympia on horseback and reached Ford's the same evening, where I explained to the Judge the nature of my business.

Next morning Judge Ford went with me to the Chehalis Indian encampment, near by, and made a bargain with an Indian for the service of himself and canoe on the proposed trip. The Judge very wisely explained to the Indians the nature of the mission, which was simply that of messenger, carrying a letter to be delivered to the parties addressed on Shoalwater Bay.

Here it should be mentioned that there was at that time a large encampment of Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians on Gray's Harbor, and that they had purchased from a sailing vessel which had recently been there a large amount of whisky. The presence on Gray's Harbor of these Indians from the North was not known at that time to either Judge Ford or the Indian encampment on the Upper Chehalis. It is also proper here to mention that although the Indian war was still progressing, the Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians had not thus far manifested any open hostility.

The service of an Indian and Canoe being secured, I started down the Chehalis River. Arriving at tide water on Gray's Harbor, we tied up our canoe and proceeded on foot along the beach. We had not gone far, however, until we struck an Indian encampment of Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians, who promptly seized me as a prisoner, informing me that I and my guide must stay with them until they could hear from their chief, who was encamped some distance further down the Harbor. Accordingly a runner was started off to the principal camp, who, after some two hours absence, returned with orders to bring me and my guide to the main camp. On arrival there I witnessed a fearful scene of drunkenness, a large amount of whisky in buckets, jugs and other vessels, and several drunken Indians lying around the camp. There were, however, a number of sober Indian men, who seemed to be on duty, and a large, middle-aged Indian woman, who appeared to be in command of the camp. I inquired for the Chief and was informed by the men that he was absent (perhaps drunk). They also informed me that the woman was now chief and that I must make my explanations to her.

"Yes," said she, speaking in a loud, commanding tone, "I am the one to whom you must give an account of yourself. And now I want to know on what errand of evil and mischief to my people you have come here?"

To which I replied that my visit had nothing whatever to do with her people or with any Indians whatever; that I was simply the bearer of a letter to a gentleman living on Shoalwater Bay, and that was all. Thereupon I took the letter out of my pocket and showed it to her. She then spoke to the Chehalis Indian, the guide, and asked him what he knew about the object or business of my visit. Then the Chehalis Indian promptly replied, confirming what I had said, and stating fully what Judge Ford had told him before starting down the river.

Then the woman chief ordered the other Indians off to a distance, out of hearing, and then spoke to me as follows:

"I believe what you and your guide say and that you are entirely innocent of any wrongful design against my people. But my tribe, before you reached this lower camp, came to a different conclusion. In other words, they have condemned you to death, and I have no power to change that determination. All I can do is to assist you to escape, which I am willing to do, and I believe you can get safely out of this scrape if you will follow my advice. My people have determined that you can

go no further on your journey to Shoalwater Bay; that you must start back to go up the Chehalis River, and the place where you are to be killed is at the first Indian camp which you reached and passed in coming here. Now you and your guide must pretend to start back, but you must not go as far as the next camp. About half way to that camp you must turn short off to the right through the timber and keep on in that direction, and you will soon strike a trail leading towards Shoalwater Bay. You must take that trail, and you must then **run**, don't walk, but **run** day and night until you get entirely out of danger. And now," said she, "here is some fresh cooked sturgeon which you can help yourself to, and you had better sit right down and eat all you can, for you will need all the food you can swallow."

My guide and I, after having partaken of the fish, then started back, but, following the directions of the woman chief, we did not go over seven miles until we turned off to the right and struck out through the timber. Proceeding in a southerly direction we soon struck the trail she mentioned. Then we started on the **run**, and kept on **running** all that day and nearly all night before reaching the waters of Shoalwater Bay.

Having now arrived at the end of my journey, I lost no time in delivering the letter of which I was the bearer to the party addressed. Having done so, I deemed it unsafe to return immediately to Olympia. So I concluded to remain where I was until the Quinaiult and Quilleyute Indians had left Gray's Harbor on their return north. Fortunately I did not have to wait more than ten days until news came of the departure of those Indians for their northern home. Then my guide and I started back at once, and in due time arrived safely in Olympia.

QUINCY A. BROOKS.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL AS A MISSIONARY AND PIONEER CHURCH.*

The Episcopal Church is sometimes spoken of jocosely and derisively by those of other religious denominations as being an urban affair, unsuited to early settlements, to primitive times and conditions, and to successful undertaking in the field of the missionary.

Such terms as "kid gloved," "silk stockinged," and "hot house," are applied to its ministers, congregations and efforts. However it may have been elsewhere, this humor, on the part of our religious co-workers of the other denominations, has never been applicable to the Episcopal Church in the State of Washington. Here it has been the Pioneer Church, dividing honors with but few, and leading among the few.

The first real or substantial missionary work in the State of Washington goes to the credit of our church. Though Jason Lee, for the Methodists, preached a couple of times at Fort Vancouver in 1834, and Samuel Parker, for the American Board of Commissioners, held services there in 1835, it was left for the Church of England to firmly plant the cross there in 1836. The sovereignty of this country was then in dispute between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. Except a few Hudson Bay Company people there were no white men here then, and there were no white women whatever unless half Indian women are so considered. That year an ex-chaplain of the British Army, Rev. Herbert Beaver, who had been doing service in the West Indies, was sent on the *Nereid*, a sailing vessel, to the Columbia River. It arrived in midsummer (1836) at Fort Vancouver. The salary of Mr. Beaver was £200 per annum. Six weeks or two months after his arrival the Rev. Messrs. Whitman and Spalding came overland, and about the end of the year located missions east of the Cascade Mountains. As they started from the States months after Mr. Beaver started from England, and arrived at their destination months after he arrived, and they were the first three clergymen to locate in what is now Washington, it follows that to Mr. Beaver and to those he represented belong the credit of leading in the work of God in this part of the American Union. So also to Mrs. Jane Beaver attaches the distinction of being the first white

* Paper read by Mrs. Thomas W. Prosch at the monthly meeting of the Women's Auxiliary of St. Mark's Church, Monday, April 8th, 1907.

woman to become a resident of this State. Mr. Beaver at once took up the work he came to do. Before this time men and women had been living together without form of marriage. He opposed this custom, though it required courage on his part, as the higher officers were offenders equally with their subordinates. He succeeded, however, and soon the old custom was reversed. The first marriage service in the State was performed by Mr. Beaver in January, 1837, when James Douglas and Nellie Connolly were joined. Douglas was second officer in the company, and in a few years became the first, later being knighted by Queen Victoria, and appointed Governor of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Dr. John McLoughlin, the head of the company here at that time, being actually both Governor and Government, was also married, but, for a personal reason, not by Beaver. Though Mr. Beaver rendered himself somewhat obnoxious to the Hudson Bay Company employes by his assumption and officiousness, there can be no question that he did good missionary work, this matter of marriages alone being worth to the world all the cost of time, money and effort involved in his coming. He conducted religious services regularly, buried the dead in due form, baptized many persons, and received into the church a number of communicants. In 1838 he and Mrs. Beaver returned to England.

All forms of Protestantism in Washington, as represented by ministers, missions and churches, were destroyed or suspended in the troubles with the Indians of 1847-48, the whole field being left to the Roman Catholics for five years. Among the immigrants of 1847—the year, I may say, that my own mother came to Oregon—was the Rev. S. M. Tackler, sent by the Protestant Episcopal Church as a missionary. He stayed, and, though not a very capable laborer, did what he could to establish the Church of Christ in the country south of the Columbia River.

In the summer of 1852 the Diocese of New York took notice of the absence of ministers and churches in the country north of the Columbia. At that time there was not one Protestant clergyman or organization in all the land included now in our State. To John McCarty, D. D., was secured the office of Army Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, he arriving from the Atlantic at his post of duty in January, 1853. The matter of priority in the resumption of church work in this State is a question between the Episcopalians and the Methodists, all other Protestant denominations being after them. It is said that two good Metho-

dist brothers—Roberts and Wilbur—came over to Olympia near the end of 1852 to determine whether or not the Puget Sound field was populous and great enough for the employment of a missionary. They held a service in a saloon on Main Street, calling the people to it by firing a cannon. They concluded a minister was needed, and about Christmas the Rev. Benjamin F. Close was sent. His first meeting was held in the schoolhouse December 26th. The little congregation had barely left before the roof fell in under the weight of a heavy fall of snow.

Dr. McCarty attended to his official duties at Fort Vancouver faithfully, and in addition served the citizens of the town, visited Puget Sound, and aided in the starting of St. John's Church at Olympia. For a time he was Chaplain at Fort Steilacoom, in 1855-56. Upon his return to Vancouver he interested himself in the town church, which was consecrated on Whit Sunday of 1860 by Bishop Scott, Dr. McCarty and one of the new clergymen recently arrived from the East, Rev. Peter E. Hyland. Scott was the first Bishop, dating back to 1854, who found upon arrival that Messrs. Tackler and McCarty were the only two ministers in his jurisdiction. As all ministers should be, Messrs. Scott, McCarty and Hyland were married, their wives being lovely women, who helped in the work little if any less than their husbands.

And so in the early 60's the church was represented by St. Luke's at Vancouver, by St. John's at Olympia, and for a short time by an Army Chaplain at Fort Steilacoom, Rev. Daniel Kendig. Major Hugh A. Goldsborough, as lay reader, conducted the services at Olympia, and at intervals other lay readers succeeded him. In 1865 Mr. Hyland resigned the charge of Trinity Church in Portland and assumed the Puget Sound Parish, with home and church at Olympia. St. John's, it may be said, was the third church in Olympia, not considering the Roman Catholics, who had abandoned their mission and church, and for a score of years were unrepresented at the Territorial Capital. The other predecessors of the Episcopalians were the Methodists and Presbyterians. Bishop Scott and Mr. Hyland consecrated St. John's Church on the 3rd of September, 1865. It stood on the west side of Main Street between Sixth and Seventh. In somewhat altered appearance it still stands, being now devoted to the purposes of trade; a new building, larger and better adapted to the needs of the congregation, having succeeded it.

That year, 1865, was a busy and eventful one for Mr. Hyland. He had to acquaint himself with the people and their wants from one end of Puget Sound to the other. To do this he traveled by sailboat, canoe, horse, and occasionally steamer, traveled on foot, slept in the wood or on the beach, went hungry frequently, and generally roughed it in a manner that would appal the easier-going, pleasure-loving citizen of today. He had to introduce himself, hunt for places of meeting, call out his congregations, and not only put encouragement into others, but overcome the discouragements that at times came upon him in numbers and strength all but overpowering.

In 1860 John F. Damon, then a newspaper publisher at Port Townsend, with religious inclinations, began to conduct services there as lay reader. This little start resulted in St. Paul's, the first church in Port Townsend. The building was completed in 1865. Dr. Thomas T. Minor for many years, in the absence of a regular clergyman, held the congregation together, reading to the people, while Mrs. W. H. Taylor sang, and Mrs. O. F. Gerrish helped greatly in other directions. Mr. Hyland not only aided them in their earlier work, but in 1871 moved to Port Townsend and took personal charge of the field there and nearby.

During the same year (1865) Mr. Hyland visited Seattle, and in August conducted services according to the Protestant Episcopal form in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He interested Mr. Hiram Burnett, who organized a Sunday School, read the service, and who was confirmed by Bishop Scott the following year, he being the first person here to receive that rite. Mr. Burnett found a number of good women willing and eager to help in the work, including Mrs. C. C. Terry, Mrs. J. N. Draper, Mrs. M. R. Maddocks, and Mrs. Taylor, mentioned before as helping at Port Townsend. The five hundred people in the town already had Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant organizations, and there was scant room for a third. "Sociables," Christmas trees and entertainments supplemented the religious work, and with the growth of the town to one of a thousand inhabitants there was finally found room for Trinity Church. The first minister, Rev. Itas F. Roberts, necessarily had to resort to other means than preaching for securing a living, as the congregation in the latter 60's was too small and poor to maintain him. That he succeeded admirably is well known, as he bought two lots on the southeast corner

of Fourth and Madison, and there erected a dwelling, a house that still stands, after nearly forty years of use, one of the oldest in the city of Seattle. These lots are worth today \$200,000, and have been sold during the past year at well nigh that figure. Mr. Roberts was succeeded by Rev. R. W. Summers, in 1870-71, under whose direction the first church was built on the northwest corner of Third Avenue and Jefferson Street, with rectory. It would be pleasant to go on with the history of Trinity and tell of the works of Messrs. Bonnell and Watson, Mrs. Kellogg, Mrs. Robbins, Mrs. Calhoun, Mrs. Leary, Mrs. Hemenway, Mrs. Slorah, the Hydes, the Thorn-ton, the Bagleys, the Paulsons, and others, but I must not, as my paper is already drawn out to a length greater than at first contemplated.

The next church after those named was St. Peter's, at Tacoma. In the summer of 1873 the Northern Pacific Com-pany located there its terminus. Bishop Morris at once visited the place. Securing a lot by gift from E. S. Smith, and calling to his aid Rev. Charles R. Bonnell, the church was put up in August, a generous Philadelphian, named Houston, contribut-ing the money required for the building. This was the first church in Tacoma. It still stands on Starr Street near Twenty-ninth, its doors open to welcome citizens and strangers, be-liever and unbeliever, alike. St. Peter's has done much work for the Master, and its usefulness is by no means lessened by its age. It has long been one of the most cherished objects in our neighbor city. Owing to circumstances beyond the fore-sight of its builders the location was not in later years what it was in the beginning anticipated, and other churches have been built in more favored localities that have outstripped St. Peter's in the race. One of these was St. Luke's, which was the fifth Episcopal Church built on Puget Sound, Tacoma be-ing the first town to have more than one of our churches, and for that matter the first town to have more than one church of any denomination.

By 1880 the churches in what is now the Missionary Dis-trict of Olympia numbered seven, including the six heretofore named, and St. Andrew's, at Kalama. The communicants were about two hundred; Trinity of Seattle, with eighty, being the strongest of the seven. To us here it has been pleasant to have the home church in the lead, well supported, ably manned, and, doing as it has done, the best work, not only among the people

of our own city, but for and among the needy ones of other parts of the world.

From the statements here presented it will be seen that our church has not lagged in Washington. It was the first of all to make a fixed, determined effort, in 1836, as said, at Vancouver. Among the towns of the earlier days it was the first at Port Townsend and Tacoma, the third at Seattle and fourth at Olympia. Even more favorable contrasts could be made in some cases, but they might be considered invidious and are omitted. These statements are presented only for the purpose of showing that the railery aluded to in the beginning—that our church was not fitted for pioneer work, that it could live and thrive only in cities, and that it was the child of wealth and luxury and not of labor and poverty—was not well founded. We know that the Protestant Episcopal Church is not lacking in any of the elements requisite for success in any quarter, and that in our own State the measure of its accomplishments is very large.

To one who has lived in the country all the years since the re-establishment of the church at Vancouver, who has been identified with it since childhood, who has known all the persons named herein, and who has had more or less cognizance of every step in its progress to the present time—its houses of worship, schools, hospitals, grounds, societies, and, above all, its vast increase in membership, running up now into the thousands—the wonderful advance made and the high standing attained, are gratifying indeed. Particularly has this progress been cause for rejoicing since the advent of St. Mark's in 1889. This church—our own beloved church—has more communicants now than all the Episcopal churches in the Territory of Washington had at the time of the setting off of our parish from Trinity. The latter—the mother church—has grown, too, and can now claim thirteen daughters and grand-daughters in the County of King alone—fourteen Protestant Episcopal Churches in and around the City of Seattle. There are but few places in the United States where in this respect so great a showing can be made as here.

It should be borne in mind, however, that we live in a great country, among great people, where great deeds are common, and where a great church must live, thrive, grow and work.

MRS. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

A VAST NEGLECTED FIELD FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH.*

The territory roughly included in the area known as "The Great Plains," "The Plateau Region," and "The Barren Lands,"—which forms such a vast portion of the North American Continent,—in my opinion, offers an extensive field for co-operative archaeological research, since its prehistoric ethnology is practically unknown.

Its historic ethnology has recently received attention at the hands of energetic, trained anthropologists. Its prehistoric ethnology, or archaeology, however, has been neglected, possibly because modern ethnological problems in that area have held the attention of visiting anthropologists, or perhaps for the reason that, on all that vast area, comparatively little literature or other material was available. Few archaeological sites are known, and literature on the whole subject is scant, even clues to sites being of rare occurrence in papers on other subjects. Archaeological specimens from the region in question, both in museums and in private hands, are not numerous; and those that do exist show a narrow range of forms, and, with few exceptions, have little or no individuality. All these facts have no doubt contributed to the causes of this deplorable neglect. A further reason was probably the supposition that the region was uninhabited until comparatively recent times; that it was an area where only a few finds could be expected as a reward for the persevering toil of the investigator; and that such finds would be of only a few types, of crude technique, and of a low order of art.

Some archaeological work, however, has been done in this area, notably in Wyoming, but by anthropologists chiefly interested in problems relating to the ethnology of the present peoples.

The scarcity of archaeological specimens from this vast area, and the dearth of literature on the whole subject, may be due to the fact that until recently no one fitted to collect or to write

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has visited the region, it having been occupied by white people only lately, and not even visited by them until comparatively recent times. It must also be remembered that the lumbermen, cattlemen, miners, and railroad men, who have made up a large percentage of the white people who have been in the territory, belong to a shifting population, not given to the examination, much less to the preservation, of archaeological objects; while until very recently the number of farmers and settlers has been small. These stable people, having homes, possess means of caring for such specimens as appear to them interesting. Had they been in the region for a longer time, or even in greater numbers, we might have had more data upon which to work.

On the other hand, the scarcity of archaeological material may be due to the comparatively recent occupation of the area by Indians, or to a sparse population, if not to both of these causes. It is quite possible that the Plains were not thickly populated before the introduction of the horse, the acquisition of which, no doubt, gave a great impetus to migration throughout the entire Plains area.

The area, more particularly but roughly defined, includes the western half of the Dakotas, all of Nebraska, the western third of Kansas, Oklahoma, a wide strip north and south through Texas, all of Colorado except a small portion in the southern part of the State, Utah with the exception of a small area in the southeastern part, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and the vast adjacent portion of the British possessions. It includes, among great natural divisions, the upper valley of the Missouri, that of the Platte, the Upper Arkansas, the Great Basin, the Upper Columbia Valley, the Yukon Valley except near the mouth, the Mackenzie Basin, and the area draining into Hudson Bay. Linguistically the area embraces all of the territory inhabited by the peoples of the Kiowan and Kitunahan stocks, and the greater part of the areas inhabited by those of the Siouan, Shoshonean, Caddoan, Athapascan, and Algonquian stocks. The Siouan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan areas correspond to that part of the region regarding which we are in perhaps the greatest need of archaeological data.

This whole area separates, or is in part bounded by, the Pueblo and cliff-dwelling culture-area, that of the Mississippi Valley, that of California, and those of the North Pacific coast and the plateaus of Washington and southern British Columbia as now outlined. An exploration of it would probably exactly

define the limits of these culture-areas and the presence or absence of an intermediate culture area or areas.

It must be remembered that pottery of certain well-known kinds is one of the great characteristics or marks of individuality of the Pueblo area and of the prehistoric culture of the Mississippi Valley and forest area to the northeast, while, on the other hand, no ancient pottery is known from the California area or the Northwest coast. Both of these latter regions are so well known, that the absence of pottery, or at least its great scarcity, is determined; but its presence in the wide northern area of the interior of British America is possible. It is true that pottery has been found in Alaska which closely resembles that from the adjacent portion of Siberia. The art of making it may have come from Siberia; so that it does not necessarily lead us to expect to find pottery in the Upper Yukon, the Mackenzie Basin, or, in general, in the Canadian Northwest.

In 1904 I called the attention of the Anthropological Club of Harvard University to the need of archaeological investigation in the area lying between the plateau region of southern British Columbia and the cliff-dwelling and Pueblo region of the Southwest, pointing out at the same time the absence of pottery in the former area, its great development in the latter, and the interest which we have in defining the line separating the region where pottery was made from that where it was not made.

The need of archaeological work in this vast territory is felt by students of historic ethnology. As has already been mentioned, they have started well in working up the area, and they would certainly be interested in the prehistoric relations of their problems. The length of time the various parts of the area have been inhabited, the history of every culture that has developed there, the modification of such cultures as may have been brought into the territory, their causes, and the migrations into and round about over the area,—all these may be mentioned among the problems to be solved.

It is true that in this region we may hardly expect to find archaeological material comparable to that found in the Southwest, Mexico, and Peru, especially the kind that would appeal to architects, artists, travellers, and students of modern history. But, however entertaining it might be to contribute to these interests, it must be borne in mind that archaeological work is not done solely to meet the needs of those interested in

these subjects; it is the professional duty of the archaeologist to reconstruct prehistoric ethnology even in fields that are held to be barren or largely so, and negative results are helpful in arriving at a knowledge of the prehistoric ethnology of the whole of our continent.

Judging from what we know, however, we may expect to solve a number of problems by working over this area. It would seem advisable to conduct this archaeological work in co-operation with students who are investigating living tribes; for a study of the modern Indian of a certain spot throws light on the archaeology of the region, and an understanding of the antiquities of a given place is helpful in the study of its natives. Furthermore, by this system, the continuity of historical problems is met by a continuity of method.

In selecting successive fields of operation, it would seem best to continue explorations in an adjacent area, sufficiently distant from those already examined to present new conditions and give promise that new facts may be discovered, possibly a new culture-area. At the same time a new field of operations should be so near, that no unknown culture-area may intervene. Thus the limits of culture-areas may be determined and new areas be discovered. This method of continuing from past fields of exploration makes valuable the experience gained there in each successive field, while the discoveries in every new region may always lead to a better understanding of the areas previously explored. If the results obtained in an area are not yet printed, the light thrown upon them by later work is at once available for the original publication.

In accord with this plan, it would seem best that those explorers who are familiar with the Pueblo and cliff-dwelling region should examine the adjacent part of this vast area; especially in Kansas, where remains of Pueblos are known to exist, and in the basins which drain into the Colorado and the Rio Grande. To define the limits of Pueblo culture would certainly be of interest to them, while at the same time their exploration in the adjacent country would add to the data needed by their co-workers.

In like manner the anthropologists of California are no doubt nearly as familiar with the prehistoric ethnology of Nevada as are those interested in the Pueblo region. Probably they will be more interested in it; and from their active investigation of the cultures of the prehistoric inhabitants of their State, who depended so much upon that natural product, the

acorn, we are led to look to them for the examination of the region between California and the great Canon of the Colorado. It would seem best that those who have explored in the Lower Columbia Valley and the plateau region of Washington and Southern British Columbia should push their investigations eastward through the area drained by the Columbia and the Snake, thus attempting to define the eastern limits of the Plateau culture, to bound it, and to further our knowledge of it. Again, the explorers of the Mississippi Valley are perhaps best fitted to investigate the western limits of the culture found there. Some of these individuals are already interested in the prehistoric migrations of the Mandan, who are thought to have taken a northwesterly course from the Mississippi to the Missouri. The Historical Society of North Dakota has begun an investigation of the antiquities of its own State. Therefore archaeological investigations in North Dakota may probably be largely left to that society. The Historical Society of Nebraska has expressed a desire to advance archaeological research in its State, and possibly it may be able to explore even more than that part of the field.

From another standpoint, the ethnologists interested in the historic Indians might take up prehistoric ethnological work,—students of the Siouan groups in the Siouan area, those of the Shoshonean group in the Shoshonean area, and students of the Athapascan group in the Athapascan area. By following this line of investigation, the work of just these men would clarify the problems of the whole situation.

HARLAN I. SMITH.

PREHISTORIC SPOKANE—AN INDIAN LEGEND.

The original manuscript of this legend, recorded by Major R. D. Gwydir, formerly United States Indian Agent of the Colville Reservation, is in the possession of Mrs. Caroline L. Hathaway, of the Spokane Public Library. It was copied and forwarded by Will J. Trimble, one of the editors of this Quarterly.—[Editor.]

Yes, some of the traditions of the Indians go back in the past far beyond the discovery of this country by the white race.

As for the truthfulness of their narratives I can only vouch for the veracity of the old Indian chief who related them to me.

Whis-tel-po-sum (Lot), chief of one of the three Spokane tribes of Indians, one of the best and most truthful Indians that I have ever met with, gave me, amongst others, a traditional history of Spokane and the country surrounding it, which, as well as I can remember, was as follows:

Centuries ago, long before the paleface was known on this continent, where Spokane is now situated and for many days' travel east of it, was an immense and beautiful lake, with many islands resting on its surface. The country swarmed with game and the lake abounded with fish—veritably a hunter's paradise. Many well-populated villages lay along the shores of the lake.

One summer morning the entire population were startled by the rumbling and shaking of the earth. The waters of the lake began raising, and pitching, and tossed into mountainous waves, which threatened to engulf the entire country. To add to the horrors of the situation, the sun became obscured by an eclipse, and darkness added its horrors to the scene.

The terror-stricken inhabitants fled to the hills for safety. The shaking of the earth continued for two days, when a rain of ashes began to fall, and so heavy was the fall of them that there was little difference between day and night. The fall of ashes continued for several weeks. The game abandoned the country, the waters of the lake receded and dry land filled its

place, and desolation spread over the entire country. The Indians died by thousands from starvation. The remnant who escaped starvation followed the course of the receding waters until they arrived at the Falls (now Spokane).

Their first village was located in the neighborhood of where the Galland-Burke brewery now stands. The bay north of Bridge Avenue and between Post and Monroe Streets, was their swimming or bathing pool.

The tradition further states that the devil, in the form of a coyote, gave them a great deal of trouble, but finally they snared him and all the Indians were in at the killing, after which they divided the carcass among the people of the different tribes. After this prosperity smiled upon them and continued to do so until the coming of the palefaced race, whom they could not snare, and who proved the worst devil of the two, for he left them nothing—their present condition.

R. D. GWYDIR.

DOCUMENTS.

It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare journals, diaries, letters or other documents throwing light upon the history of the Northwest. Effort will be made to reproduce such papers faithfully, errors and all, so that every student and reader may have them at face value.

Diary of an Emigrant of 1845.

Some two years ago Levi Howell wrote from Marshall Junction, Washington, saying that his father had come to the Oregon country in 1845 and kept a daily diary of the trip. If the Washington University State Historical Society cared for it he would have his sister make a copy of the diary. This was done, and the sister—Mary Howell Finegan—says she made a true copy, “the only changes made being a few in the spelling and capital letters.”

In transmitting the manuscript Levi Howell gives this brief sketch of his father:

“John Ewing Howell was a native of West Virginia, born in 1806. Spent twenty years in the salt works of Kanawha, going from there to Missouri a few years before starting to Oregon. The little book from which these copies are made was carried by the author from Oregon to Eastern Ohio and then to Clark County, Missouri, where the author died just forty years after the time of starting.”

Continuing, the son explains as follows:

“The journal includes nothing of the return trip, but extended general remarks on the country passed through and also Oregon Territory, now Oregon, Washington and Idaho. The marginal figures refer to distances traveled westward from Camp Oregon, in Jackson County, Missouri. These daily distances were estimated until some well known point was reached whose distance was known. Then new estimates for the continued trip. Oregon City is the terminus just six months from starting. My father helped to build the second house in Portland. He claims to have suggested the name. Portland, Iowa,

furnished the name and vanished from the map. The building in Portland, Oregon, was of hewed square logs bolted together and intended to be used for a warehouse. The starting point was five miles north of Luray, Missouri, and twenty-five miles west of Keokuk, Iowa."

Levi Howell's present address is Luray, Missouri. His father's diary, thus brought to light, will prove of interest and value to all who love the history of the Far West.—[Editor.]

Left John Thompson's, Clark Co., Mo., April 11th, 1845, Friday, in company with B. F. Briggs. Destined for Oregon Territory, one wagon, 3 yoke of oxen, 1 horse. Camp at B. Dies Scotland City.

12, Sat. Camp at Myers Same Co.

13, Sun. Camp at Fork Salt River.

14, Monday. Camp at Jones on Chariton Adair Co. Warm & dry.

15, Tues. Crossed Chariton. Camped at Judge Ringoes on Mussle Fork.

16, Wed. Camp at R. Morris' on Yellow Creek.

17, Thurs. Camped at R. Wilson's.

18, Friday. Camp 4 miles west Locust.

19, Sat. Camp on the west bluff of Grand River.

20, Sunday. Camped on the E. bluff of West Grand River.

21, Monday. Camped 2 miles N of Shoal Creek Caldwell Co.

22, Tues. Camped 2 miles E. of Crooked River*line of Caldwell and Clinton Cty.

23, Wed. Camp Clay City near Fishing.

24, Fri. Crossed Missouri R and camped between Independence and R.

26, Sat. Camp at Camp Oregon, Jackson City on waters of Blue.

27, 28, 29, 30, May First, Stationary.

2, Crossed Blue, Camp at Spanish Camp West of the State of Mo.

3, 4, 5. Stationary.

6, Tues. Camp in prairie by a grove. Mi. 8—8

7, Wed. Camp at Elm Grove which consists of one elm with all the limbs trimmed off. 7—15

8, Thurs. Camp on Post Oak Creek by the side of a grove, Kansas R. waters. 18—33

9, Fri. Crossed Wappaloosa R. West side, beautiful country. 10—43

10, Sat. Tra. Camp on prairie. 16—59

11, Sun. Camp on a creek, Kansas waters Camp wood & good water. 17—76

- 12, Monday. Crossed Kansas River Camp on N. side, R. 400 yds in width Sand bars and sandy banks. Milky water, beautiful country, rather scarce of timber. 4—80
- 13, Tues. Camp on Indian Creek Wood plenty. Creek banks steep and miry—bad camp ground. 3—83
- 14, Wed. held a confused meeting and adjourned abruptly to meet at 8 o'clock next day. It was reported that Indians were driving off cattle.
- 15, Thurs. Met at the hour appointed and after some confusion succeeded in electing officers. Stephen H. Lettuk Pilot. Dr. Welch, Capt. Mr. Sawyer first Lieut. Dr. Carter 2d Lieut. H. P. Lock 3d Lieut. Left at 3 o'clock p. m. and traveled 4 mi. Water scarce. 4—89
- 16, Friday. Camp on Turkey Cr. on Little Soldier. 10—99
- 17, Sat. Camp on Owl Creek. 12—111
- 18, Sund. Crossed Vermilion, a large creek. Camp near a grove, hard rain this morning. the emigra(nts) gave Indians two lame oxen which they butchered and fought over the carcasses, using clubs, Bows, arrows &c. The Caw Nation Sund eve Pilot to a Miss Emigrant. 10—121
- 19, Mon. A meeting was called by the Capt for the purpose of collecting the pilot's money and make some divisions in company. An election was held for Treasurer which resulted in election of James Ramage. T. Stephens elected 2d Lieut in place of Dr. Carter resigned Divided company in three Divisions first division traveled 4 miles and camped on a small creek. Good camp ground. 4—125
- 20, Tues. Second division went ahead 1st and 3d stationary.
- 21, Wednesday crossed several small creeks, which afford wood and water, met 7 wagons from Ft Laramie, Camp at Spring wood inconvenient. 20—145
- 22, Thurs. Crossed Big Vermillion and Bee Creek and camp on the latter. A number of trees peeled at former with many names inscribed which shows the delays of former emigrations. 12—157
- 23 Friday. Camp west of Blue on a small creek Blue 70 yds, wide hard rain. 6—163
- 24, Sat. Met Col. Carmy with dragoons on an exploring expedition. Camp on a ravine to the right of the road. Plenty of wood and water. held court to try some offenders for deserting post and officers for misdemeanor in their official capacity. Maxon prosecuting attorney. 15—178
- 25, Sund. Traveled through tolerably level prairie and camped near a ravine. 10—188

26, Monday Trav. storm during night which the cattle to break coral and crush fire wagón in their flight. 13—201

27, Tues. Spent repairing damages.

28, Wednesday Tr. crossed L & Big Sandies and camped on latter. Big Sandy is a tolerably large creek but dry in moderately dry weather, has low rounded banks. 18—219

29, Thursday. Tr. Crossed several small creeks some of which afford wood and camped (on) the Republican Fork of Kansas. 20—238

30, Friday. Tr. up river leaving it once a few miles on the left. Camp on a ravine near the main stream. Scattering timber on the largest waters. 17—255

31, Saturday. Tr. up R and camp on point. 2 Horses lost. 18—273
June.

1, Sund. Travelled. Camped on a small stream, wood scarce, hard rain. 15—288

2, Monday. Tr. over level prairie until within 4 miles of L. Platte where it broken. Camp on P. R. Antelopes &c in abundance. 20—308

3, Tues. Tr. held a confused meeting to reconcile some dissenters of the third division which resulted in greater confusion. Camp on Platte. 14—322

4, Wed. Tr. up R. passed a large hunting party of the Pawnee Indians. Camp on R. 18—340

5, Thurs. Tr. Crossed a small slough or ravine and camped. 18—358

6, Friday. Tr. up R and camped. 16—374

7, Sat. Tr. camp on Platte. I went out into the bluffs hunting. I was surprised to (find) the country so extremely broken with perpendicular sand pillows, low gaps and deep pits which present an awful appearance. This is the general character of the Platte country on the south side until 20 miles above the forks and much higher on the N side. Cedars are scattered through those bluffs and some other kinds of timber. Platte bottoms are wide and beautiful but generally poor and sandy, the river very wide perhaps 2 miles and very shallow with a sandy bed and low banks and muddy water. 16—390

8, Sunday. Crossed several dry creeks and camped one mile west of Ash Creek. About 10 o'P. M. there was an alarm of Indians. All hands were paraded. The alarm was false though there was some reason to believe they had attacked a detachment of the Emigration. 15—405

9, Monday. Tr. hard rain. Platte bluffs sloping and some rock visible. 7—412

10, Tues. Tr. left bottom across bluffs good road but neither wood nor water camped on bottom—good grass—wood.

15—427

11, Wednesday Trav. across bluffs camped on the river Willows and water plenty, 3 buffaloes slain.

8—435

12, Thursday. Stationary, held a meeting, resulted in confusion. 2 members expelled.

13, Friday. More quarreling and expelled members left and 2 others with them went in advance of the company.

14, Saturday. Travelled. Wood scarce, grass and water plenty. Wells were dug for cool water about 2 feet deep.

10—445

15, Sund. Tr. Camped at the crossing of South Fork. The country through which we have travelled varies considerably from the line of Jackson County to Kansas River. It is beautiful but there is a great lack of timber. Creek of clear water Kansas are generally good, also the bottoms between Kansas and Platte Rivers the country is more broken and rocky with a great number of small creeks which generally afford camp wood in abundance but is generally too destitute of timber to ever become settled to any extent. Those remarks hold good to the Republican fork or near it where the timber is scarcer and the face of the country more level near Platte bluffs. Platte differs very much from the Kansas the river as far as the forks is so wide that it is impossible to form any correct estimate of its width without actual measurement perhaps 2 miles wide. The South fork up to the ford will perhaps fall short of one mile. The river is full as large as high as the forks, from there up they are generally smaller and not so numerous. the river is full of sand bars and a sandy bottom in the whole distance with low banks not generally more than 4 feet high and often falling short of that height. It receives no accession of water except in time or a short time after heavy rains. The bottoms are beautiful to the eye with a sandy soil and short grass as high up as the Junction of the two main branches and some distance above there is some willows and cotton wood of a dwarfed kind; from thence up there is no timber except the willows and that is scarce and small. The bluffs are broken on both sides to the greatest extreme for some distance above the forks on the S. side. It then suddenly changes and on the North side about 100 miles higher up becomes more level. In the most upland there is considerable cedar some ash and shrubby roses and—But all are concealed from the eye by the numerous columns of sand unless nearly approached. The upper part of the South fork presents, in many places, of

small extent a white surface destitute of vegetation caused by salt in an impure state. There is many kinds of wild game in this region. Buffalo, antelopes wolves in great numbers deer and elk are not plenty prairie dogs are in great numbers and live in towns underground. From where Oregon trail first strikes Platte to where we leave the south Fork is about 160 miles and I think that there is no place in the whole distance where timber enough could be got on ten miles square to fence ten acres.

14—459

16, Monday. Tr. up R short distance and crossed and camped on N side where the road crosses the highlands for the N Fork.

11—470

17, Tues. Tr. Left the south fork and crossed over to the N Fork. tolerable level until near the N Fork where it is more broken and rocky, and some cedar and ash timber on a dry branch which the road follows down.

20—490

18, Wednesday Tr. up North Fork, high rocky bluffs and some cedar at a distance from the road in bluffs Camped on R, no wood cloudy and very cool weather the last three days.

15—505

19, Thurs. Tr. up Platte. Oxen runaway and broke 2 wagons. Several teams run away without doing any damage. Camp on River near a dry branch very little wood. N Platte is about size of S Platte and resembles it very much. Water some clearer. The country more sandy and the bottoms narrower.

5—510

20, Fri. Tr. up R & crossed a brisk running creek of clear water. Camped on bottom—no wood—good grass.

20—530

21, Sat. Tr. up R and camped near the Chimney. This (is) a singular mass of chalky Clay resting on the summit is about 20 ft in diameter and 100 ft high. The name is applicable.

19—549

22, Sunday. Tr. up R and camped near Scotts Bluffs which presents various appearances resembling dilapidated buildings. The whole viewed together has the appearance of a stupendous city in ruins with broken walls & their height are about 5 or 6 ft I stood on one of those points and plainly saw the Chimney 30 or 40 miles away to the East and the Black Hills 50 or 60 to the West. There is some cedar, pines &c in those bluffs and the pine on the Black Hills gives them a dark appearance when viewed at a distance. From this the name is derived. They show themselves far above the contiguous lands. The peculiarities of this country is its sterility, its extensive level plains. Large dry basins without outlets—Large tract extremely broken The soil is a chalky sand or sand some spots producing no vegetation at all but generally a very short grass

- slightly mixed with weeds and the best produces only a tolerable quality. 15—564
- 23, Monday. Tr. camped near the mouth of Horse Creek—wood—grass—water. 25—589
- 24, Tues. Tr. crossed bluffs—camped on R—wood—water—grass. 16—605
- 25, Wednesday Stationary.
- 26, Thursday. Travelled up R crossed plain and camp on River. 12—617
- 27, Friday. Tr up River—passed Ft. Laramie & ft Platte near the junction of Laramie and Platte rivers. Crossed Laramie R. 7—624
- 28, Sat. Tr. camped on River 12—636
- 29, Sund. Tr. through hills, bluffs rough roads. Camped at Big springs wood and water but no grass for three miles. 9—645
- 30, Monday. Tr. through hills and camped on Bitter Cottonwood Creek good water good grass and good wood of the kind indicated by the name of the creek. Compared with this part of the country is well timbered. 12—657
- July 1, Tues. Tr. crossed divide between B Cottonwood Cr. and Horse Shoe Cr. through pine hills. The main range of Black Hills on the left hand rough and rocky road. The highest peaks of the Black Hills are justly entitled to name of Mts. Camped on Horse Shoe Creek fine spring—wood—water and grass. 16—673
- 2, Wednesday. Tr. through hills. Crossed 2 small creeks which afford wood and some grass, no water at this season. Camped on Box Elder Creek 2 miles below ford,—the most difficult road since we left the States. Passed the high peak of B. Hills or Laramie Mt. 20—693
- 3, Thurs. Tr through hills and hollows red hills, and bald and rocky hills and high hills and camped on Box Elder the 4th good water and grass. Range of hills continue on south. 16—709
- 4, Friday. Tr. over tolerably rough road. Crossed Box Elder the 5th and struck Platte at the bend. Camped on P. 2 miles above. High hills continue on the South. 14—723
- 5, Stationary.
- 6, Sunday. Travelled up Platte and camped on the R. drove across the river for grass. 13—736
- 7, Monday. Stationary.
- 8, Tues. Trav. high hills continue on South. Camped on Platte 3 miles from ford. Good grass on an island. 10—746
- 9, Wednesday. Trav. Crossed Platte R and crossed high hills and camped on Bitter Water or Stinking Creek. No wood—poor water—poor grass. Red Buttes in full view. 15—761

10, Thurs. Trav. over hills and camped in hills. Some good grass, good water, cooking wood. 16—777

11, Friday. Trav. on plains and hills and camped on a creek, grass and water. Bald hills in every direction. 17—794

12, Saturday Trav. nooned Independence Rock. This is a singular mass of rock situated on the bank of Sweet Water, surrounded by a wide bottom. Five miles higher up Sweet Water is what is called the Devil's Gate in honor of his Satanic Majesty. A great curiosity. S. Water passes through a rocky mountain. The opening is about 100 ft wide with perpendicular walls on each side 200 or 300 ft high. the R is full of large loose rock in those narrows and has a great fall. There is another gap through this ridge where wagons pass on good roads and high sandy plains that terminate further south. Camp on S. Water 3 miles above Devil's Gate Good grass—no wood. 16—810

13 Sund. Trav. up R. camp on R. between Rocky hills, south side the mountains are slightly timbered with pines. The north they are nearly all rock with here and there a pine or cedar shrub. Grass scarce. Shrubs on river and drift-wood. 14—824

14, Monday. Trav. up Sweet water and camped on R. Good grass high hills and numerous valleys or gaps some of which are quite extensive. 5—829

15, Tues. Trav. up Sweet Water and crossed three and passed through detached rocky ridges surrounded by plains. Camped (on) Sweet Water to the left of the road by the side of a large mass of rock. Company re-divided 12 wagons fell to our share. 12—841

16, Wednesday. Trav. cross plains & crossed Sweet Water. Camp. Some grass—no wood. 18—859

17, Thurs. Trav. cross hill & plain. Crossed Sweet Water twice. Camp on R. Shrubs and grass. 8—867

18, Friday Trav. hilly circuitous and rocky road. Crossed N Fork of Sweet Water and camp on small branch of Sweet Water in sight of the snow peaks of Wind River Mt. on the North. Shrub wood, tolerable grass. 18—885

19, Sat. Trav. Crossed Sweet Water and crossed divide between the two great Oceans. This pass as it is called is an undulating plain of considerable extent and the Mts. are elevated but little above the plain except on the N. E. they are higher and partially covered with snow during the year. Camp on Water grass branch a flush running little stream running south and is a branch of the Colorado that empties into the Gulf of California. It affords more grass than any stream of its size in this part of the country. The plains

- are extremely poor Sandy or Rocky producing sage only which is the principal production of the plains from the commencement of the Black Hills. 18—903
- 20, Sunday. Trav. Cross plain. Good road except sand. Camp on Little Sandy to the right of the road. A flush running little R making its way to the South. Shrubbery and grass. 19—922
- 21, Monday. Trav. Crossed Little Sandy thence down. Camp on Big Sandy above the ford. Good grass, some timber. 12—934
- 22, Tuesday. Trav. Crossed Big Sandy. 70 or 80 yds wide. Sandy bed with low banks. Camp on Sandy no camp between. Scattering wood. 16—950
- 23, Wednesday. Trav. Crossed Green River. Water channel 100 yds wide swift smooth current, gravelly and rocky bed. Clear water 3 ft deep at the ford. Course from N to S Timbered with cottonwood along the banks. grass good in places Camp 3 miles below ford. 12—962
- 24, Thursday. Stationary.
- 25, Friday. Trav. Crossed hills and plains. Sandy road. Camp on Black Fork. grass and shrubbery. No camp between. 16—978
- 26, Saturday. Trav. Crossed hills and crossed Ham's and Black's Ford. Camp on Black Ford. Poor grass—wood. 16—994
- 27, Sunday. Trav. Crossed Black Ford 4 times. passed low rocky hills that I cannot describe. Camp on Black Ford 1 mile below Bridgers and Vasques fort good grass and wood. 16—1010
- 28, Monday. Trav. over some steep hills, crossed a small creek 8 miles from Fort, but little grass, no wood bad water. Camp on a small creek poor grass, bad water, shrubs. 18—1028
- 29, Tues. Trav. up same creek poor grass all the way over the hills Camp on creek, grass a little better. 12—1040
- 30, Wed. Trav 14 miles up creek to the head. good grass all the way, high hills, bad roads. Crossed divide between Black Fork and Bear R. 6 miles. Camp at a spring. Some grass and sage-wood. This divide and the country bordering is diversified with various colors: Red, green, yellow &c and all intermediate hues. Some very good soil. Some small cottonwood groves of a dwarfish kind. Some pines and cedars. This place has some pretensions to romantic beauty. 20—1060
- 31, Thurs. Trav. down creek and down Bear River and camp on Bear river at a large spring. Bear River at this place is about 50 yds wide and winds very much across its bottoms which are very wide. The direction of its valley at this place is a little East of North descending surrounded with high hills. 10—1070

Aug. 1, Fri. Travelled down Bear River and camped 2 miles above the mouth of Smith's Fork—good camping. For the last 15 mi shrub wood. 16—1086

2, Saturday. Travelled down Bear River Crossed Smith's Fork, a clear and beautiful and rapid stream from the Northern mountains. The bottoms from this place are narrower. The gates are a few miles below, the river turns more westward and runs that direction for 10 miles then turns short again and continues that direction 10 miles further where we camped, then turns nearly the contrary direction for five miles then turns again to the South west and passes through a gorge in the mountains where wagons cannot pass. A few miles below this gorge the river connects with Bear Lake. On the south side here is cotton-wood timber but a small grove. The soil on bottoms I think is of good quality but dry. The hills are high and generally rocky, most of the rock have the appearance of being burnt, resembling old furnace walls, they are of different kinds. Mostly new to me. 20—1106

3, Sunday. Trav down R $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. foot of mountain 6 miles, top of first bench 7 miles, thence to cottonwood grove on B River 7 miles 14 in all rear of Bear lake rough road Cross the Mountain. 14—1120

4, Monday. Trav. down Bear River valley and camped in the plain at a good spring on the left of the road. Passed extensive bottoms or low plains and crossed several flush running small streams of pure water. The hills or Mts. have considerable timber either pine or cedar. the soil appears to be good generally but lacks rain. 14—1134

5, Tuesday. Trav. down Bear River Valley. Crossed several running branches and springs and camped at Soda Springs near Bear River. There is a cedar grove at those springs on Bear River bottom and pine plenty on Mts. near at hand. The soda springs are a curiosity but I was very much disappointed from reports. there is considerable gas rises at this place through the earth that gives the water a peculiar flavor but rather disagreeable than otherwise. Volcanic rock is abundant contiguous to those springs. Soil not good. 28—1162

6, Wednesday. Trav. 3 miles down Bear River and 4 through plains Crossed several small streams and passed several good springs and some soda springs. This plain is about 30 miles in length and from 5 to 10 wide. Volcanic rocks are strewed in every direction. Some places scattered and other places presenting massive black and craggy walls. They must resemble the walls and cinders down below. 24—1186

- 7, Thursday. Trav. up creek and cross Mountains which divides Bear R waters from Lewis R and camped on the waters of the latter after passing groves of small cottonwood and pine and high mountains nearly or quite bald and some quite green and beautiful with some places covered with snow. plenty of good springs and running water. 18—1204
- 8, Friday. Trav. cross sandy plains and camped in Lewis R bottom at a spring 5 mi East of Ft. Hall. 18—1222
- 9, Saturday. Trav. down river passed Ft. Hall and camped on a creek 4 miles west of Ft. About this fort there is a tolerable plain bordering on Lewis R and a large bottom surrounded with lofty and snowy mountains in almost every direction. 9—1231
- 10, Sunday. Trav. down valley and camped on Portneuf River. 7—7
- 11, Monday. Trav. down valley crossed Portneuf R & creek west. Camp on L River 200 yards wide. At camp deep and gentle current. clear water. 14—21
- 12, Tues. Trav. down R crossed some road generally bad. Camp on a creek that I called Fall creek. passed the American Falls of Lewis R which are thirty-five or forty feet in a few yds—on the N. side where the greatest portion of the water passes. On the south side the descent is more gradual but there is several perpendicular falls of 8 or 10 feet. A great number of large rock are scattered in those falls. Below the great falls there is a succession of falls of less note. 18—39
- 13, Wednesday. Trav. camped on a creek where the Oregon and California roads part. Good grass. 9—48
- 14, Thursday. Trav. cross dry and rocky plain of the volcanic kind without water. Camp on Goose Creek Marsh. 15—63
- 15, Friday. Trav. down Goose Creek and dry plain. Camp on L river Coarse grass and willows.
- 16, Saturday. Trav. Crossed Goose Creek No 2. Crossed dry and rocky plain Camp on a dry branch. Poor camp bad water. 23—98
- 17, Sunday. Trav cross plain dry as powder. Camp on Rock Creek good camp and good water. 10—108
- 18, Monday. Trav. part down River and cross plain. Camp on L. R. bluff drove cattle to the river. one mile high bluffs. bad camp. 20—128
- 19, Tues. Trav. cross arid and barren plain. Camp at bend of L River at the mouth of a small creek. Warm springs. bad camp. 13—141
- 20, Wednesday. Trav. down river crossed Falls or Little Salmon River. Camp at the Salmon Falls. poor camp. For the last 75 miles Lewis R is bound up with dark and volcanic walls to a tremendous height. The

plains are strewn in every direction with volcanic rock. The river is a succession of falls from the great falls to the Salmon Falls. The Salmon falls are the greatest falls except that the falls in the descent is more gradual being 60 or 70 feet in a mile at the termination. The River makes a great bend to the N. or N. West above the Salmon falls for 20 or 30 miles. A great number of powerful springs breaks out on the north bank of River. one that spreads its white sheet 2 or 3 hundred yards wide up and down the river. Some fall 3 or 4 hundred feet, dashing their foaming torrents headlong over the craggy walls below.

10—151

21, Thursday. Trav. crossed bare plain. Camp on bluff of L River one mile from water and three from grass, dry grass at that. high bluff.

13—164

22, Friday. Trav. cross plain some dry grass, no water. Camp on L River at the mouth of a dry creek. Some grass.

12—176

23, Saturday. Trav. cross bluff. Crossed Lewis River about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, average depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Brisk current 2 islands in the ford. Camp on dry branch 3 miles from ford. Good grass shrub wood and sage.

9—185

24, Sunday. Travelled up bluff Camp on a small mountain stream Good grass. Shrub and sage wood and a shower of rain that laid the dust.

7—192

25, Monday. Stationary—Resting cattle.

26, Tuesday. Trav cross plain Camp on a small stream that comes from the mountains. Good grass water and shrub wood.

10—202

27, Wednesday. Tr. cross elevated though level and rocky plains the rock are of the volcanic kind. passed hot springs, the hottest of which is hot enough to scald hogs. bold running streams a range of Mts. on the right or N. presenting ledges of rock and volcanic rock. Camp on a bold running little stream that comes from the Mts. grass shrub and sage wood.

15—217

28, Thursday. Trav over rocky plains in A. M. over very hilly and otherwise good road in P. M. good upland grass. Camp on a small stream. Wood.

20—237

29, Friday. Trav. over hilly road. grass generally but no water. Camp on Bosia R wood, grass &c.

20—257

30, Saturday. Trav. down Bosia River. Camp on bottom. Wood, water, grass &c.

15—272

31, Sunday. Trav. down Bosia R Bottom Camp on Bottom. Wood, water grass etc. The Bottoms are wide sand and gravelly and afford grass weeds Some cotton wood, willows and shrubs Compared with the other streams of this country is well timbered.

15—287

Sept. 1, Monday. Trav down Boisia R Crossed and camped on N side.

12—299

- 2, Tuesday. Tr. down Boisia R in part—passed Ft. Boisia situated below the mouth of Boisia R on the north side of Lewis R near the bank Crossed Lewis R 50 rods below fort it is about half a mile wide, depth half way our highest wagon Beds. Current not very strong. Camp on South side one mile from ford. Grass willow wood &c 7—308
- 3, Wednesday. Tr through poor and hilly country. Camp on Malheurs river a small tributary of Lewis R. grass and shrubs. 16—324
- 4, Thursday. Trav over hills good road camp on a small branch grass and shrubs 21—345
- 5, Friday. Trav. through hills and touch Lewis R. camp on Burnt river a small tributary of Lewis R. 10—355
- 6, Saturday. Trav. up B. river crossed numerous points considerable rock bad roads. Crossed R 8 times. Camp on R wood, water, grass. 14—369
- 7, Sunday. Trav. up B. river and Branches. Camp on small branch of the same. This river has no valley except a very narrow bottom that produces cotton-wood and shrubs, grass and rushes and is surrounded in every direction with Mts. but not of great altitude. They afford tolerably good grass. This is the most difficult part of the road to this point. 12—381
- 8, Monday. Trav. on the waters of Burnt river and touched on R once through mountains. Camp on a spring branch near a lone pine. grass and willows. 15—396
- 9, Tuesday. Trav. over hill and plain. Camp in bottom of Powder river. Wide bottoms. grass and willows. Timbered mountains near at hand. 20—416
- 10, Wednesday. Trav. down valley of Powder R. crossed 3 branches of the same. Camp on bottom good grass, willow wood, some excellent soil. 14—430
- 11, Thursday. Tr. through valley of Powder river Crossed ridges of Mts. Camp in the edge of Grande Rond. Powder river has wide bottoms and forms a considerable valley some of which is good soil producing willows and other shrubs grass, rushes, Flax clover &c on the west side of this valley a lofty range of the Blue mountains which produce the large straight and lofty pine, spruce and Fir in great abundance, good grazing on those mts & good springs near the valley but not plenty in the interior. 18—448
- 12, Friday. Trav. across the Grand Round a beautiful and rich valley of land probably containing one thousand square miles surrounded by the Blue Mountains which appear to be rich grass clover and is abundant here The mountain scenery is grand Camp at the foot of the Mt. on a branch. 13—461
- 13, Saturday. Trav. over mountains some prairie

and generally open along the road but the greater portion covered with the majestic pine and that densely, beautiful mountain scenery. Camp on Grand Round River in a dense forest the first camp of the kind on the whole route.

10—471

14, Sunday. Trav. through dense forest up 4 bad hills, rocky roads, very little water. Camp on Mt. Water unhandy.

11—482

15, Monday. Trav. crossed the summit of the Blue Mts. Camp on the Umatalow river Small branch all timbered country.

9—491

16, Tuesday. Trav. half through pine forest and nearly all down hill camp on Umatalow at the foot of the Blue Mountains. The Blue Mts are a beautiful range of Mts. They are well timbered and afford good grazing. Some places in them are covered with perpetual snow.

17—508

17, Wednesday. Trav. and camped on the Umatalow river.

The Indians raise corn and potatoes on this river horses are quite numerous. Dr. Whitman and lady visited our camp this morning and travelled with us and camped with us and worshipped with us. He had a wagon load of flour along not bolted \$8 pr. 100 lbs.

5—513

18, Thursday. Trav. down Umatalow river and crossed. Travelled and camped on bluff 2 left of road 2 miles from water from camp down high and steep hill.

14—527

19, Friday. Trav. struck the Umatalow at 12 miles Camp on Umatalow R.

14—541

20, Saturday. Travelled down Umatalow and Sand plain Camped without water. The camps on the Umatalow should be first where first struck at the foot of the Blue mountains. Camp 2 at first crossing 3 where road strikes river after crossing. Camp 4. 3 or 4 miles below second crossing. by making the above encampments water and grass will be convenient at each. From the last camp mentioned to the Columbia fifteen miles there is a sand plain without water and very poor grass.

18—559

21, Sund. Trav. Started at sun-rise Camp on the Columbia. Good grass some wood. The Columbia river at this place about 50 miles below Walla Walla is about one mile wide gentle current. The banks are about 20 feet high Narrow bottoms. But a sand plain extends back from the river 15 or 20 miles and rises tolerably gradual the whole distance and attains a considerable height This portion is very poor and unfit for cultivation further out the country is more rolling and continues to rise probably to the mountains.

The soil becomes better suited to cultivation. Dr. Whitman says it is good wheat land. Water during the dry season is scarce in this portion of Oregon ex-

cept the rivers that have their rise in the mountains. There is some timber on those streams but not of good quality being principally a kind of cotton-wood and shrubbery of various kinds. The Columbia is nearly destitute of timber or shrubs.

5—564

22, Monday. Stationary and annoyed by the Walla Walla Indians begging etc.

23, Tuesday. Travelled down Columbia Sandy road good camp 16 miles camped at a poor camp by a narrow slew of the Columbia.

20—584

24, Wednesday. Trav. down Columbia Crossed sandy and rocky plain. Crossed Quisnel 7 miles excellent camp Camp on Columbia at the mouth of a dry branch high rocky banks. bad camp. No wood.

16—600

25, Thursday. Trav. down Columbia left river in two places Travelled under high and rocky bluffs near half the day Camp on the river under high basaltic walls. The road again leaves the river No wood. bad camp. No good camp has been passed this day.

15—615

26, Friday. Trav. up one hill and down another to John Day's river. Camp on J D river No wood but green willow and small shrubs.

4—619

27, Saturday. Trav crossed J Day's river at rocky ford near camp thence up steep hill. balance good roads camp on the Columbia at the head of a rock Island which appears to fill the valley of the river nearly up. Willow and drift-wood.

20—639

28, Sunday. Travelled four miles to the falls Du Chutes river. This river is not less than 150 yds wide. Swimming deep for horses and swift Crossed in canoes by Walla Walla Indians. high ferriage Immediately above the ford which is near its junction with the Columbia there is a fall of about 20 feet in a short distance. It is rapid to the mouth and rocky thence up a steep hill and down on another to creek up another of the same kind and down onto a creek where we camped. The three last streams are about 6 miles distant from each other and afford good camps. Grazing is generally good in this section. There is oak timber on the last creek the first I have seen since I left Kansas river waters.

16—653

29, Monday. Trav. camp at the Dalles where the wagon road ends. I was not close to the Dalles but the Columbia R winds its way through rugged a great many miles which rise in benches to a great height. The river is generally contracted and some places very narrow. Timber begins to approach the river about the Dalles, principally oak and pine.

9—662

30, Tuesday. Remained at the Dalles.

Oct. 1, Wednesday. Same place.

2, Thursday. Trav. with cattle. Camp on the eastern slope of the Cascade Mts on a small creek after

travelling over hills thinly set with oak and pine timber.

16—677

3, Friday. Trav. up eastern slope of Cascade Mts. part through dense forests of pine, cedar and fir Camp at a mountain spring in the neighborhood of some small rich prairies at no great distance from Mt. Hood.

18—695

4, Saturday. Travelled over steep rough and rocky road down steep but on a creek and followed creek 4 miles to Mt. Hood Camp near Mt. Hood's southern extremity. poor camp but there is a great many springs in this place which afford tolerable good grass. There has been a great land slide*at the head of the last mentioned creek from Mt. Hood which covered the valley of the creek to a great depth and the timber is still standing but deeply rooted in this treacherous foundation.

16—711

5, Sunday. Trav across the foot of Mt. Hood. Crossed several snow banks and camped in a deep hollow. Excellent grass Mt. Hood stands erect high above its neighbors and wears winter clothing during the whole year and immense quantities of water descend from the Mt. in every direction.

8—719

6, Monday. Travelled part of the foot of Mt. Hood and part down Sandy Creek. Crossed several awful gulfs at the foot of Mt. Hood Sandy rocky &c Camp on creek Poor grass.

15—735

7, Tuesday. Trav. down Sandy bad road camp on east side tolerably good grass. Very large timber.

9—744

8, Wednesday. Trav. down Sandy Camp on a small stream poor grass fallen timber good soil.

18—762

9, Thursday. Trav. Tolerable road good soil. Camp on waters of Clackamas. Good grass, good water.

20—782

10, Friday. Trav. down Clackamas Camp near its junction with Willamette.

16—798

11, Saturday. Travelled. Camp between Clackamas and Oregon City. Emigrants arriving at Oregon City with cattle or other stock will as well in all cases to proceed on up the valley to the prairie as soon as possible and all others that intend farming for their living.

2—800

The face of the country in Oregon Territory is diversified with mountains plains and valleys and the soil is as various as the face of the country. Commencing in the eastern section on the wagon road there is a large plain bordering Green River valley lying on both sides of the river; all except some small spots on what few water courses there is in this section of the country approximates nearly to desert without wood or water with a tolerable level surface surrounded with high mountains in different directions.

The next river (Bear) the valley is much smaller, but superior in soil water etc. surrounded by hills and mountains generally bald but not universally. There is a cedar grove at the Soda

Springs. The valley is very circuitous and the bed of the river much more so. The river perhaps from sixty to eighty yards wide not more than half the width of Green River and much shallower.

We then cross plain and mountain and strike Lewis river at Fort Hall where there is a considerable of moderately fertile land near the river and other waters. After passing Great Falls there is a wide extended valley of great length resembling that on Green river. The Salmon falls are within this valley of sterility.

After leaving this plain the surface is more diversified and the soil more various but generally very poor until 20 or 30 miles east of the Blue Mountains where the soil improves to such a degree that large valleys of very good soil and fine timber in abundance on the mountains.

West of the Blue Mts the greater portion is high rolling prairie to the eastern spurs of the Cascades. Scarce of water with occasional sand plains nearly sterile.

The Cascade Mts. are high and in many places very broken heavy timbered except the peaks of perpetual snow. At the western termination of this range is the Wilamette valley through which the river of the same name flows. The width of this valley is perhaps 40 miles and probably over 200 long from N to S. The Wilamette enters into the Columbia 6 miles below Ft. Vancouver on the latter. About 25 miles above the junction there is a fall in the Wilamette of 25 or 30 feet nearly perpendicular. It receives the waters of the Clackamas 2 miles below the falls.

From the east a river of considerable magnitude 8 or 10 miles higher up receives the united streams of the Molally and Pudding Rivers when united something smaller than the Clackamas. The next river from the east is the Santyann about 50 miles higher up. This is the largest tributary of the Willamette below the forks. It comes from the Cascade Mts. in 4 considerable streams but all unite near one place several miles from the Mts. and 4 or 5 from the Wilamette. The next is the Calopia a small river having its source in the Cascade Mts. from thence the main forks of the Wilamette a distance 25 or 30 miles there are no streams of any considerable size.

The first stream entering on the West of any note is Twality River. About the size of Pudding river 2 miles above the falls. Next the Yam Hill about the same size, 25 or 30 miles higher up. next Rickerol a small river, About 15 miles higher up. next Luckamuke larger than the last mentioned, 10 miles higher up, then Mary's R. 20 higher up something larger than the Luckamuke.

Long Tom Bath 20 miles higher up, larger than the Mary R. The tributaries on the east side are more rocky and rapid than those on the West.

Ten or twelve miles above the mouth of Long Tom Bath the Wilamette forks and the forks branch out into a number

of streams. Of course the navigation must cease for large craft. Below forks to the Columbia I think the navigation of the Willamette will be found good for steamboats of common size with some slight obstructions by ——— the Great Falls at Oregon City. But as far as Mary's river at least. There is a rapid at the mouth of the Clackamus that is very swift but there is a sufficient depth of water at the low stage for boats of light draught.

Face of the country in the Willamette valley is something various, large sections quite level others nearly with conical hills occasionally and some parts hilly. Below falls the valley lies exclusively on the east side and with the exception of some small on the Clackamus and a few other small spots, is a heavy timbered country with a tolerably level surface. The settlers being a few on the main Willamette and on the Clackamus. Beside the heavy growth of timber and undergrowth there is a species of Fern that is very hard to subdue.

From the falls to the Molally there is no prairie and but few farmers although there (are) several claims taken here hilly but not broken on the east side of the W. R. Above Molally there is more prairie but the greatest part is timbered for about 40 miles higher up surface mostly level. Pudding R. drains a large Portion of this section tolerably well watered only. Above this prairie predominates as far as the waters of the Santy ann extends up but is tolerably well supplied in most places and a sufficient quality on the waters of the Santy ann. Fire wood more abundant than building and fencing timber as fir and cedar is used almost exclusively for fencing.

Hills and valleys in this a great portion of hills red soil, mostly timbered with oak &c. A considerable portion of the low land is gravelly and some portions with soil generally good and the best watered part of the whole valley. Above the waters of the Santy Ann the country is very level as high up as the forks with but very little timber except at the Mts. and near the Willamette and a narrow strip bordering the Calopia which flows across not far from the center of this prairie.

Above this point timber seems to be quite plenty. Soil near the Mts. excellent. On the west side of Tuality River there is a small section of prairie called Tuality plains surrounded with excellent. But from the Yam Hill up fir timber is generally very scarce except on the Willamette and at the Mts. The face of the country variegated with hills and valleys, intersected with low gaps or valleys running from one water course to another, the upper end of this valley being much the levellest. For twenty miles above Long Tom Bath the soil generally (good) but the central part excellent but not so well timbered nor watered as the east side of the valley though fire wood is generally plenty and there is an inexhaustible supply of Fir timber in the Mts and on the Willamette which is not entirely out of reach of any portion of the valley. Above the Willamette forks timber more abundant.

The timber in the valley consists of red, white and yellow fir,

white oak, cedar, spruce, cottonwood, Willow, ash, yew, alder, cherry, maple, Dog-wood, Bay or Laurel, Pine of pitch species. The shrubbery is various and large consisting of elder, hazel, crab-apple, service, skunk-wood etc. Above the forks of the Willamette there (is) Black oak but none in the lower part and no spruce in the upper that I have seen besides the Willamette Valley.

It is said by recent explorers that there is a more extensive country N. of the Columbia bordering Puget's Sound well adapted to grazing and agriculture and south on the Umpqua, Clamet and Rouge rivers. There is said to be considerable of excellent soil well adapted to grazing and tillage perhaps the whole country west of the Cascade Mts between 42° and 49° that is not mountainous will not excede 25 or 30 thousand square miles though it is generally estimated much larger. The mount (ainous) country will undoubtedly be settled to a considerable extent at some distant day the principal difficulty is the immensely heavy growth of timber.

The tillable portion of the Willamette valley is well adapted to wheat and other grains cultivated in the United States with the exception of Indian corn which owing to the peculiarities of the climate does not succeed so well as in the States of equal soil. Cabbage, beets onions turnips parsnips & carrots thrive remarkably well. The Rev. Mr. Parrish raised on new prairie land a turnip that weighed 28 lbs and a beet that weighed 13¾ lbs. Potatoes as well as pumpkins squashes melons tomatoes tolerably. It is said that gourds will not do any good.

Climate. The winters are much warmer and wetter than in the same latitude in the states and the summers dryer and cooler, the nights in particular.

Internal improvements consist chiefly of some small improvements on roads the principal of which is Captain Barlows over the Cascade Mts. called the Mt. Hood road and that is very difficult to be passed and something dangerous owing to the ruggedness of the country through which it passes and the dense forest. This road was cut in 1846 by Barlow and associates for toll by authority of the legislature of the Territory. There has been another route explored by Applegate, Harris, Goff & leaving the old road about 50 miles west of Ft. Hall down Mary River and coming in the southwest side of the Willamette valley. But one emigration has come this route which caused great delay and loss of lives and property some of which remained on the Umqua River. Great suffering was the consequence.

May 16 I am now lying on a small stream called Zig zag on Capt. Barlow's road on my way to the States, 45 miles from all humans. We made the attempt to cross the Mts. with our pack animals but was prevented by the snow it being 10 ft deep on Mts where road passes through solid enough for a man to walk on. Our animals were unpacked at the commencement of the snow and taken back to grass by the rest of the company. I remain with the packs my only companions Grizly Bears and their habits are rather unsocial and not much to be desired.

Review of the Oregon Road Pack horse trail and wagon road alternately. Left the Willamette valley on the 26th May travelled the wagon roads it being difficult on (account) of high waters and deep snow in the Cascade Mts. For 10 or 12 miles on and near the summit the snow varied from 2 to 10 ft in depth, sufficiently solid for horses to travel on top. Crossing streams on natural bridges of snow. After passing the snow about 30 miles the grass was in its bloom and very fine until I reached Ft. Bosia.

We then took the pack trail on the south side of Snake River and passed through the most barren part of the territory that I have been in. From the Salmon Falls to Ft Hall, I found the grass much superior to that of '45.

From Ft. Hall eastward to this point Smith's fork of Bear River the grass is excellent. We are waiting here the arrival of Emigrants which are hourly expected. The Southern company from the Willamette valley arrived here by the southern route ten days in advance of us and Major Harris had been to the pass of the Rocky Mts. and returned meeting two hundred emigrating wagons.

July 4th 1847 we were one month later reaching this place in 1845. On our return trip with packed animals, we reached Ft. Hall in 31 days from the settlement in the Willamette valley meeting with no very serious obstructions crossing streams being the greatest difficulty with the exception of swarms of mosquitos.

On reviewing the road on which I travelled in 1845 and Greenwood cut off which leaves the old road about 2 miles east of the Little Sandy and intersects again near the mouth of Smiths Fork of Bear river. This route is generally rough and circuitous and Sweet Water is generally level but very sandy and heavy road which continues some distance eastward.

Notes taken of the road leading from the Independence road to St Joseph in Buchanan County Mo. Camp to the right of the road on a small creek 8 miles west of the forks of the road.

Big Blue 8 miles east of forks of the road third camp is E. of Blue on a small creek at the road waters of the Blue. Fifth camp 5 miles on small creek, where road crosses there is another small creek about one mile East. Sixth camp on main fork of Wolf River 15 miles fine prairie bottom on West side Bluff on the East. Camps may be made at different points by turning a short distance off the road unless the weather is very dry. From this point eastward there is no good camp for about 18 miles. Then they may be had on either side of the road by leaving it some distance. Another good camp 6 miles east of the latter on a small creek south of the road at a great bend on the creek. From this camp there is no camp on the road but may be had at a reasonable distance on the left hand or South 8 miles from the Agency. From this to St. Joseph distance is about 25 miles camps are plenty the road broken.

The following is a list of persons that perished in the California Mts by hunger or cold in the winter of 1846 & 47.

Jacob Donnor, Betsy Donnor, Isaac Donnor Wm. Donnor, Lewis Donnor, Samuel Donnor, George Donnor, Mrs. Donnor, John Denton, Balus Williams, Milford Elliott, James Smith, Mr. Graves, Miss Graves, Franklin, Graves, J. A. Fausbic, C. T. Staunton, Patrick Dolon, Samuel Shoemaker, Mr. Murphy, Samuel Murphy, Andrew Murphy, Geo. Foster, L. Eddy, James Eddy, Eliza Eddy, Katherine Pike, Harriet McCutcheon, Dutch Rignhart, Mr. Hardcope, Mr. Spilcer, Charles Berger, L. T. Kethburg, Bethy Kethburg, Antonio Spaniard Lewis and Salvado from Suiters.

Oregon City James Watson Ephraim Stout John or James Stout.

Seeds not generally difused through Oregon Territory.

Timber:—Chestnut, beech, sugar maple, Linn, Elm, hickory, hackberry, walnut, buckeye, cucumber, Sasafra, plum, poplar, paw paw, persimmon, honey locust, black locust.

Orchard and garden:—Grapes, currants, gooseberry, apple seed, cherry, peach, pear, tansy, rue, mint, catnip, burdock, horse raddish, calamus, hoarhound, shallot, garlic, white rye, sile, oats, mulberry, persimmon.

Distances from one noted place to another on the Oregon road.

To Kansas R.....	80— 80
Platte R.....	228— 308
Where road leaves Fork.....	162— 470
Strike N. Fork.....	20— 490
Scotts Bluffs.....	74— 564
Fort Platte & Laramie.....	60— 624
Cross N. fork Platte.....	125— 749
Independence Rock.....	57— 806
Divide of the Oceans.....	97— 903
Cross Green River.....	59— 962
Fort Bridger.....	48—1010
Bear River.....	60—1070
Soda Springs.....	92—1162
Ft Hall on Lewis R.....	69—1231
Salmon Falls.....	151—1382
Ford of Lewis R.....	31—1413
Ft Bosia and second crossing of Lewis River... 126—1539	
Powder R. E. side B. Mts.....	108—1647
Umataallow W. side Mts.....	92—1739
Columbia R.....	55—1794
Dalles.....	98—1892
Oregon City.....	138—2030

Since the above was written a part of the road has been measured which varies about 23 miles from Ft Laramie to the divide of the Oceans.

The Naming of Seward in Alaska.

It is not often that complete documentary evidence is preserved showing the manner and reason of naming a city. For that reason it is thought best to here record the letters and orders resulting in this honor to the memory of the great War Secretary of State.

The following letter was dated at the office of the Chief Engineer of the Alaska Central Railway Company in Seattle, June 23, 1902:

Prof. Edmond S. Meany,
University, Wash.

Dear Sir:

I have been giving some thought to the question of a name for the town at the southern terminus of the Alaska Central Railway. This town will be a nice commanding site on Resurrection Bay, which Bay is the only open port the year round on what is known as the South Coast of the main part of Alaska, and is about in the middle of said South Coast, being between Prince William Sound and Cook's Inlet.

One of our engineers has suggested the name "Almouth," meaning mouth of Alaska. While not satisfied with the name, I am not myself able to think of a better one, and wish that you would make some suggestion to me in the matter.

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,
Chief Engineer.

The reply of Professor Meany was dated at the University of Washington, Seattle, 1 July, 1902, and was as follows:
Mr. C. M. Anderson,

Chief Engineer of Alaska Central Ry. Co.
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of 23 June is at hand.

I thank you for the opportunity of suggesting a name for the southern terminus of the new railroad. The name above all others most appropriate for a prominent city in Alaska is Seward.

The Alaska Purchase Treaty was concluded 30 March, 1867; ratifications exchanged at Washington 20 June, 1867; proclaimed 20 June, 1867. The treaty was signed by William H. Seward for the United States and Edouard de Stoeckl for Russia.

The purchased empire was little appreciated. It was ridiculed by Harner's Weekly and others as "Seward's Paradise," etc. Practically all the negotiations were conducted by Seward.

More than any other one man is he responsible for American ownership of Alaska.

By all means let us honor the great War Secretary of State.

I have examined the official list of U. S. postoffices dated 1 January, 1902, and find no Seward in the list.

Mr. C. L. Wayland, U. S. Inspector of Postoffices, will soon leave for Alaska. He establishes and often names new postoffices. You should see him and arrange for the name you decide upon.

I am somewhat familiar with the history of Alaska, and if Seward is found impossible for any reason I could suggest other names that would commemorate significant facts. To me this method of naming cities is much to be preferred to the plan of sticking pieces of names together as "Almouth" or "Bucoda."

Yours faithfully

EDMOND S. MEANY.

On July 2, 1902, Chief Engineer Anderson wrote to Mr. G. W. Dickinson, President and General Manager of the Alaska Central Railway Company, as follows:

Dear Sir: Inclosed please find correspondence relative to name of southern terminus.

I wish to refer the same to Mr. Wayland with your endorsement.

On this letter was written in pencil the following:

Anderson.

Good idea to have concurrence of P. O. people. Ask Wayland.

G. W. D.

On July 2, 1902, Mr. Anderson wrote:

Mr. C. L. Wayland,
Postal Inspector.

Dear Sir: Please act on Mr. Meany's suggestion if you can do so. And greatly oblige

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,
Chief Engineer.

To this letter Mr. Wayland replied as follows, on July 4:

In compliance with your attached request I would suggest the name of "Vituska," pronounced Ve-tus-ka, and being made up (1) of the first (and chief) name of Vitus Bering, the Dane, who for Russia in 1728 to 1741 discovered Alaska, the Bering

Sea and Strait and thus completed the discovery of North and South America begun by Columbus 250 years before, and (2) of the final syllable of Alaska. This is a positively distinct and striking and solid name and sounds exactly like it belonged to Alaska—as it does. I can't share Prof. Meany's aversion to names made of pieces. It has been the loving task of all lexicographers to show how nearly all words were built of pieces and to show the meaning of the word through the meanings of its pieces.

The last letter of this series is as follows:

Seattle. Wash., July 8, 1902.

Mr. G. W. Dickinson,
General Manager.

Dear Sir: Enclosed please find correspondence, in relation to the naming of our southern terminal. If thought best to accept Mr. Wayland's suggestion to name the terminal "Vituska," I would suggest that the name of the Bay be made "Almouth." While not personally very pleasantly impressed with the name "Vituska" in respect to Mr. Wayland's suggestion, shall use said name unless I receive contrary suggestion from you.

Very truly yours

C. M. ANDERSON,
Chief Engineer.

This letter bears these pencilled letters "O. K.—G. W. D."

Professor Meany happened to be a passenger on the Steamship Bertha in July of 1902 and had, as fellow passengers, a party of engineers bound for Resurrection Bay for the Alaska Central Railway. From that party he obtained a copy of the above correspondence. The only missing item is the order, if any was given, by which "Vituska" was set aside and the originally suggested name of "Seward" was decided upon for the city thus founded in Alaska in 1902.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. By Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History, University of Washington, and Secretary Washington University State Historical Society. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907, 344 pp., \$2.50.)

With this expressive title has recently been published the latest addition to the history of the North Pacific Coast. No original literary work in the past, connected with Western America, has been of more interest and value than Vancouver's own narrative of his explorations during the last decade of the eighteenth century. His journal of that famous voyage, covering a period of four years, was evidently written from day to day as the expedition progressed, and just as evidently was truthful and reliable in every respect. George Vancouver entered the British Navy in 1772 at the tender age of thirteen years. For nineteen years following he sailed about the world, rendering his country various forms of naval service, including engagement in battle, and participation in the great voyage of discovery by Captain Cook to the Far West, the Far South and the Far North, and by reason of the zeal and ability he displayed, rising rank by rank until he became a commander and captain. He was a careful navigator, an able seaman, a strict disciplinarian, thorough in all his undertakings, honest and loyal to the core. These things being known at London, it is not astonishing that he was chosen to conduct an expedition in which would be required a combination of tact and delicacy, courage and skill, intelligence and ability possessed by but few of his contemporaries in the service. The duties imposed upon him on this occasion were honorable in the extreme; the powers conferred broad and generous. They included international diplomacy, as well as exploration, discovery and the acquisition of territory, protection and fostering of British trade, the making of maps and charts, the writing of history, and the supreme command of two naval vessels and one hundred and forty-five men for a period exceedingly prolonged and in parts of the world where official communication with him would be as impossible as today would be the case with one

at the North Pole. Captain Vancouver left his mark wherever he went, and very visibly so on the coast of the State of Washington, on Puget Sound, in the waters and on the shores of British Columbia and in Alaska. It is of this part of his long voyage that Professor Meany has written and published. He has reproduced in full the very copious reports of Vancouver, the value of which may be understood when it is stated that it is practically impossible to secure or buy the same as published one hundred and more years ago. Not only has he done this, but he has added immensely to the value of his publication by the descriptive and biographic notes and portraits with which the book abounds. Vancouver confined his illustrations to scenes on the voyage and to maps, and modestly and naturally enough said but little of himself and others outside their official acts and functions. In the work under review are not only all the original illustrations, but many others, enlivening it greatly, and making plainer the text. The biographies are scarcely less important than the body matter. He tells plainly and at length who Puget, Vashon, Hood, Howe, Rainier, Gardner, Jervis, Burrard and Mudge were—all officers of the Royal Navy, who distinguished themselves, who became Admirals, and whose names were left by Vancouver upon waters and lands where they are likely to remain to the end of time. So also of Townshend, Grenville, Bute, Whidby, Orchard, Baker, Broughton and others. Probably the fullest life sketch of Vancouver himself is that appearing in this volume from the pen of his admiring biographer, the professor of history of the University of Washington. Justice is also done to Quadra, the Spaniard, who is here rescued from oblivion and to whose memory deserved honor is paid. The explorations, enterprises and other acts of Drake, Cook, Perez, Heceta, Meares, Portlock, Dixon, Kendrick, Gray, Barclay, Martinez, Elisa, Fidalgo, Quimper, Caamano and others, at and about Nootka, Fuca Strait, Columbia River and elsewhere on the Pacific shores are briefly and entertainingly told. So also there is account of the celebrated Indian chief Maquinna, of Nootka, and narration of the destruction there of the American ships *Boston* and *Tonquin*, with massacre of their crews—two of the bloodiest and most terrible events in our Pacific history. In this reproduction of Vancouver's journal in its entirety, and its placing in the new form within the reach of all desirous persons, a great literary service has been rendered to the world. When to this are added the other matters herein referred to—

the introductory chapters, the side narratives, the biographies, explanatory notes and illustrations—the value of the service is increased beyond estimation or expression, and especially is this true in its relation to the people occupying the countries bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean. Conscientiously, clearly, concisely, the author has told a story that here is of deep interest and to which there never will be diminution.

In the volume he has just issued Professor Meany gratefully acknowledges his obligations to numerous persons, both in Europe and America, for assistance given him in the preparation and publication, and gracefully dedicates it to his Alma Mater, the University of Washington.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

Professor Edmond S. Meany.

It is habitual to speak of Seattle as a young city. The vigor and enthusiasm of youth is noticeable in most of its prominent citizens, and the uncompleted condition of its streets, and the many new buildings in course of construction are suggestive of newness. The city is, however, not too young to reap honors from the character and achievements of men who have lived in Seattle from childhood to mature age and achieved success within her atmosphere and environments. Among the men of the class above indicated, Professor Edmond S. Meany stands among the foremost. He is a man of great physical and intellectual force. In stature and the massiveness of his frame he resembles a fir tree; his clear and penetrating eyes are like an eagle's; and his voice needs not to be reinforced by a megaphone to be heard distinctly by every person in any large assemblage of people; as a student and seeker of knowledge he is untiring; as a lecturer and orator he is fluent, interesting, persuasive and magnetic; he has a retentive memory and a logical mind, by which he is enabled when addressing an audience to use most effectively the great thoughts and important facts which by industry and patience he has gleaned from books and collected in travel; in the cause of education, in scientific research, and in all that pertains to the public welfare, he is an enthusiast and a patriot; he is magnanimous and brave, an ardent lover of his friends, and faithful to his home family.

This is my estimate of his personality, and it can be fully justified by a simple narrative of the facts in his record. He was born in Michigan, in the year 1862, but has lived in Seattle more than thirty years. In my travels and practice in pioneer times, I came in contact with and became acquainted with practically all of the men engaged in the steamboat business on Puget Sound, and in that way I became acquainted with Mr. Stephen Meany, who engaged in steamboating and was mate of the steamer "Fannie Lake" for several years preceding his death by drowning in the Skagit River, in the year 1880. He was a man who performed his duties in a quiet and businesslike way, and I liked him, and after his death I watched with interest the conduct of his son, who at the time referred to was a quiet, industrious and well-behaved youth. He began earning money in Seattle while attending school by delivering milk, and afterward became the carrier of the morning newspaper. The death of his father cast upon him the burden of supporting his mother and family, and created a necessity for earning more money, which in his situation could only be accomplished by doing more work, and he accordingly sought and obtained additional employment, doing janitor service and keeping a set of books for the retail grocery firm of Densmore & Johnson. A majority of the boys, having already the rudiments of an education, and being under the necessity of performing hard work, would have permanently abandoned school, but at that early age "Ed" Meany had ambition as well as an independent spirit, and he continued a regular course of study in school and in the Territorial University, devoting the time which other students gave to recreation to meeting the demand upon his earning capacity, not only to pay his own way while acquiring an education, but to assist his family. With the class of 1885 of the University of Washington Territory he graduated with honor, and was the valedictorian of his class. One of the most praiseworthy institutions of Seattle in early times was the Young Naturalists' Society, an association of school boys devoted to the pursuit of scientific research, and especially the collection of specimens and knowledge of natural history, botany, etc., pertaining to the waters, forests and mountains of Washington Territory, and of this society young Meany was an active member. In the troublesome period of 1885 and 1886, when the honest laborers of the Territory, incited by foreign agitators, were organized for the unlawful purpose of expelling the Chinese inhabitants by force, and in defiance of the government,

young Meany was enrolled among the defenders of law and order. The organization of Home Guards of which he was a member preceded the organization of the National Guard of Washington Territory, and when the change occurred Meany enlisted in Company E, which was at first commanded by Capt. E. M. Carr, and included in its membership a large number of the most prominent citizens of Seattle, who are still active in promoting its welfare. When Meany was a very young man my faith in him caused me to propose his name more than once for nomination as a Republican candidate for representative in the legislature of Washington Territory. He was not called to that service, however, until after the State government had succeeded the Territory. In 1891 and 1893 he served two terms as representative in the state legislature, and was one of the most efficient and valuable members sent from King County. His services were especially valuable in securing necessary legislation for the reorganization of the University and its relocation on the site which it now occupies. After the termination of his second term as a member of the legislature, he became officially connected with the University, holding the position of Registrar until the year 1897, when by a change of administration he was required to give up his position, to make a place for a man belonging to a different political party. There was, however, such an apparent need for a man of Meany's capacity and energy in the work of building up the University, that the Board of Regents were prevailed upon to retain him as a member of the Faculty, and he was accordingly retained as Professor of History, a position for which he is adapted by nature, and which he has worthily filled continuously until the present time. Since the organization of the University of Washington State Historical Society, Professor Meany has been its secretary and main support, and in that capacity he has rendered services of permanent value in gathering and preserving and making accessible to the public important historical facts. By his personal solicitation the expenses of monuments and tablets marking the sites of historical events have been collected, and under his superintendence the monuments and tablets have been placed. Without hope of pecuniary remuneration, he has industriously traced to the utmost sources in Europe and America lines of original investigation, and has accomplished extraordinary results in securing reliable information with respect to explorations and discoveries of the Northwest Coast of America, in the times of its wilderness stage, and

the volume of which he is author containing the interesting facts, and reproductions of pictures and drawings thus collected, is a valuable contribution to the world's storehouse of knowledge.

CORNELIUS H. HANFORD.

The First Forty Years of Washington Society. By Margaret Bayard Smith. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.)

A century ago, when our National Capital was new, official society was quite compact; although our author would seem to indicate a hard and fast line between gentlemen and men, referring to them as a matter of course as races apart, every one within the charmed circle knew every one else.

Margaret Bayard Smith, whose husband published the first national newspaper printed in America, lived in Washington for the first forty-four years of the nineteenth century. This selection from her family letters throws intimate sidelights on the public characters of that day, with all of whom they were more or less closely connected. The Smiths visited, as close personal friends, Jefferson, the Madisons, the Clays and the Calhouns, and they entertained or met nearly all the distinguished foreigners who came to the city during that time. Mrs. Smith and her correspondents talk fully and freely of these folks—their looks, their manners, their characters, and the impressions they received from them; as well as sending each other the earliest intelligence of important events or of striking circumstances that came under their observation.

There was only one little church and a chapel in the city when Mrs. Smith went there. Provision was made for services in the Hall of Representatives at which clergymen of any denomination might officiate. This soon became a fashionable resort for beaux and beauties who bowed, whispered, moved around, and even laughed aloud when the services became irksome. The delivery of the morning mail also served as an interruption. She objected to the music which a marine band in scarlet uniforms attempted to supply for the psalm singing.

"Sunday was the universal day for visits and entertainments." A Mr. Breckenridge, preaching to this society, threatened them with the fate of Ninevah. The burning of the city by the British some time afterwards led Mrs. Madison to remark on the ap-

parent fulfillment of the prophecy, but the inhabitants continued to sin in the same way for many years afterwards.

At Madison's inauguration ball the room was so terribly crowded that our folks had to stand on benches. "An attempt had been made to appropriate particular seats for the ladies of public character, but it was found impossible to carry it into effect, for the sovereign people would not resign their privileges, and the high and the low were promiscuously blended on the floor and in the galleries. * * * It was scarcely possible to elbow their way from one side to another. Poor Mrs. Madison was almost pressed to death, for every one crowded around her, those behind pressing on those before and peeping over their shoulders to have a peep at her."

The division of labor was not carried so far in those days. One could hire such a housekeeper as this: "I shall prepare a large room for her, in which she will sleep and sit, and in which the two boys will eat and sit of an evening. They are now so rude and troublesome at their meals and in their manners that I promise myself they will be much benefited by being with her. She is to make and mend their clothes. She can make all Mr. S.'s except his coats, and is likewise a good mantua-maker and seamstress. She is to iron and clear starch, and when I am prevented by other duties from discharging the delightful cares of a nurse. She is to take my place."

"The other evening Susan and I were very much diverted by two most venerable senators, who came to drink tea with us. I perceived Judge R. minutely surveying the forte piano, and supposed he might be fond of music, so asked Susan to play for them. * * * What I supposed to be attention marked on their countenances I afterwards found out to be astonishment, for I believe it was the first time they had seen or heard such a thing. They felt all over the outside, peeped in where it was open and seemed so curious to know how the sound was produced, or whence it came, that I begged Susan to open the lid and display the internal machinery. * * * 'Dear me,' said the Judge, 'how pretty those white and red things jump up and down. Dear me, what a parcel of wires. Strange that a harp with a thousand strings should keep in tune so long.' 'Pray,' said the other senator, 'have you any rule to play music?' * * * They are very sensible men and useful citizens, but they have lived in the back woods, that's all."

When her final visit to Jefferson at Monticello was drawing to a close, he said to her: "The whole of my life has been a

war with my natural taste, feelings and wishes. Domestic life and literary pursuits were my first and my latest inclinations, circumstances and not my desires lead me to the path I have trod. And like a bow, though long bent, which, when unstrung, flies back to its natural state, I resume with delight the character and pursuits for which nature designed me. The circumstances of our country, at my entrance into life, were such that every honest man felt himself compelled to take a part, and to act up to the best of his abilities."

Mrs. Smith had long conversations with Mr. Owen of Lanark. She found him personally attractive and she had no fault to find with the logic of his socialistic schemes, which were new then, but she calls him an amiable madman because he thought he could carry those schemes out.

Harriet Martineau was lionized when she visited Washington. "No stranger excepting LaFayette ever received such universal and marked testimonials of regard. * * * At first our great men were disposed to laugh at her, but now they are her most devoted admirers and constant visitors. Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Preston, Judge Story and many others often visited her, and when she goes to the Senate or courtroom leave their seats to converse with her."

These letters are not only informing, but vastly entertaining. The book is attractively gotten up and well illustrated. It is edited by Gaillard Hunt.

MARY G. O'MEARA.

The Coal Mine Workers—A Study in Labor Organization.
By Frank Julian Warne, Ph. D. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co.)

This helpful little volume, whose author has made a special study of the Slav immigrant workers in the coal mines, is a careful and detailed study of "The United Mine Workers of America." Dr. Warne studies the mine workers as a labor organization on the assumption that all labor organizations, however they may differ as to constitutions, organizations and methods, are working for identically the same objects.

"The writer has no theory to discuss nor any side to support. He takes the trade union as he finds it, aims to explain impartially its objects and purposes, points out what he believes to be the mistakes in organization * * * and describes the industrial machinery which it is bringing into possession of society for the performance of needful service."

Interesting light is thrown upon the methods of handling the

union, and it is worth while to point out that much of the experience gained by the labor union man in his union is ready to be carried over into the political field. One is constantly surprised at the intensely democratic philosophy and action thus brought into existence. It would be interesting to know just how much of these are the result of the labor unionists' reading, and how much the result of actual self-government in his union.

The book is a little too detailed to make good, popular reading, but is useful to the student who wishes to see how these people are making democracy work in the unions. It can be but a short while until this training makes itself felt in the political field.

Perhaps the American Federation of Labor's recent activity is only the forerunner of what is to come later.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

A Tour of Four Great Rivers: the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware, in 1769; being the journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey. Edited, with a short history of the pioneer settlements, by Francis W. Halsey. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. lxxiii., 102.)

Immediately following the Fort Stanwix Treaty of November, 1768, by which a large tract of land was surrendered by the Indians, considerable interest was manifested in the lands along the upper courses of New York and Pennsylvania Rivers. Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey, became one of the proprietors of 69,000 acres on the Upper Susquehanna, and in May, 1769, set out to make a survey of the grant. He proceeded across New Jersey, up the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers well into the Indian country. Turning south through the wilderness he came to the Susquehanna, down which he traveled some distance till he reached a point not far from the Delaware. The latter brought him back to his home at Burlington. Smith's journal, written on this trip, is full of all manner of details that he fancied would have any bearing on land values, as well as many others that he evidently thought of interest. The location of settlements and their source of supplies; the size of trout caught in the streams, and the kind of bait used to catch them; a description of the process of making maple sugar, evidently a novelty to him; the large crops that could be raised with little cultivation; a bird's nest on the ground containing three eggs similar to robins' eggs; the way the Indians carried their children—these and scores of such observations make up the journal. At the close he gives "a table of distances" between the points on his

journey, showing that he traveled 676 miles. Finally, in a chapter by itself, as though not a part of the journal, we find Smith's "Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Indians," in which he suggests that "probably distant posterity will peruse as fables the accounts which may be handed down of the present customs of the aborigines of North America."

The editor's introduction, nearly as long as the journal itself, is well enough to give an historical setting for the benefit of the popular reader and furnish occasion for a number of excellent halftones scattered through the book, but one cannot help wishing that a little more scholarship, both historical and literary, had been displayed in this connection. Mostly secondary sources are cited and these quite without page references. The arrangement of the subject matter is cumbersome and confusing. Mr. Halsey, however, deserves commendation for his evidently careful editing and indexing of the journal.

— GEORGE H. ALDEN.

The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot; Original Narratives of Early American History. (Reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association. General editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Ph. D., LL. D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington.) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 443.)

In this most recent publication authorized by the American Historical Association we find a choice collection of original narratives that is without doubt a useful and valuable addition to the list of reliable reference books on the early history of America. It lays bare the classical narratives on which our earliest history is founded, those which form the sources of our knowledge of the discovery of America. Such a work cannot fail to prove a real acquisition to the library of a school or college, or to that of the true student of history. No modern history, however excellent, can give the reader all that he can get from the "ipissima verba" of the first narrators, Argonauts or eye-witnesses, vivacious explorers or captains courageous. There are many cases in which the secondary narrators have quite hidden from view these first authorities, whom it is therefore a duty to restore to their rightful position. In a still greater number of instances, the primitive narrations have become so scarce and expensive that no ordinary library can hope to possess anything like a complete set of the classics of early American history. Consequently a real service is done American historical students when sources such as these are made easily accessible

to the general public. And just that service has been rendered in the publication of the collection under consideration.

For one who loves to seek out the original sources of our historical knowledge, and who delights to wander down the obscure byways of the past—dim-lit, grass-grown with tradition, long since abandoned by the ordinary wayfarer, and almost hidden by the abundant growth of more recent events,—for him, I say, these original narratives will awaken a rare joy. As his interest grows and his eyes travel from page to page he will feel like a pocket miner who has just made a “find,” and can’t cease congratulating himself. All his life long he has heard more or less vague allusions to a Norse discovery of America that antedated the efforts of Columbus—but here he lights upon an excellent translation of the old age-worn sagas, Icelandic annals and papal letters that have formed the basis of our belief in the discovery of America by Lief Ericsson about the year 1000. These choice documents have been carefully edited by Julius E. Olson, professor of Scandinavian language and literature in the University of Wisconsin.

Throughout the entire “Saga of Eric the Red” pulses the intensely human record of sturdy warriors, bold Vikings, generous-hearted comrades and brave, strong women who shared alike with their powerful husbands the dangers of the storm-swept ocean, the rigors of the cruel, northern winter, the privations and hardships of pioneer life and the alarming adventures of life in a strange and hitherto unknown land inhabited by savages. These long-treasured pieces of ancient writing are permeated with the vigorous, daring spirit of the hardy Norseman, who with unyielding purpose, undismayed courage and unabated energy, breasted the stormy Northern seas, sailed from island to island, founded colonies, cultivated farmsteads, established primitive law and order, dispensed free-handed hospitality, honored women as comrades in life’s battle, and inspired anew each rising generation with a love for achievement. This is the temper of the race that first of all Europeans is believed to have discovered America, probably making landing in the region of Nova Scotia or somewhat further south. The old Sagas relate how Lief Ericsson, who had been commissioned by King Olaf of Norway to carry the news of Christianity to Greenland, was beset with adverse winds, blown out of his course and made the discovery of this western land, where self-sown wheat and vines were found growing and great trees that could afford large timbers for building. Later on we read how Thorfinn Karlsefni, a

friend of Lief Ericsson, explored "Vinland the Good," came upon "long strands and sandy banks," coasted far southward and finally settled on the edge of a lake not far from the coast, and with his party enjoyed good hunting and fishing for more than three years." Here and there in the story we come upon suggestive allusions to a strange people who sped over the water in large "skin canoes"—in one place described as "swarthy men, and ill-looking, and the hair of their heads was ugly. They had great eyes and were broad of cheek * * * dressed in skin doublets. Especially did the strangers wish to buy red cloth, for which they offered in exchange peltries and gray skins. * * * In exchange for perfect, unsullied skins the Skrellings would take red stuff a span in length which they would bind around their heads." On another occasion we read how "the Skrellings attacked the newcomers unawares, showering them with missiles hurled by war-slings. When Freydis, the wife of one of Karlsefni's men, came out of her hut and saw the men taking to flight, she yelled after them, "Why do ye flee from these wretches, such worthy men as ye, when, meseems, ye might slaughter them like cattle? Had I but a weapon, methinks I would fight better than any one of you." Later she discovered a sword and prepared to defend herself. Here we read "The Skrellings then approached her, whereupon she stripped down her shift and slapped her breast with the naked sword." At this brave show of defiance "the Skrellings were terrified, ran down to their boats and rowed away. Karlsefni and his companions, however, joined her and praised her valor." At another time Freydis is represented playing the role of Lady Macbeth in a way almost to rival Shakespeare's heroine. Gudrid, the wife of Karlsefni, however, carries off the honors as heroine of these old tales.

The original narratives of the journeys of Columbus fill more than half the book. They comprise authentic translations of the articles of agreement entered into by "The Lords, the Catholic Sovereigns and Christobol Colon (as the Spanish refer to Columbus), which record Columbus' appointment as "Admiral and Viceroy of such mainland and islands as he should discover," and the grant of his titles "Admiral, Viceroy and Governor of the islands and mainland that may be discovered," followed by the journal of the first voyage, a letter from Columbus to Louis de Santangel, letters from Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning the colonization and commerce of Espanola. Further on appears a most entertaining letter written by Dr. Chanca

on the second voyage, containing valuable matter in regard to the character and life of the natives of the West Indies. Later is given a narrative of the third voyage as recorded in La Casas' history—then a letter from Columbus to the nurse of Prince John, when the great admiral was being sent home in chains by the command of Bobadilla, the usurper of the governorship of Santo Domingo,—and, finally, another letter written on his fourth voyage. These highly entertaining narratives have been carefully edited under the direction of Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph. D., professor of history at Yale, as have also the available documents in regard to the voyages of John Cabot. The latter include a letter of Lorenz Pasqualigo to his brothers Alvise and Francesco, merchants of Venice, two letters of Raimondo de Soncino, agent of the Duke of Milan, to the duke, and, finally, a dispatch to Ferdinand and Isabella from Pedro de Ayala, junior ambassador at the court of England, warning them of the possibility of the Cabot explorers seizing some of the Spanish discoveries.

Throughout the perusal of the journals of the Columbus voyages one is constantly surprised and delighted with most interesting details in regard to the daily happenings that befell the voyagers, the character of the land explored, the appearance and manner of life of the natives and the quality and quantity of the natural products of the soil. Columbus was ever in search of gold, spices and precious stones. He pushed on from island to island in search of them, meanwhile becoming acquainted with the country which continued to be an unending source of wonder and delight to him, with its luxuriant growth of tropical greenery, unlike any European vegetation, while the climate in midautumn ever reminded him of "May in Audalusia," Spain. Like the Norse explorers he discovered that the Indians who swarmed around his ship were eager to barter anything they possessed for "red caps, glass beads to put around their necks and many other things of little value, which gave them great pleasure and made them so much our friends that it was a marvel to see."

These original narratives offer substantial food for historical thought, rouse the imagination, convince the judgment, clothe with reality the hackneyed, briefly-stated phrases of the old history text-book and awaken a live interest in early American history. May the book be found upon many library shelves and find its way into many hands. This is the saw we have need of.

ROSE GLASS.

RECENT BOOKS.

"Overland to Oregon," by Edward Henry Lenox, Oakland, California, published by the author, is a pioneer's story of the first immigration to Oregon in 1843.

Mr. Lenox as a boy of sixteen years accompanied the first emigrants to Oregon and leaves this little book of sixty pages as a tribute to the old pioneers. About half the pages are given to illustrations and an appendix contains the names of the first immigrants.

As an old pioneers' story the little book is of interest, but is of little historical value.

Harper & Brothers have added another volume to their heroes of American history series in "Ferdinand De Soto," by Frederick A. Ober.

"Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade," by John O. Casler, is the story of the daily experiences of four years' service in the ranks. The work is based on the author's diary kept at the time and deals with his thrilling experiences. It is issued by the Appeal Publishing Company of Girard, Kansas.

A little volume of reminiscences of Indians and pioneers and pioneer life of the Pacific Northwest has been issued by The Holly Press, Portland, Oregon. The author, Thomas Nelson Strong, entitles it the "Calumet on the Columbia."

Volume VII. in the English Church series has appeared from The Macmillan Company's press. It continues the history of the English Church from the accession of George I. to the end of the eighteenth century and is written by Canon John H. Overton and Rev. Frederick Retton. One more volume on the English Church in the nineteenth century will complete the series.

"The French Blood in America," Lucian J. Fosdick (Fleming H. Revell Company), is an attempt to give a comprehensive view of influence of the French Protestants in America in a single volume. Book one deals with the rise of Protestantism in France, book two with early attempts at colonization, and book three with the French Protestants in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and the South.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

History Sustains Losses.

Since the last issue of this Quarterly the cause of history in the Northwest has sustained very serious losses in the death of the following: Edward Huggins, who was the last survivor of the Hudson Bay Company days on Puget Sound; Rev. Myron Eells, who was born and bred in the missionary epoch of the old Oregon country; D. F. Percival, who was one of the oldest pioneers of Spokane county; E. D. Warbass, who had served as Pickett's sutler during the military occupation of San Juan Island; W. I. Marshall of Chicago, who had for years been acknowledged as the best informed authority on certain phases of Northwestern history.

The Old State House of Massachusetts.

Thousands of people throughout the Pacific Northwest, either because they know and revere the Old State House or because they know and love General Hazard Stevens, will be glad to learn of the General's valiant services recently rendered in behalf of a proper care of that fine old relic of the Colonial and Revolutionary eras. Twenty-five years ago it was supposed that the old building was safely protected, but recently the Boston Transit Commission began to use its unusual powers to transform the old building into a depot for the underground railway. A storm of protest arose, and General Stevens found himself among the leaders of those opposed to this unrighteous vandalism. In the present session of the Massachusetts legislature an attempt is being made to rescue the old building. On March 8, a largely attended hearing was accorded the cause by the joint committee on cities. There were speeches and communications from representatives of many patriotic organizations. The meeting was in charge of General Hazard Stevens. A portion of his opening address is here reproduced:

"Any one conversant with the history of Massachusetts must be astonished on entering this hall, and beholding this large assemblage of the patriotic societies and people of the Commonwealth met to protest against further desecration of the old State House, and to appeal for the protection of law against

encroachments of sordid commercialism,—astonished that any person, or corporation, or commission would desire or would dare to assail this venerable building,—astonished that it should be necessary for the people thus to rise up in its defence. As the scene of so many striking and momentous events in the long struggle for liberty and national independence no other edifice in the country can compare with the old State House,—not Faneuil Hall, nor the Old South Meeting House, nor even Independence Hall in Philadelphia,—hallowed though it be by one great act, the Declaration of Independence. What a procession of Colonial governors, judges, law-makers, and Puritan ministers have passed between these venerable walls. Here was witnessed the overthrow of Governor Sir Edmund Andros in 1689, the first Colonial rebellion against royal authority, the precursor and prophecy of the great revolution eighty-six years later. Here Governor Shirley in 1746 planned the capture of Louisburg, forced the reluctant general court to sanction it by the majority of a single vote, and here celebrated the astonishing victory when the rustic army of farmers and fishermen under Pepperell returned triumphant. Here James Otis in 1761 thundered against the writ of assistance and fired the Colonial heart even unto rebellion. Here and then the child Independence, was born, said John Adams. A few years later the eastern front looked down upon the Boston Massacre. In this building Samuel Adams in the name of an indignant and liberty-loving people demanded the removal of the king's soldiers from the town, and royalist governor and British colonels faltered and gave way before his firm and fearless stand. And this was followed by another scene, one not less creditable to the men of that day, to their sense of justice and respect for law, when Captain Preston was tried for his life for the unfortunate slaughter of the citizens, defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, and was acquitted.

"From its tower, Gage and Howe, the British commanders, watched the first American army under Washington encompassing the town, beheld the batteries throw up in a single night on Dorchester Heights, now marked by the white monument on the apex of South Boston, and bitterly realized the necessity of surrendering town and harbor, and sailing away with troops and refugees and last vestiges of British rule, never to return.

"On the 18th of July following, from the balcony which then projected on the eastern front, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to the exulting people of this Commonwealth for the first time. And on the western front on Washington street, was received the Father of his Country in his first presidential progress with all the honors that a grateful and admiring people could bestow upon him who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Hazard Stevens spent some of the most eventful years of his youth in this vicinity, where his father, Isaac I. Stevens, was

the first Governor of Washington Territory. In later years General Stevens has paid many visits to Puget Sound. So there are many here who will rejoice over the successful meeting in Boston, and who will watch with earnest care the outcome of this struggle in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Honoring Seward.

The people of Seattle are determined to honor the memory of William H. Seward, especially for the wisdom of his statesmanship in consummating as Secretary of State the purchase of Alaska in 1867. A fine statue of bronze is to be made by Richard E. Brooks, the noted sculptor of New York. The idea was suggested by G. Benninghausen and the Seattle Chamber of Commerce at once acted upon it by appointing the following committee: Thomas Burke, G. Benninghausen, M. R. Maddocks, John H. McGraw, C. H. Hanford, W. T. Dovell, William Hickman Moore, Jacob Furth, M. F. Backus, Charles D. Stimson, Edmond S. Meany, F. E. Sander, M. A. Matthews, James D. Hoge, Philip F. Kelley and Joseph Shippen. Most of the money has been subscribed, and in addition to the sculptor the committee has selected Cass Gilbert of New York to design the pedestal.

Statues of Washington and Others.

Lorado Taft, the sculptor, of Chicago, is hard at work on his plans for the bronze statue of Washington to be erected on the campus of the University of Washington in 1909. This work was started and is being carried forward by Rainier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The New York Society of the State of Washington has a committee charged with the duty of erecting a statue of John Jacob Astor, of which William Couper is to be the sculptor.

The Illinois Society has a committee for the erection of a statue of Abraham Lincoln. If possible this committee will secure a replica of Augustus St. Gaudens' Lincoln, and thus Seattle would possess the masterpiece of America's greatest sculptor.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

The value of the book we are here reproducing has been severely criticized by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. In a later issue his views will be given, but the editors believe that there is enough of value in the book to warrant its reproduction especially in view of the fact that it is exceedingly rare, and in view of the further fact that it is being quoted and criticised by different sides of the Whitman controversy.

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.*

In the month of January, 1788, two Portuguese vessels named the "Felice," and "Iphigenia," arrived on the northwest coast of North America. The former was under the command of John

*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

Meares, a half-pay lieutenant in the British navy, and the latter was under the direction of William Douglas, also a British subject. They were engaged in the fur-trade, and were owned by John Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao. As it is important to establish their nationality, it is necessary to state that they sailed under the Portuguese flag, and contained instructions to their commanders written in the Portuguese language. These directed them, in express terms, "to oppose with force any attempt on the part of any Russian, **English** or Spanissh vessels to interfere with them, and if possible to capture them, to bring them to China, that they might be condemned as legal prizes by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and their crews punished as pirates." This, of course, conclusively refutes the assumption that they were **English**. The first of these Portuguese vessels, the Felice, under the command of Meares, arrived at Nootka on the 13th May, when that officer finding he would need a small vessel for the shallow inlets and rivers of the coast, immediately commenced building one. Leaving a portion of his crew to complete her construction, Meares sailed towards the south to examine his trading ground. He endeavored unsuccessfully to explore the Strait of Fuca, and on arriving at the portion of the coast between 46° and 47° —the locality of the mouth of the Columbia—he sought for the great river which Heceta three years before had asserted emptied into the ocean in $46^{\circ} 16'$. Here he was unsuccessful again, and chagrined at the result, named the inward curve of the shore "**Deception Bay**," and the northern promontory of the harbor "**Cape Disappointment**," chronicling the circumstances in his own journal in the following words: "**We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Sas exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts.**" After his unsatisfactory search, Meares returned in the latter part of July to Nootka. In September following, the American sloop Washington, Captain Gray, anchored in the same harbor. The little vessel commenced by Meares had been completed, and received the name of the "North West America;" and the Iphigenia, the other Portuguese vessel commanded by Douglas, arrived on the 24th of the same month. Elated with the success of his enterprise, Meares transferred the cargo of the latter vessel to his own with the utmost despatch, and filled with new designs inspired by the result, set out four days afterward for Macao.

In the following month, the ship Columbia of Boston, commanded by Captain Kendrick, arrived at Nootka, and a few

days afterwards, the two remaining Portuguese vessels (the *Iphigenia* and the *North West America*) departed for the Sandwich Islands, leaving the American vessels to winter on the Coast.

Meares arrived at Macao in December, and finding that *Callo*, his owner, had become a bankrupt, determined to turn his information and position to the best account for himself. An opportunity was not long in offering itself to his designs. Two vessels belonging to a rival association, called the "King George's Sound Company," arrived at Macao under the command of James Colnett, another British officer under half pay. Meares immediately made overtures to an agent of that association, who came in one of the vessels (perhaps through some previous direction communicated by Meares, while all parties were on the N. W. coast together in the previous summer) to unite the interests of both concerns. The suggestion was adopted, the interests conjoined, and two vessels, the *Princess Royal* and the *Argonaut*, (the latter bearing Colnett, who had chief direction) were despatched to Nootka, with the intention of establishing a permanent post there for the transaction of their trading operations. Meares remained at Macao as resident agent, with all the affairs of the association entirely at his control.

In the meantime, Spain, who had heard with uneasiness of the movements of the fur traders in the North Pacific, began to be alarmed for the safety of her possessions in that quarter, and remonstrances were made by her to the courts of England and of Russia, against the encroachments of the subjects of those two nations, in particular. To more effectually guard against these transgressions, as well as to resist a projected seizure of Nootka by the Russians, the viceroy of Mexico directed a squadron then lying at San Blas, under the command of Don Estevan Jose Martinez, to proceed at once to the scene of the intended aggression.

Before the arrival of Martinez at Nootka, the *Iphigenia* and *North West America*, returned there from the Sandwich Islands, but in a most forlorn condition, the former being a mere wreck, and almost incapable of repair.

On the 6th of May, 1789, nine days afterwards, Martinez arrived, proclaimed that he had come to take possession of the country for the crown of Spain, landed artillery, and commenced the erection of a fort. This was the first actual occupation ever made of Nootka. The most kindly feeling prevailed among all

parties for a time, and the Spanish commander afforded the Iphigenia whatever materials she stood in need of, in order that she might go to sea immediately; accepting in payment, bills drawn upon Cavallo, of Macao, **as her owner**. This amicable state of feeling lasted but a week, for upon Martinez being informed that the written instructions of the Portuguese vessels, directed them to seize and carry to Macao any **English**, Russian, or Spanish vessels, they could manage to overcome, he took possession of the Iphigenia, and put her officers and crew under arrest. They were liberated, however, in a few days, through the intercession of Captain Kendrick of the Columbia, and the officers of the Iphigenia signed a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted in her operations, and that they had been kindly treated by Martinez during their stay at Nootka. Viana and Douglas as captain and supercargo, respectively, engaged to pay for themselves, and for Juan Cavallo, the owner of said vessel, to the order of the Viceroy of Mexico, her full value, in case her capture should be pronounced legal. Martinez then fully equipped her for sea, and enabled her to make a vastly profitable voyage; a circumstance which could not have happened without his special aid. Pretty lenient treatment for men whom he might have sent to Mexico to be tried for piracy, and a pretty hazardous policy moreover, when an additional force belonging to the same company was daily expected to arrive, which might have overpowered him, and reversed the case by sending him, according to their instructions, to Macao, to be tried on the same charge.

One of the vessels of the associated companies, the Princess Royal, arrived at Nootka on the 16th of June, and brought with her the news of the failure of Juan Cavallo; upon which, Martinez determined to hold the North West America (then there) as security for the bills which he held on the bankrupt. The Princess Royal was well treated by the Spaniards, and sailed on the second of July from Nootka on a cruise. As she was leaving the harbor, the Argonaut came in. Upon being boarded by the Spaniards, Captain Colnett arrogantly declared he had come to take possession of Nootka for Great Britain, and to erect a fort there under the British flag. This declaration, in connection with some insolent conduct on the part of Colnett on the following day, who even went to the extent of drawing his sword upon the Spanish commander, in the latter's own cabin, determined Martinez to trifle no longer with such intem-

perate offenders, so he seized the Argonaut, and subsequently the Princess Royal, and despatched the former, with the crews of both, to San Blas, Mexico, as prisoners under the charge of a Spanish officer. Those who were captured in the North West America, which vessel was merely held as collateral security for the obligations of its owner, were sent in the Columbia as passengers to Macao, their passages not only being paid by Martinez, but an allowance being also made them for their wages. Having thus disposed of his mission, Martinez sailed from Nootka for Mexico in November, leaving Captain Kendrick of the sloop Washington alone upon the Coast.

The Columbia, with the news of these circumstances, arrived at Macao in 1789, and Meares, full of his wrongs, immediately took depositions from some of the seamen, and posted off to London to see what capital he could make out of the circumstance. On his arrival there, he got up a memorial filled with the grossest misrepresentations and downright falsehoods, and adopting a new idea which probably had been suggested to him after his arrival, he asserted that in 1788 he had purchased a vast district of country from King Maquina, the monarch of Nootka, and that he had erected a fort there, with other buildings, by way of taking formal possession of the place for the British crown.

This remarkable document then concludes by praying for an indemnification of the losses sustained by the memorialist and his associates, through the seizure and detention of their vessels, in the very moderate sum of six hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars! This story of the purchase of a territory for the crown of Great Britain, by a Portuguese agent, in a Portuguese expedition, is peculiarly English in its extravagant pretensions. That it was the scheme of an afterthought is evident from a number of circumstances. In the first place, Meares in his journal of these voyages, written and published before the design of the memorial was conceived, makes no mention whatever of any such purchase of territory from the respectable monarch aforesaid; neither does he speak of the erection of the fort or the hoisting of the British flag. In the second place, he entirely overlooks these all important circumstances in the depositions which he took from the crew of the North West America previous to his departure from Canton; (none of whom say one word about them,) and in the third, to render the assertions of the memorial on this point more than questionable, he was able

to trump up only one pretended witness in the person of a common seaman to sustain them, and that too on the very day of its presentation to Parliament. It is a significant fact, moreover, that the King's speech which laid the grievances set forth in this memorial before the nation, makes no allusion to the seizure of any lands or buildings belonging to the British crown at Nootka, though that assumption found its way into the treaty framed shortly after; and it is a **positive** fact, too, from evidence that will hereafter appear, that there were no such lands or buildings there to seize. The British government, however, demanded atonement from Spain for these outrages on its flag, but though it prudently avoided representing the *Felice* and *Iphigenia* as British vessels, it was guilty of the monstrous inconsistency of claiming for itself the discoveries and territorial acquisitions of an agent and employe of a Portuguese association. By way of giving weight to its demands, the armament of two large fleets was ordered, and similar warlike preparations resounded through all the naval arsenals of indignant Spain. The latter, however, being disappointed in expected aid from France, and being embarrassed, moreover, in her finances, and in her foreign and domestic relations, was obliged to submit to the haughty terms imposed upon her. These are embraced in a treaty between the two high contracting powers signed on the 28th October, 1790, the first and second articles of which provide for the restoration of **all buildings and tracts of land** on the continent of North America, or the islands adjacent, of which the subjects of his Britannic majesty were dispossessed in April, 1789, by Spain, and for compensation for all losses by violence, hostility, detention of vessels, etc. The **third** guarantees the right in common of navigation, of carrying on the fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, and of landing on the unoccupied portions of the coasts for the purpose of trade with the natives, or of making settlements; subject, however, to the restriction of the **fourth** article, that British subjects should not navigate or carry on their fishery within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain. By the **fifth** these common rights of fishing, trade and settlement are extended to all colonies formed, or to be formed, subsequent to April, 1789. By the **sixth**, both are prohibited from forming settlements in South America to the south of those already formed by Spain, though the liberty of a temporary landing is allowed for fishing purposes. The **seventh** provides for the form of convention to settle

subsequent disputes; the **eighth**, and last, states that the instrument shall be ratified in six weeks, and the treaty thus concludes without making any limit for the duration of its stipulations.* It will be remarked that this treaty, though humiliating to Spain in the sense of forcing compensation for the exercise of a national right, makes no concession of a single claim of sovereignty, but rather secures to her, additional advantages and protects her from further encroachments. The following language used by Mr. Fox, in the House, in opposition to "a motion for an address to His Majesty, congratulating him on the highly satisfactory issue to the late negotiation," etc., will serve to show the estimation in which the whole affair was held by the leading minds in Parliament:

"What, then, was the extent of our rights before the convention, and to what extent were they now secured to us? We possessed and exercised the free navigation of the Pacific Ocean, without restraint or limitation. We possessed and exercised the right of carrying on fisheries in the South Seas, equally unlimited. This estate we had, and were daily improving; it was not to be disgraced by the name of an acquisition. The admission of part of these rights by Spain was all we had obtained. It remained to inquire what it had cost? Our right before was to settle in any part of South or Northwest America not fortified against us by previous occupancy, and we are now restricted to settle in certain places only, and under certain restrictions. This was an important concession on our part. Our right of fishing extended to the whole ocean; and now it, too, was limited, and to be carried on within certain distances of the Spanish settlements. Our right of making settlements was not, as now, a right to build huts, but to plant colonies, if we thought proper. Surely these were not acquisitions.

"We have renounced the right of permanent settlement on the whole extent of South America, and where the admitted right of settlement on the northwest coast commenced was completely undefined.

"By the third article, we are authorized to navigate the Pacific Ocean and South Seas, unmolested, for the purpose of carrying on our fisheries, and to land on the unsettled coasts for the purpose of trading with the natives; but, after this pompous recognition of right to navigation, fishing, and commerce, comes another article, which takes away all right of landing and erecting even temporary huts for any purpose but that of carrying on fishing, and amounts to a complete dereliction of all rights to settle in any way for the purpose of commerce with the natives. In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered inestimable, and had in return been contented with dross."

*See Appendix, No. 3.

In these opinions he was sustained by Grey, Lansdowne, and the other eminent Whigs of the House. This treaty, however, is made the subject of another flourish of title by the English, who insist that it concedes to them an equal right with Spain to any unsettled portion of the coasts. We have seen the opinions of the leaders of the British Parliament opposed to this assumption, however, and we shall shortly see its denial by Spain. But even admitting it to be so, they gain nothing by it, for in four years afterward a war broke out between the two contracting parties, which, by the rules of international law, annulled all existing inter-arrangements that had no prescribed limits and that depended for their continuance upon a state of perfect amity, and Spain resumed at once, whatever she had resigned by the Nootka treaty, if she had in reality resigned anything at all. On the conclusion of peace, the treaty was not revived; consequently it is a nullity, and all that Britain accomplishes by advancing her pretensions on it now is the virtual acknowledgment of the integrity of the Spanish claims which have fallen to us, and which she had so perseveringly endeavored to acquire.

This convention being concluded, the next thing was to take possession of the **tracts of land, buildings, forts, etc.**, wrested from Mr. Meares at Nootka in 1789, and the English Government in 1791 despatched two ships under Captain George Vancouver, to effect the purpose. This officer arrived at Nootka on the 28th August, 1792, where he found the Spanish Commissioner in possession and ready to perform his share of the transfer. Negotiations between the two parties were then opened, and it became necessary "**to ascertain what lands on the Northwest coast of America were in the possession of British subjects, and what buildings were standing in those lands in 1789, when the Spanish first occupied Nootka.**" For this purpose Quadra applied to Maquina and his principal chiefs, who upon being questioned, positively denied that any lands had been bought, or any houses built by the English at Nootka in 1789, or at any other time. The Commissioner then applied to Captains Gray and Ingraham as well as to the Portuguese captain of the *Iphigenia*, all of whom happened to be there at the time. The two first replied at length in a circumstantial account* (now on file in the office of the Secretary of State, at Washington), which, after explaining with manly fairness all the events that provoked the seizure of Colnett's vessels, contains the following paragraph:

*See Appendix, No. 4.

"We observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here? We answer in a word—**none!** On the arrival of the *Columbia* in 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards **made by the Indians**; but this, Captain Douglas pulled to pieces prior to his sailing to the Sandwich Islands in the same year. The boards he took on board the *Iphigenia*, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used 'as firewood on board the *Columbia*; **so that on the arrival of Don Estevan Jose Martines there was no vestige of any house remaining.** As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased from Maquina, or any other chief, we cannot say further than we never heard of any, although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquina and other chiefs since our late arrival if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound? They answered—**no!** that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land."

The statements of this letter were confirmed in all points by Captain Viana, and thus the scandalous falsities of Meares' unsustained memorial were conclusively refuted. Vancouver, who must have keenly felt the mortification of the dilemma into which the mendacity of Meares had placed him—"the tract of land" dwindling to a hundred yards square, and the "erections" to the remains of one miserable hut—had no resource but to break off the negotiations, and send to England for new instructions. Quadra offered him the small spot temporarily occupied by Meares, restricted, however, with the express understanding that such cession should not interfere with **the rights of his Catholic Majesty to Nootka**, or any other portions of the adjoining coasts; but this was refused by the British commissioner, who having sent one of his lieutenants off with despatches, sailed from Nootka on the 13th October, and left the Spaniards in possession of the port. In 1794 Vancouver left the Coast without effecting his object, and shortly afterwards, the Spaniards, thinking it unnecessary to keep up a military force at so inconsiderable a place, withdrew to Mexico. In 1796 we have the authority of Lieutenant Broughton (whose conduct towards Captain Gray we shall have occasion shortly to analyze) for the statement that in the previous year (1795) the Spaniards had delivered up the port to Lieutenant Pearce, who had been despatched by the way of Mexico to hasten the termination of the business. This account, however, is denied by Belsham in his

history of Great Britain, who, though a Briton himself, and tenacious of the interests of his country, says: "It is nevertheless certain from the most authentic subsequent information that the Spanish flag, flying at the fort and settlement of Nootka, was never struck; and that the whole territory has been virtually **relinquished by Great Britain.**" This is by far the most reliable story of the two, as Broughton says he derived his information from **Maquina** only, who handed him a letter (he does not say from whom) to that effect, in 1796; while Belsham asserts the contrary on the strength of his own inquiries and the pledge of his reputation as a historian. The latter's account is also the most probable, as Great Britain was at this time engrossed in a war with Republican France, during which she would hardly consider such an obscure and insignificant spot as Nootka, as worthy of so grave a notice. In 1796 Spain declared war against Great Britain, and all previously existing arrangements were rendered null and void.

Having completed the abstract of the Spanish title up to 1790, our attention is next claimed for an examination of the American discoveries, settlements, and purchases, which, in themselves, will be found sufficient to establish our rights to Oregon against the world. For the purpose of conducting the inquiry in a regular manner we shall have to turn a few years back.

THE UNITED STATES' TITLE.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the enterprise of our people turned immediately to commercial pursuits, and before three years had rolled over the Republic, her infant marine had plumed its wings on the billows of every ocean. As early as 1787 an association of Boston merchants despatched the ship *Columbia*, Captain Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington*, Captain Gray, to the North Pacific to be engaged in the fur trade. They arrived at San Lorenzo, or Nootka, in the latter part of September, 1788, where, as we have seen, they spent the winter. In the following year, Captain Gray, in the sloop, explored the Strait of Fuca for fifty miles in an eastwardly direction, and collected information from the natives on the shore, which brought him to the conclusion that the passage communicated northward with the Pacific, at an opening in latitude 51° which he had previously discovered, and to which he had given the name of "Pintard's Sound." This opinion was the first intimation the world ever had that Nootka was situated on an island.

An erroneous account of this expedition was sent to England by Meares, representing that Gray had sailed through and through the Strait, and had come again into the Pacific in the 56th degree of north latitude. This, while it proves Meares to be incapable of a straightforward story, also proves that he could not at that time have entertained any notion of claiming the island for the British crown, for such a report, by admitting the superior claim of another, is levelled directly against that assumption. Sailing north, Gray next circumnavigated, for the first time, "Queen Charlotte's Island," lying between latitude 51° and 54°, and believing himself to be the original discoverer, named it Washington's Isle. He was not altogether correct in this opinion, for its northern point had been reached by Juan Perez in 1774, and in 1787, it was visited by Dixon, an English captain, who, conceiving it to be an island, named it after his vessel, the Queen Charlotte. In the latter part of the summer, Gray, having completed his trading operations (rather unsuccessfully), sailed on his return to Nootka. The Columbia left Nootka in August, 1789, for Macao, with the officers and crew of the North West America. On her way out she met the Washington, when it was agreed that Gray should take command of the ship, proceed to China, and from thence to the United States by the Cape of Good Hope, while Kendrick remained upon the Coast. During the years '89 and '91, Kendrick ranged up and down the Coast, discovering many new islands, sounds and inlets; and in August of the latter year, he purchased by formal and public arrangement, and by regular deed, several large tracts of land near Nootka from Maquina, Wicannish and other chiefs of the surrounding country. This purchase is spoken of by several English writers, one of whom describes it as being in "**a most fertile clime, embracing four degrees of latitude.**" After making this purchase, Kendrick sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where he was killed by the natives, at Owhyee. In September of this year, Gray returned to the Pacific in the Columbia, followed by the brig Hope, under the command of Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the Columbia. Four other American vessels, also bound on the fur trade, arrived shortly after, and with the Washington, made seven vessels in all, bearing the Stars and Stripes on the billows of the North Pacific.

Gray in his return reached the coast near Cape Mendocino, and sailing northward, observed an opening in the land in latitude 46° 16', from which issued a current so strong as to prevent his near approach. Being convinced that it was the outlet of a

great river, he endeavored to enter it by repeated efforts, but being defeated through a period of nine days, he abandoned the attempt and continued his course to the north. In August we find him at $54^{\circ} 30'$ north, where he discovered the broad inlet in the continent, now called the "Portland Canal," which he navigated in a northeasterly direction to the distance of eighty miles. In the meantime the brig Hope and the other American vessels were prying in every nook and inlet of the coast, in indefatigable pursuance of their trading operations.

The Columbia, after wintering at Clyquot, a port near Nootka, set out with her enterprising commander in the spring of 1792, to renew her explorations. It was about this time that Vancouver arrived upon the coast to meet the Spanish Commissioner, Quadra, who was already awaiting him at Nootka. He reached the coast at about 43° , and commenced a careful search for the river, laid down on the Spanish maps at $46^{\circ} 16'$. Like Meares, he was unsuccessful, and declares in his journal **"though he had sought for it under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, it was his deliberate opinion no such river existed in that latitude."** He sailed onward, and on the second day afterward met Gray at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, who in his good old ship had just left his winter quarters.

Gray informed Vancouver of his northern discoveries, as well as his discovery of a great river in $46^{\circ} 16'$; upon which Vancouver abruptly told him he was mistaken, and in noticing this circumstance in his journal, very complacently remarks—"this was probably the opening passed by us on the 27th," adding—"we have now explored a great part of the American continent, extending nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather, and have seen no appearance of any opening in its shores, the whole coast forming one compact, solid and nearly straight barrier against the sea." A little piqued at the Englishman's stolidity, Gray pushed on southward, determined to demonstrate the correctness of his assertions. In his course, he discovered Bulfinch's harbor, the name of which, in common with the appellations bestowed by him on his other discoveries, the British geographers have altered to suit their own purposes. On the 11th May, Gray arrived opposite the entrance of the river, and heedless of the risk, in his ardent spirit of enterprise dashed boldly through the breakers on its bar, and in a few moments slid out upon the tranquil bosom of a broad and majestic river.* Gray spent nine days in it,

*See Appendix, No. 5.

trading meanwhile with the natives, repairing and painting his vessel, and in filling the casks of the ship with fresh water from the stream. On the 20th, after having navigated it as far as the draught of his vessel would allow (between 25 and 30 miles) he named it after his own good ship, spread his sails to the wind, and beat out over the bar, against a head wind, into the ocean. This would appear to be pretty conclusive evidence of the discovery of **something**. But we shall shortly see that the diplomatic keenness which could perceive a most wonderful discovery in the mere sailing past a scallop in the shore, by Meares, crowned with the assertion that no river existed in that quarter, cannot find in the actual entrance of a river, in that very place, and in its navigation to the distance of nearly thirty miles inland, any discovery at all. As we intend, however, to claim it as a discovery, and to have all the rights and privileges flowing therefrom, we may as well here refer again to the rule that the nation which discovers the mouth of a river, by implication discovers the whole country watered by it. Applying this principle to our discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, we extend our own title with the limits of its mighty branches, from the 53d parallel on the north to the 42d on the south; and from their gurgling sources at the bases of the Rocky Mountains, to the resistless volume that swells the tide of the Pacific.

Having taken this principle as the rule of our rights, we will now briefly advert to the disgraceful attempt which has been made by two British officers to cheat Gray of his reward. As we allude to Vancouver and one of his lieutenants—Broughton, we shall have to follow their course for a while. We left them on the 7th May parting with Captain Gray at the Strait of Fuca, from which point they sailed in an easterly direction along its southern shore, landing once or twice to beat drums, blow trumpets and display flags and gaudy uniforms to naked savages, by way of taking formal possession of the country, in violation of the solemn convention whose stipulations it was their special duty to conserve.* While they were thus engaged in amusing the innocent and unconscious natives, two Spanish schooners, named the *Sutil* and the *Mexicana*, which, under the command of Galiano and Valdes, had been engaged in a minute survey of the northern coasts, arrived in the Strait for the purpose of thoroughly exploring that also; and getting the start of the

*An omission has been made under the date of 1790, of a Spanish expedition under the command of Lieutenant Quimper, which surveyed the Strait of Fuca for 100 miles, discovering the harbors which Vancouver in the above expedition named "Admiralty Inlet, Port Discovery, Deception Passage," &c.

Britons, they led the way along its northern course. A meeting took place between the parties, however, and to settle all disputes and jealousies, it was agreed to make the search in company. This arrangement was faithfully carried out; the parties entered the Pacific at Pintard's Sound, discovered by Captain Gray, and the territory on which Nootka was situated was found, according to his predictions, to be an island. The combined fleet shortly afterwards arrived at Nootka, when from the circumstances of the joint circumnavigation, it was called **Quadra and Vancouver's Island**, the first branch of the appellation being the name of the Spanish commissioner then at that place. We have seen that no arrangement was effected by the two commissioners, and Vancouver, in view of the hopelessness of forcing any advantage from the resolute Spaniard, prepared to take his departure. His preparations were accelerated into haste by being informed by Quadra that the indefatigable Yankee whom he had met in the spring, off the Strait of Fuca, had succeeded in entering the river, the existence of which he (Vancouver) had denied, and, moreover, that he had explored it to a considerable distance from the ocean. In proof of this, Gray's charts were laid before him. No man likes to be defeated in his prognostications and opinions, and least of all, an Englishman. In this case it will be readily imagined the rule was not softened with Vancouver by his rival's being from Boston Bay. Under these bitter feelings of disappointment and chagrin, Vancouver hastily set out for the river on the 13th of October—five months after the discovery—with Gray's charts and descriptions for his guides, actuated by the resolute intention of recovering his reputation by discovering it over again. On the 18th he arrived at Bullfinch's Bay, the name of which, maugre Gray's charts, he changed to Whildley's harbor, after one of his lieutenants. Finding on his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia that the draught of his own vessel would not admit of her entrance, he sailed on to the port of San Francisco, in California, detaching Lieutenant Broughton to the service. This worthy representative and coadjutor entered the river in the Chatham, on the 20th of October, (five months to a day from the time of Gray's departure) and there, to his surprise, found anchored the brig Jenny, of Bristol, which vessel had also got its information relative to the river from Nootka a few days before.

[Continued in Next Issue.]

The
Washington Historical Quarterly

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THE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
UNIVERSITY STATION
SEATTLE, U. S. A.

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To establish and maintain a society for the collection and preservation of historical facts and records; to gather and preserve memorials of the pioneers and early settlers of the Territory and State of Washington; to purchase, own, hold, enclose, maintain and mark the places of historical interest within this State by suitable and appropriate monuments, tablets and enclosures; to promote and engage in historical research relating to the Indians and Indian tribes; to engage in, carry on and promote historical, antiquarian, archaeological, literary and scientific researches, and to publish the results of the same; to collect, collate, bind and put in convenient form for use and preservation the papers, documents, materials and records collected by the society; to publish, provide for and superintend the publication and distribution of, any papers, manuscripts, documents and records collected by the society; to establish and maintain a library; to encourage and promote the study of history, and especially of the history of the Territory and State of Washington, at the University of Washington; to act as trustee and custodian of any historical, literary, scientific or other books, documents or property entrusted to its keeping; to purchase or construct a suitable building for safely housing and preserving the historical and other records belonging to the society or committed to its care, and for its use and accommodation in all other respects; to receive, accept and fully acquire by purchase, lease, gift, or otherwise, lands, tenements and hereditments, and all such personal property as it may deem desirable for its interests, including stocks in other corporations, promissory notes, bonds, mortgages, bills receivable and choses in action, and to sell and dispose of the same (except that the papers, books, documents, historical and other records belonging to the society, shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of, but duplicates or superfluous copies thereof may be exchanged or otherwise disposed of); to borrow money and to make and deliver its promissory notes or other agreements to

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

RETROSPECT OF HALF A CENTURY.

Having crossed the plains in 1853, while this was a part of Oregon, and arriving in Olympia in February, 1854, shortly after it had been organized as the Territory of Washington, I have thought it would be a fitting subject for this address to take a retrospect of the half century which has fully elapsed since I first beheld the placid waters of Puget Sound. During that period there have been striking events, and wonderful changes, not anticipated either in thought or dreams at its beginning. Some of the most important changes or discoveries have been made within the last twenty-five years, which, had they been even suggested fifty years ago, would have been declared chimerical if not absolutely impossible.

I doubt if there is among all the modern inventions and discoveries anything more wonderful than the growth and progressive development of the United States. In its earlier history, its life and continuance as a republic was gravely questioned, especially by European powers, who have since discovered that the infant they once despised has not only broke through its swaddling clothes, but has become a veritable Hercules in strength and in power.

Half a century ago the number of the States forming the Union was thirty-one. The last of these was California, which was admitted in 1850. It thus remained until 1858, when Minnesota was added. The following have been admitted since, in the order named: Oregon, Kansas, West Virginia, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, the two Dakotas, North and South; Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah. This last was admitted in 1896. These fourteen added in the last half century make the total number which now constitute the United States forty-five. Including the Territories and District of Columbia, the popula-

tion is now estimated at 85,000,000. The last census, taken in 1900, gave the population at 76,303,387. At the beginning of the last century it was only 5,308,483. By 1850 it had increased to 23,191,876. The rate of increase had been at an average of a little over 33 1-3 per cent. for each year. From 1850 to 1900 the average has been about 28 per cent. One cause for this lower average may be found in the Civil War, which occurred in this period, for a few years creating a temporary division, consisting on the one hand of twenty Northern, and on the other of eleven Southern States. This began in 1860 and ended in 1865. It resulted in striking the shackles of slavery from the limbs of thousands and the removal of the dark blot which had so long stained our national escutcheon. This deliverance was purchased at the priceless cost of the precious blood that was shed by thousands on either side. It is estimated to have cost the sacrifice of 300,000 lives and a loss of eight billions of dollars. The memories of the dead, their sufferings and their gallant deeds are brought to mind year by year as the blue and the gray meet together, and arm in arm take their part with a grateful people as they decorate the graves of the departed heroes. Nor will they ever be forgotten. Though tears may fall from many eyes as the loss of friends, of husband, of father or of brother is remembered; hearts will glow with gratitude to our Father above that we are a reunited people, and that the Stars and Stripes float proudly over "the land of the free and the home of the brave." It is considered in many respects as the most gigantic conflict of modern times, and as followed by one of the greatest marvels, that the great armies should so quietly have disbanded and returned to civil life.

The news of Lee's surrender to Grant on April 9, 1865, had barely been flashed over the wires when it was followed by the sad news of the assassination of President Lincoln, who had not been spared to see the full fruition of that for which he had prayed and labored. His name will ever be revered, and throughout all time will be associated with that of Washington, the one as the father, the other as the preserver of his country.

The use of steam power for navigation except on inland waters had been quite limited until 1856, although it had been in partial use from 1838. The first experiment was made in 1819. The expected event was thus announced by the Times, a paper published in London, England, in the issue of May 18, 1819: "Great experiment. A new steam vessel of 300 tons has been built at

New York for the express purpose of carrying passengers across the Atlantic. She is to come to Liverpool direct."

I further find that this steamer, named the *Savannah*, the first that crossed the Atlantic, was built at New York. Her engines were made at Morristown. She was launched on the 22d of August, 1818. She could carry only seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood. She sailed from Savannah, Georgia, May 25, 1819, bound for St. Petersburg via Liverpool. This latter port she reached on the 20th of June. The voyage thus took twenty-six days, and out of these she used steam eighteen days. The record is silent as to whether she continued her voyage to St. Petersburg. I rather conclude she did not. If she did, there is question if she has ever returned. Experiments were made at intervals up to 1856, when larger ships were built and equipped with greater power. I find the steamship *Persia* the only one mentioned in 1856 (capacity not given), making the time between New York and Queenstown in nine days, one hour and fifteen minutes. Up to 1860 there was a question of supremacy between the screw and the side or paddle-wheel, when it was decided in favor of the screw, so far as ocean navigation was concerned, both in the merchant marine and in naval construction.

I find two steamships recorded in 1856, the *Persia* and the *Scotia*, making the voyage between New York and Southampton, the *Persia* in nine days, one hour and forty-five minutes, and the *Scotia* in eight days, two hours, forty-eight minutes. The time was then gradually reduced until 1889, when the *City of Paris* made the voyage in five days, nineteen hours and eighteen minutes, since which date the time has hovered about five days.

Vast improvements in regard to safety and comfort of passengers, as well as increased rapidity of travel, have been, and still are, being made. It is confidently asserted that on most of the steamships the accommodations in the steerage are superior to those that were furnished some years ago for first-class passengers.

The *Arrow*, a vessel recently built in New York, is claimed to be the fastest steamship afloat, having attained a speed of nearly fifty miles an hour. She can be stripped and converted into a torpedoboat at forty-eight hours' notice.

The *Minnesota*, which we all know, is said to be the largest merchandise vessel ever built in America. Designed primarily for freight, she can carry 172 first-class cabin passengers, 110

second cabin, 68 third cabin and 2,424 steerage passengers or troops, in addition to a crew of 250.

Iron has taken the place of wood in the construction of large merchant and steamships for freight or passenger service on the ocean. Their masts are often iron instead of wood, as heretofore.

The day has come when boats, instead of floating on the top of the water, can be so constructed as to dive, swim and stay under the water, almost as long as the operators of them desire. The trial of one such boat proved so successful that the government had six more built.

Turning to machines of locomotion on land which have been constructed within a few years, the one which has been more extensively used is the bicycle. This had its prototype, which was used in England eighty years ago. It was a bicycle with wheels attached to a bar of wood, rudely shaped like the body of a horse, the rider sitting astride and propelling it with his feet on the ground. Some were a little more stylish, and so arranged that the front wheel might be turned by a handle. This was called a "nobbyhorse," sometimes a "dandy horse." I can remember seeing them when I was a ten-year-old boy.

In 1856 the Western Union Telegraph Company was formed by the union of two Eastern companies. From that time combinations and consolidations have been carried on and the efficiency of the service continually improved and increased. Its lines were not extended to the Pacific Coast until 1861. In October it was completed and in operation to San Francisco. In 1864 it reached Puget Sound, and now has its offices in every important town in the State of Washington, connected by 12,000 miles of wire. Its Seattle office employs thirty-five operators. It has fourteen dynamos, which supply the power that it formerly required 5,000 batteries to furnish. Messages sent and received amount to 5,000 daily, of which 500 alone are sent to Chicago.

The Postal Telegraph Company made its first connection with Seattle in January, 1887. It has in this State 1,060 miles of wire. It employs twenty-four operators. It has five dynamos, which supply power equal to that produced by 2,000 cells battery. Messages sent and received average a daily number of 3,500. It has direct connection with commercial cables, the Canadian Pacific Railway telegraphs, seven Atlantic cables and one Pacific cable from San Francisco to Manila, Honolulu and Japan.

I should have stated that the Western Union is so connected as to have cable service to all the world. I may also say that

these lines use the Morse code of signals, which consists of dots and dashes, so arranged as to represent the different letters of the alphabet. The experienced operator reads the messages thus sent by sound. So expert do they become that errors rarely occur in the reading. Sometimes in transcribing by the typewriter errors do occur. One rather amusing instance of this kind is reported, where a "t" was touched instead of an "r." Some friends on a journey, having arrived at their destination, desired to inform those at home of their safe arrival, and that they were all right. The message delivered stated "they were all tight."

The restless spirit of modern invention was not content with guiding the mysterious power of electricity both above and beneath the surface of the earth, when a proposition was started in England to join the shores of England and France by means of a submarine telegraph. While it was admitted that such an undertaking was possible, it was questioned whether it would be worth while to attempt it. It was alleged that "the injuries to which the wires would be subjected created an insuperable objection to this plan being carried out on a large scale." This was the condition in 1848. In 1845 an American newspaper had made a bold prediction that the Atlantic would one day be spanned by an electric wire. The idea was derided as extravagant. Nevertheless, many were experimenting in submarine telegraphy, but it was not until 1857, when Mr. Cyrus W. Field, at the head of a company, made the first attempt to span the ocean. This proved unsuccessful, as the cable broke in two places, which left 144 miles of it at the bottom of the ocean, thus rendering the whole worse than useless. But the projectors were plucky men and resolved to try again. The third attempt succeeded, and the first message sped across the Atlantic on August 6, 1858. This success was but temporary, and failed after having conveyed a total of 400 messages. It is somewhat curious to tell that the last word transmitted was "forward." It was not until 1865 that another company was formed, a heavier cable of 2,300 miles in length constructed and successfully laid by the Great Eastern in 1866, and thus secured permanent connection between the Old World and the New. Two other Atlantic cables were laid in 1874 and 1875, and a number of others since. There are at least two on the Pacific.

The greatest, the most marvelous wonder in this line is that of wireless telegraphy. Had it not been fully demonstrated it would seem to be beyond possibility of belief. Electric wave

wireless telegraphy may be said to have had its beginning when the great physicist, Michael Faraday, deduced philosophically the broad generalization that ether, which scientists consider to exist in, but different to, the air, constituted the medium by which, not only light and radiant heat were propagated, but electric forces as well. This was in 1845. Faraday and others conjectured that light from the sun and electricity were of the same order, only differing in degree—that is, in the length of their respective waves, whose velocity through space was the same, namely, 186,400 miles a second. Marconi in 1890 began some experiments in accordance with these views, but made his first experiments in transatlantic telegraphy without wires on February 25th, 1902, while on his way to the United States on board the steamship Philadelphia, and received signals at a distance of 2,099 miles, and worded messages at a distance of 1,551 miles. Messages are often sent now to passengers on ships several miles out on the ocean, so that it is stated to have become a regular experience on some of the Atlantic boats to see, as in a club, the servants carrying around telegrams and calling the names of the recipients.

Having said thus much in regard to telegraph, I need not say much regarding the telephone, as it is on the same principle, only that it conveys sound and enables two to carry on conversation even at long distances. This is one of the wonderful discoveries made within a few years. In 1876 Alexander Bell first exhibited the speaking telephone at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. It is this telephone which has been greatly improved which is now in common use. Edison and Blake have made additions and improvements which have been combined with it and makes it of general use. Communications have been held through it between Chicago and New York.

There are two telephone offices in Seattle—the Sunset and the Independent. The Sunset opened its office in May, 1883, starting with thirty subscribers. Its plant was destroyed in the fire of June, 1889. When it resumed it had 560 subscribers. It has built in this State 115,250 miles of wire. It has five offices in Seattle, including the main office. J. N. Cochran is the division superintendent, and J. B. Jansen manager. It has 1,027 employes and on June 1st had 23,500 subscribers.

The Independent Telephone opened its office in Seattle in 1902 with 2,000 subscribers. It has in all five offices in Seattle,

has 400 employes and has now 15,000 subscribers, and including its cable wires, about fifty thousand miles of wire in this State.

Vast changes have been wrought in the work of printing, especially as it is connected with the publishing of newspapers. The old Ramage press with which our early papers were printed has long since been laid aside, and displaced by the modern Hoe press, to which the name Perfection has been attached. Well may it be so called, for not only does it print the papers, but feeds them to an electrically controlled paper carrier, which carries and counts them, ready for distribution, to the mailing department. If no such improvement had been made, neither the Post-Intelligencer nor the Times could begin to furnish the papers which daily and weekly they send forth. The P.-I. has two condensed quadruple Hoe presses. Each press complete, carrying thirty-two page plates, will print per hour 48,000 eight-page papers, 24,000 of ten to sixteen-page papers, or 12,000 papers containing from sixteen to thirty-two pages. In its city deliveries the P.-I. uses seven special chartered cars, together with a number of wagons and automobiles. It requires 200 persons to bring out the paper each day; forty-nine are in the editorial department, sixty-eight in the business departments, and eighty-three on the mechanical side. Besides this the paper has a staff of special correspondents numbering 158. Its net circulation for May was 992,461.

The Times has three quintuple presses, which are the Hoe & Co. perfection presses, with which it publishes daily between 40,000 and 50,000 papers on an average; of the Sunday Times between 50,000 and 60,000. In December last its circulation exceeded 60,000. From circulation of less than 3,000, nine years ago, the daily has passed 40,000. Its consumption of white paper in 1906 amounted to seven million pounds. This paper costs 3 cents per pound. The circulation of the Daily and Sunday Times according to the "press report" for the year 1906 is given as follows:

Daily average for 12 months.....	42,172
Sunday average for 12 months.....	56,794
Average for both daily and Sunday.....	44,529

From the items furnished by both papers I have selected what I have given, which, taken together, show the extent of the work which is done by both.

The Times has over 300 persons engaged in the different departments of the office.

Besides these two, which are the principal papers, there are about seventy other publications, some daily, semi-weekly, weekly, semi-monthly and monthly.

The automobile needs no description from me. They make themselves generally known, but do not always obey or care even for the lives of those they carry. It is more comfortable and much swifter than the oxmobiles with which so many of us crossed the plains. Our pioneer brother Coombs tells the story of an old teamster who declared when he saw the first automobile in town that his horses, as they looked at it, laughed, congratulating themselves that they would soon be relieved of their laborious work. He does not say whether or not it was a mule team. If it was, I expect they would have laid their ears back and loudly hee-hawed.

Electricity is causing many wonderful changes in locomotion by the use of the trolley, furnishing facilities of rapid transit both by street car and interurban lines at very low rates.

In Seattle at this time we have not less than twenty-four street lines. We have also two interurban lines in operation and others projected.

When the early pioneers crossed the continent they found one serious obstacle in the way, which was then denominated "The Great American Desert." The geographies and atlases of half a century ago contained description of it. It has now disappeared, not only from the atlas, but from the face of the earth. I have endeavored to locate it, and conclude that a part of it, if not the whole, has been swallowed up by the State of Wyoming. That it was in existence in 1853 there are others than myself who can testify from their recollection of undertaking to cross a part of it, at least, by driving over it at night, so that the cattle should not suffer from thirst, as no water was to be found for a distance of some twenty or twenty-five miles. This was encountered soon after the Rocky Mountains had been crossed by way of the South Pass, and the Pacific Springs passed, where the waters divided, a portion going to the southwest, continuing down until emptying into the Colorado River, the other to the eastward, by the way of Sweetwater, discharging into the North Platte.

The plains, as they were then called, over which we passed, had their beginning as soon as we crossed the Missouri River, and did not really end until we reached the Columbia River, although divided at times by mountain ridges, of which the principal one was the Rockies. The whole may be described as

wilderness. It had been described on the floor of Congress as an "interminable desert," with "arid plains" and "impassable mountains," reaching to a land that was "worthless," "not even worth a pinch of snuff," "the whole country irreclaimable, and as barren a waste as the Desert of Sahara." Out of this barren, desolate land there have been carved at least six States, which have been reclaimed and made fruitful by the labors of hardy pioneers and settlers, so that now it may be truthfully said that "the wilderness and the solitary places have been made glad by them, and the deserts to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

These States are now teeming with rapidly growing population, and are dotted on every hand with towns and villages, and here and there with cities of no mean proportion.

These changes and this progress have been greatly aided by the railroads which have been built, especially the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific, which have traversed this region, through which it had been claimed that it was impossible to construct even a wagon road. Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, declared that the idea of building a railroad to the Pacific was preposterous, and that were it even possible "the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient."

Now we have at least six from the Atlantic to the Pacific in operation, and others projected. It was not until the Northern Pacific was completed to the Sound that Washington began to grow. This was accomplished by 1885, and in 1887 it reached Seattle; since which time the growth of the State has been rapid. The entire length of the main line of the N. P. from St. Paul to Seattle is 1,911 miles. In this State it has nearly, if not quite, 1,200 miles, 400 of which is of the main line, the balance being made up by branches.

The Great Northern reached here in 1893. Its main line from St. Paul to Seattle is 1,828 miles, and it has within this State about 800 miles, 388 of which is in the main line.

Both of these roads have united in the building of the Union depot, which is an ornament to the city, a credit to the companies. It is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it has been built and for the comfort and convenience of the traveling community.

The facilities of travel, both on the water and on land, have been greatly multiplied. For a long time the only steamer on the Sound was the Eliza Anderson, which made only one trip a week between Olympia and Victoria. There were then only

the towns of Steilacoom, Seattle, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow and Port Townsend, each with sparse population.

The trip to Portland, which is now accomplished by rail in about nine hours, used to require about three days. Before there were any railroad connections the land travel from Olympia to Monticello taking a day and a half, with part of a night, by stage, or more correctly, a mud wagon; the first portion of the route being by water to Olympia, and the last from Monticello to Portland by the Cowlitz and Columbia and Willamette Rivers.

Those memorable words of George Berkeley, the celebrated philosopher, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," written as long ago as 1730, are being verified in the onward march of our population.

The center of population of the United States has been gradually moving westward. In 1790 the center was twenty-three miles southeast of Parkersburg, W. Va. In 1890 it was twenty miles east of Columbus, Indiana, and in 1900 was seven miles southeast of that place. The Western movement in 110 years has been 513 miles.

When Washington was organized as a Territory it had a population of a little over 3,000. In 1889 its population had increased to about 300,000, when it was admitted as a State. It has grown, until in 1906, as estimated by State authorities, it had reached the number of 925,000. It is now by some authorities estimated to be about one million.

Fifty years ago there were no settlements in Eastern Washington. It was still in the grasp of the Hudson Bay Company, but on the discovery of gold in the Nez Perce country in 1855 and 1856, attention was so attracted that the tide of population began to flow in that direction. This has been greatly increased, and its agricultural and horticultural capacities have been marvelously developed, so that it has become widely known for its wonderful production of grain and its fine, delicious fruits. Its prominent cities are Walla Walla, Spokane, Ellensburg and North Yakima. Returning to the West, in addition to the towns already mentioned, as bordering on the waters of Puget Sound, have been added the city of Tacoma, sometimes called the City of Destiny, with a population now estimated at 100,000; Everett, near the mouth of the Snohomish River, has of late years sprung into existence, partly through the influence of the Great Northern, and bids fair to become a young giant before many years.

Its population is numbered by the thousands. Bellingham, formerly Whatcom, is growing rapidly.

In 1858 Seattle was a small village of not more than 150 whites. In 1860 it had increased to 250; in 1870 it was 1,107; in 1880, 3,533; in 1890, 42,837; in 1900, 80,670. Its population, as estimated by the Chamber of Commerce on January 1st, 1907, was 221,000.

The growth of the cities along the Sound has no doubt been much accelerated by the trade with Alaska, which has been pouring into our lap its golden treasure. When the purchase was made in 1867 from Russia for \$7,200,000, the wisdom of it was greatly questioned, for the general impression was that it was utterly worthless. Time, however, has fully justified the action of Seward by the revelation that has been made of its wonderful resources.

The Seattle assay office, since its establishment in 1898, has received and paid for gold dust to the value of \$139,353,686.31, nearly all of which came from Alaska. But its entire output was not received here. Much was sent to other places. It has other valuable resources than its gold. Seattle has probably been a larger recipient of benefits from this source than have other places. It has now twenty-two banks, in which, in 1906, there were deposits amounting to \$60,000,000, and the amount of clearances were \$485,920,021.

Seattle has about 120 churches and church societies.

The enlargement of the business of the postoffice and its multiplied facilities reveal perhaps as fully as does any other branch of business the substantial growth of the country. Having opportunity only to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the increase of business of the Seattle office, I give what I have been enabled to learn of its growth, while no doubt similar growth is to be found in the postoffice of other principal cities in both Eastern and Western Washington, with this exception only: that Seattle is one of the distributing offices. I give, therefore, the history of its feeble beginning, and its present capacity, and with this will close:

Until August 27th, 1853, the settlers in this region had to depend upon uncertain chances for either letters or papers. At that date national recognition of Seattle was given by the establishment of a postoffice, and the appointment of Mr. Arthur A. Denny the first postmaster, who opened the office in his dwelling house, which was a log building, situated at the corner of

what is now known as Marion and First Avenue. I learn from Mrs. Denny that a man had been previously employed to go to Olympia to procure whatever mail matter was there for parties residing here. He returned on August 16, and brought twenty-two letters and fourteen newspapers, but what was brought on the 27th she does not recollect, only that it was a very small amount.

I was living near Olympia when the first mail arrived from Portland and recollect of its being publicly stated that it was all brought in one of the mail carrier's pockets. I know that for some time after it was brought in an ordinary pair of saddlebags on the same horse on which the carrier rode. Many years elapsed before there was business enough to require any assistance. A few minutes were generally sufficient to open and distribute the mail. It was the same in making it up.

It is very different now. Mr. Colkett, the assistant postmaster, informs me that in addition to Postmaster Stewart and himself, both of whom are kept busily employed, there are in the main office 124 clerks. There are forty-one stations, with one clerk each, thus making the full office force employed 167. There are also 124 letter carriers and 12 special messengers, thus making the number of outside employes 136. This brings the total of officers, clerks and employes to 303. On an average five tons of mail are daily received, and from ten to fifteen tons sent away.

GEORGE F. WHITWORTH.

** Note.*—Agreeably to suggestions made at the time of delivery, I have amplified some matters then only hinted at, for which there was not time to enlarge. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness for help so kindly given by Chamber of Commerce, Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone companies, the P.-I. and Times, in furnishing information which I could not otherwise obtain; also to Judge Burke, Thomas W. Prosch and Prof. Meany, in addition to names which have already been mentioned.

DANIEL WEBSTER, LORD ASHBURTON AND OLD OREGON.

We are not accustomed to think of Daniel Webster as a diplomatist, but as perhaps the greatest orator this country has ever produced; as an eminent lawyer and the defender of the Union and the constitution; as a statesman whose influence was powerful in Europe as well as in America; and yet as Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Tyler he acquired in part his most substantial renown.

"In the two years during which he had been at the head of the cabinet he had done much. His work added to his fame by the ability which it exhibited in a new field, and has stood the test of time. In a period of difficulty and even danger, he proved himself singularly well adapted for the conduct of foreign affairs, a department which is most peculiarly and traditionally the employment and test of a highly trained statesman. It may be fairly said that no one, with the exception of John Quincy Adams, has ever shown higher qualities, or attained greater success in the administration of the State Department than Mr. Webster did while in Mr. Tyler's cabinet."—(Henry Cabot Lodge in *Amer. Statesmen Series*, vol. 21, p. 254.)

"At this time conflicts on the Maine frontier brought the (boundary) subject up in a manner not to be ignored. Popular feeling was at a high pitch. In this condition of affairs Alexander Baring, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Ashburton, was sent to America on a mission of friendship and peace. He was now to be received by Webster in Washington in the same spirit in which Grenville received Jay in London, when it was mutually understood that they would discuss the matter as friends, * * * and leave their articles as records of agreement, not as compromises of discord."—(Stevens in *Amer. Statesmen Series*, vol. 13, pp. 349-50.)

That Fish Story.

It ought not to be necessary to even mention that vagary of certain writers of our history (perhaps we ought to say of our fiction) which would lead to the belief that in 1842-43 Mr. Webster was inclined toward trading off the Oregon country for some fishing rights on the coast of Maine or Newfoundland; but even in 1906 this tale appeared again in a book entitled "Across the Plains and Over the Divide," by Randall Hewitt. This story first reached the public ear in the lectures of Rev.

H. H. Spaulding, an early missionary to Oregon, and of rather radical views, in the sixties, and was later used by Mr. W. H. Gray, in his history of Oregon, and in 1895 was heralded by Mr. O. W. Nixon in his "Saved Oregon" book (to say nothing of others meantime). All of these writers failed to substantiate their statements by reference to authorities, but in 1902 the story was given some color by the late Rev. M. Eells, who said:

"There was a fishery question which Mr. Webster had under consideration at that time. In a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Paige, August 23d, 1842, he says: 'The only question of magnitude about which I did not negotiate with Lord Ashburton is the question about the fisheries.'"—(Reply to B., p. 93.)

With the correction that Mrs. Paige was the wife of the brother-in-law of Mr. Webster, residing in Boston and at times in Nahant, we will examine this authority.

Now we know that Mr. Webster was an inveterate fisherman; indeed, he is said to have taught Mr. Grover Cleveland the art. At Marshfield he kept a boatman named Seth Peterson, whom Geo. Tichnor Curtis thus describes (*Life of D. W.*, vol. 2, p. 663): "Seth Peterson, a name familiar to all Mr. Webster's friends who ever visited Marshfield, was a droll, red-faced old salt, whose occupation, when he was not fishing or shooting with Mr. Webster, was what he called 'lobstering.' His usual dress was a flannel shirt, which might once have been red, but which wind, weather and salt water had converted into a nameless color; and pantaloons that had been patched until their original fabric and hue were quite undistinguishable. He was a quick-witted, humorous fellow, smart with his tongue, shrewd and good natured. He was him 'Commodore Peterson.'"

Now, in the negotiation of the Ashburton treaty both Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster became very much exhausted physically; their conferences and exchange of notes, informal and formal, covered the period from early April until the 9th of August, 1842, and we all know that the National Capital is not a comfortable locality during the summer months. Lord Ashburton was a man beyond his sixty-fifth year of age, and his notes to Mr. Webster toward the close of the negotiation speak pleadingly of the extreme heat and his exhausted condition. The treaty was signed on August 9th, President Tyler's message was prepared by Mr. Webster on the 10th, it was sent to the Senate on the 11th, and after discussion was confirmed on the 20th by the unusually strong vote of 39 to 9. Both the

negotiators at once prepared to leave the city. The quotation already referred to is found in this same "Life of Daniel Webster" by Curtis, vol. 2, p. 140, and given in full, reads as follows:

"He (Mr. Webster) left Washington in the last week of August to make preparations to receive Lord Ashburton at Marshfield, and to enjoy there the repose that he so much needed. Just before his departure he wrote to Mrs. Paige: 'The only question of magnitude about which I did not negotiate with Lord Ashburton is the question respecting the fisheries. That question I propose to take up with Mr. Seth Peterson on Tuesday, the 6th of September next, at six o'clock a. m. In the meantime I may find a leisure hour to drop a line on the same subject at Nahant.'"

Historians find no record of the fisheries as a subject of dispute with England in 1842, but in 1852, ten years later, Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State under President Fillmore, had correspondence upon that subject.

Oregon Not In It.

Lord Ashburton had come to America empowered to agree to a settlement of the Northwestern as well as the Northeastern boundary. Just what his instructions were we learn from the "Berlin Arbitration," pp. 218-19, which was not printed for the public eye until 1871-72. So earlier biographers of Mr. Webster and critics of the treaty were not as well informed about the real reasons for the omission of the Oregon question from that treaty as writers since that publication have had an opportunity to be. The instructions admitted of no discretion on the part of Lord Ashburton; they permitted him (1) to offer the line of the Columbia River from its mouth to the mouth of the Lewis, or Snake River, and thence due east to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; or, failing to secure that line, (2) to offer the same line proposed by Great Britain in 1824 and 1827, namely, the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the northeastern branch of the Columbia River and down that river to the mouth; but (3) not to accept the line of the forty-ninth degree to the coast. Mr. Webster feared that any compromise on the Northwestern boundary would endanger a settlement of the then much more important Northeastern boundary, and furthermore, he understood and believed in the previous policy of the United States and stood firm for the forty-ninth parallel to the Coast; and with due regard to the proprieties of the situation, he and Lord Ashburton decided not to include that subject in the formal negotiations at all. These began June 13th, prior interviews and

exchange of notes having been informal. Mr. Webster is reported to have said in later years (Reply, p. 80) that he told Lord Ashburton that "the government of the United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine degrees and it never will." And it may be added that it never did. (The writer has not yet been able to find these words in exactly the connection given by Mr. Eells though they appear in a speech of March 30th, 1846.)

Benton and Webster.

The leader of the opposition to the treaty was Senator Benton, of Missouri, and his speeches upon the Oregon question in its various phases as it came before Congress in 1842-43 contain much valuable collateral information. He could not see a single line in the treaty that was right and charged that Mr. Webster had yielded everything to Great Britain, as later in the British Parliament Lord Palmeston charged that Lord Ashburton had yielded everything to the United States. It was claimed by Mr. Benton (*Thirty Years' View*, vol. 2, p. 476) that but for his intervention the valley of the Columbia would have been divided in 1842, but this may probably be considered an extravagance of his later years. Mr. Benton was one of the "big" men of that period and (not unlike Mr. Tillman of our own day) was honest, but often violently mistaken, and he took delight in opposing Mr. Webster and in "twisting the tail of the British lion." According to his biographers a certain raciness was common to the latter portion of his public career and must be taken into account in his "*Thirty Years' View*," written during his last years and published in 1857. The fact seems to be that Mr. Benton was irritated at Mr. Webster because he was not consulted at all during the negotiation, as other senators undoubtedly were. In his violent speech in the Senate against ratification in August, 1842, he said:

"I speak in the hearing of those who must know whether I am mistaken. I have reason to believe that the treaty has been privately submitted to Senators—their opinions obtained—the judgment of the body forestalled; and then sent here for the forms of ratification. * * * I interrogate no one. I have no right to interrogate anyone. I do not pretend to say that all were consulted; that would have been unnecessary. I know I was not consulted myself; and I know many others who were not."

In the session of Congress the following winter the Oregon

question was very prominent. Principal Marshall writes (*Hist. vs. Saved Oregon Story*, 1904, pp. 32-33):

"In December, 1842, Benton returned to the subject, and asserted that Webster had proposed to accept the line of the Columbia instead of standing firmly for forty-nine degrees to the Pacific. To this partisan accusation Webster could not in person reply in the Senate chamber, but, fortunately for the vindication of the truth of history, his life-long friend, Rufus Choate, had succeeded him in the Senate, and twice, on January 18th and February 3d, 1843, * * * Choate, replying to Benton's accusations, said (on January 18th, as summarized by the official reporter in *Congressional Globe*, 27th Congress, 3d session, pp. 171-72): 'In commenting upon the speech of the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton), who had preceded him, he took occasion to remove an erroneous impression, which, he conceived, was calculated to do a great injustice to a distinguished man, Mr. Webster, who could not there defend himself. He alluded to the fears expressed by the Senator from Missouri, that * * * the rumor must be correct which had got abroad, that a proposition had been made or entertained by the Secretary of State to settle down upon the Columbia River as the boundary line. Now he was glad to have it in his power to undeceive the Senator, and to assure him, which he did from authority, for he had been requested by the Secretary himself to do it for him, that he never either made or entertained a proposition to admit of any line South of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as a negotiable boundary line for the territory of the United States.' On February 3d, 1843, Mr. Choate made another speech, (which was printed verbatim in *Cong. Globe App.*, pp. 222-229), and, returning to the subject of Benton's accusations, he said: 'I desired chiefly to assure the Senator and the Senate that the apprehension intimated by him that a disclosure of these informal communications would disgrace the American Secretary by showing that he had offered a boundary line south of the parallel of forty-nine degrees is totally unfounded. He would be glad to hear me say that I am authorized and desired to declare that in no communication, formal or informal, was such an offer made, and that none such were ever meditated.'"

The dates of these denials through Mr. Choate are important to a proper understanding of Mr. Webster's position.

The Winter of 1843.

The articles of the Ashburton treaty, after being signed by the officials of each government, were exchanged in London on October 13th, 1842, by Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Everett, then our minister at the Court of St. James. Lord Aberdeen on October 18th instructed Mr. Fox, then the British minister at Washing-

ton, to communicate the desire of Great Britain to open negotiations upon the Oregon question. (It will be noted that Lord Ashburton was still in America.) Mr. Fox made this communication to Mr. Webster on November 15th, and on the 25th Mr. Webster replied that the President already had this under consideration and that a further reply would be sent to Mr. Everett at an early date. That further reply was made on November 28th, and again in other letters during the winter of 1842-43. These communications were really for the purpose of feeling the pulse of the English ministry and were informal, not formal dispatches, and they can be read in the published correspondence of Mr. Webster and need not be reproduced here, but they show clearly that there were frequent interviews between Mr. Everett and Lord Aberdeen (and Lord Ashburton, who had returned to England in December), and to some extent the views of these gentlemen about Oregon. And they reveal the state of mind of Mr. Webster at that time, which was not of disinterest or opposition, but of indecision only as to what he could or should do, and his desire that the Oregon question should not be taken up by itself, but that other unsettled questions should be considered with it, such as navigation and commerce and the colonial trade. His final determination in the matter was that President Tyler should propose another negotiation, to be held in Washington, for in his letter to Mr. Everett on March 20th, 1843, (Nat. Edit., vol. 18, pp. 170-71) he says:

"I have already suggested to you the preference we feel for opening and conducting negotiations here. * * * The British executive is a unity; ours, so far as treaties are concerned, comprehends the Senate as well as the President. It would be disastrous to negotiate a treaty which should fail of confirmation; and, therefore, it would be eminently advantageous to us to have points considered and discussed under such circumstances as should enable us to feel our way and ascertain from time to time what could be done and what could not. I have recommended to the President already to propose to the British government to open a negotiation here upon the Oregon subject, and the subject of some new commercial treaty, or arrangement; and I incline to think that the next opportunity of conveyance may take to you an official or formal offer to that effect. If it is delayed it will only be that we may learn beforehand what is the chance of success of the commercial part of the project."

This was probably Mr. Webster's last official act as to Oregon, for he was then preparing to leave the cabinet and did so on May 8th following. But on July 8th President Tyler was

still waiting, for in a letter on that date to Mr. Webster, he says: "I have nothing from England which gives us the hope that anything will be done by that government on the subject of a commercial treaty. Do you get anything on that subject?"

Colonization of Oregon.

It must not be overlooked that the policy of the United States had been and was in 1842-43 one of quietly colonizing the Oregon country, and that Mr. Webster knew of what had been done in that line by the Van Buren administration. In the winter of 1842 the cabinet of Mr. Tyler (in which Mr. Webster was THE power) selected Dr. Elijah White, a returned missionary from Oregon, and commissioned him as Indian agent (the only official authority they could devise for him under the treaty of joint occupancy) and instructed him to get together as many people as he could and proceed to Oregon overland, and that in pursuance of those instructions, Dr. "White delivered lectures in various places, interviewed pioneers in Missouri and elsewhere, and soon had a company of about 120 men, who started from Independence, Missouri, in May and made a successful journey across the mountains." (Schafer Hist. of Pac. N. W., p. 176.) And in the winter of 1843 Mr. J. M. Shively, one of the organizers of the large emigration of that year, and afterward a settler upon the site of the present City of Astoria, visited Washington from St. Louis and asked the cabinet for a military escort for that emigration. He did not secure the escort, but his request probably resulted in the Fremont expedition of that year. (Letter of Mr. S. at page 351 of Rel. of H. B. Co. to Occupation of Oregon.)

In Conclusion.

President Tyler had a plan of his own known as the tripartite plan or arrangement for joining the acquisition of Oregon with that of California, but this will not concern us in this discussion. Mr. Webster gave it some favorable mention in his letter to Mr. Everett on January 29th, 1843, but added: "These are only thoughts, not yet shaped into opinions." Mr. John Quincy Adams mentions it in his diary on March 25th of the same year, but evidently that was a circumstance of the political situation. Mr. Adams was not upon the most cordial terms with Mr. Webster at that time, but had to be treated with courtesy. This may be more properly considered in another discussion, when it will be proper also to examine the private opinion of

Mr. Webster as to the relative worth of the Oregon country, as shown by his letters and public speeches. That opinion was not a high one, but it did not influence his political judgment or his official acts.

This discussion should indicate to us that unless we consider Mr. Webster as actually mendacious (something quite foreign to his character) we cannot charge him with even having had in mind the bartering off or giving up of very much if any of that part of the Oregon country lying north and west of the Columbia river, and south of the forty-ninth degree of latitude, which would include a very valuable part of the present State of Washington. It has long been settled in history that after the year 1818 Great Britain never seriously claimed title to anything south and east of the Columbia River.

C. T. JOHNSON.

JESSE APPLIFICATE: PIONEER, STATESMAN AND PHILOSOPHER.*

Mr. Carlyle once wrote as follows on the value of historical portraits: "Every student and reader of history who strives earnestly to conceive what manner of fact and of man this or that vague historical name can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a portrait, for all the reasonable portraits there are; and never rest till he has made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like. Often," he continues, "I have found a portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen biographies, as biographies are written; or rather, let me say, I have found that the portrait was as a small lighted candle by which the biographies could for the first time be read and some human interpretation be made of them."

The above sentiment appeals to me with redoubled force since the recent almost uphoped-for acquisition of a portrait of the man about whom I am to speak to you today.

I had long been convinced of the importance of Jesse Applegate's place in the early history of Oregon. The record of his activity as law-maker, and as a bold surveyor of new highways to the Pacific; the perusal of his brilliant state papers and other writings, create a desire to know the man as intimately as possible. Yet, because no photograph of him existed, there was felt to be an elusive quality about his personality which no amount of description by those who remembered him best could wholly dispel.

But in these latter days a kind of miracle has been wrought; for those who knew Applegate intimately before his light went out, nineteen years ago, one man, a natural artist, retained a mental image of him that has proved capable of reproduction with pencil and brush. And about four months ago this man, Mr. George Applegate, completed a portrait which those best able to judge pronounce an excellent likeness of Jesse Applegate. This picture, like the "small lighted candle," will help us to read the story of his life aright.

Jesse Applegate was a pioneer, for he came to Oregon in 1843, with the emigration which achieved the permanent settlement of this country. Yet he differed widely from the pioneer-

* Address by Professor Joseph Schafer at the Pioneers' reunion, Lafayette, Oregon, June 5, 1907.

ing type as that type is commonly understood—I do not mean as it has been misunderstood by writers of old, well-settled countries, who are unable to appreciate the qualities required to make a good frontiersman. We think of a pioneer as a man of uncommon physical virility, bold, steadfast, resourceful, capable of enduring hardships; a man who often shows good natural powers of mind, but who is wanting in that training which is requisite to complete intellectual efficiency. We are not apt to associate with the physical and moral qualities that mark the typical pioneer the highest mental attributes. Were we to do this, the resultant product would be a man resembling Jesse Applegate.

On the physical side few men have been better adapted to the life of the frontier. He was over six feet in height, and well proportioned; erect, rather square, but muscular and very strong. His powers of endurance are indicated by the fact that he more than once walked sixty miles in a day without serious inconvenience, and that forty miles was light work for him. Brought up on the plains, he readily made himself an expert woodsman and mountaineer. During his lifetime no other man probably was so perfectly familiar, from actual experience, with the wild mountain passes and lonely forests of Southern Oregon. He had traversed most of them with chain and compass; through some he had piloted companies of troops, searching out the lurking places of hostile savages. He was alert in the presence of danger, fertile in expedients, bold but never rash. His knowledge of the character and habits of Indians was excellent. He knew when to trust and when to distrust them. In a word, under proper conditions he might have been a Daniel Boone. In some respects Applegate's pioneering labors were quite as arduous as were those of the great pathfinder of the Alleghenies. Against the "Wilderness Road" of Boone may be placed the much longer "Southern Route" into Oregon opened by Applegate; against Boone's piloting of the emigrants to Kentucky in 1775, Applegate's leadership of the equally critical emigration of 1843.

But while pioneering to Boone was the whole of life, to Applegate it was only one feature in a life that was remarkably rich and varied in its experiences. He was a pioneer because some of the circumstances of his environment made him one; he was very much more than a pioneer because he had easily overcome other circumstances which might have limited his activities to the pioneering field.

Jesse Applegate came of Colonial and Revolutionary stock. In a short sketch of him prepared by his daughter Sallie (Mrs. J. J. Long), we are told that his father, grandfather and two uncles entered the American Army from New Jersey. His father, Daniel Applegate, enlisted at Morristown as a fifer in 1780. He was then a lad of fifteen years. After the close of the war he emigrated to Kentucky, married Rachel Lindsey, of a well-known Kentucky family, and settled down as a farmer in Henry County, where he raised a large family. The youngest of his children was Jesse, born July 5, 1811. When the boy was twelve years of age, Daniel Applegate removed to Missouri, near St. Louis, where he soon afterward died. We would be glad to know more about Daniel Applegate, for if an inference based upon the characteristics common to three of his sons is a safe one, he was a man of no ordinary mold. It would be interesting to know his politics, how he stood on the absorbing questions that agitated Kentucky in the ten years following the Revolution; was he a nationalist, seeking to keep Kentucky in the Union, or a Wilkinson separatist, trying to keep her out? With what feelings did he regard George Rogers Clark's scheme to capture New Orleans in the interest of France? What were his reactions upon the neutrality proclamation of 1793? Was he Federalist or Republican? If we knew these facts it might help us to measure the influence of earliest environment in shaping the character of his son. It might be possible to make a close guess on some of these points, but guesses are not history.

Concerning Jesse's early education we know nothing, save that there is a tradition in the Applegate family that he became a village school master in Missouri at thirteen. The more important part of his training, however, came later. For, sometime during the twenties he came under the influence of the distinguished Missouri lawyer, Edward Bates, who afterward was Lincoln's attorney-general. Applegate seems to have served as office boy and clerk; but we have no definite information as to this period of his life. The important fact is that Mr. Bates took a deep personal interest in the boy, directing his education, and strongly impressed upon him many of his own positive traits of character.

The law office of Edward Bates, in St. Louis, became in a sense Jesse Applegate's high school, college and university. It was during this time that he laid the foundation for that broad and accurate knowledge of literature, history and general science

which marked him out later as one of the best read men on the Pacific Coast. He gained, also, some familiarity with Latin, and in some way, we know not how, developed a singularly pure, dignified and graceful literary style. He acquired in addition at least the elements of the widely different sciences of law and engineering, both of which proved of distinct service not only to himself but to the new community he was to help build beyond the mountains.

As already stated, we do not know with what sort of political and social ideas, prejudices and predilections Jesse Applegate came to the tutelage of Edward Bates. But we are at no loss to define the influence which this great jurist exerted upon him. Edward Bates was a gentleman of the old school. Born in Virginia, just at the close of Washington's first administration, son of a Quaker who had subordinated religion or patriotism only long enough to fight for his country in the Revolutionary Army, Edward Bates was nurtured in an atmosphere of conservatism. He went to St. Louis in 1814, carrying with him, as his public career shows, the political principles expounded in the *Federalist* and exemplified in Washington's presidency. If he ever attended to the more radical teachings of Jefferson, the influence was lost upon him. In the language of one writer, "He was wedded to the strictest rules of law and precedent." To him anything savoring of radicalism seemed, to quote the same author, "the herald of the trump of doom." Even during the most turbulent period of the Civil War, when to most men the saving of Missouri appeared to justify rather informal and strong measures, Mr. Bates found it impossible to overcome his ingrained hatred of political radicalism. "There is no such thing," he declared, "as a patriotic and honest American radical." The spirit of Washington's farewell address, which had fallen like a blessing upon his childhood, remained to sanctify the political griefs of his old age.

On one question Mr. Bates actually was radical, though he was doubtless unconscious of the fact; that was the question of slavery. He may have derived his strong anti-slavery proclivities from his Quaker connection, for large numbers of these people annually migrated from the Old South to the States north of the Ohio in consequence of the revival of slavery early in the last century. But the old school Virginia statesman, like Washington and Jefferson, were also opposed to slavery in principle, and since Bates removed to St. Louis at a time when such views were still current, he may have drawn them from that source.

Possibly all of Applegate's early political tendencies may have harmonized with those of Edward Bates; but if so, there can be no doubt that they were greatly invigorated by this intimate contact during the plastic years of youth, with so forceful and earnest a man. It seems to me that the association with Bates helps us to understand Applegate's strong views on government, as he afterward impressed them, through laws, partly platforms, and hundreds of personal or public letters upon the Oregon people. It helps to explain his passion for order, his punctilious regard for forms and precedents in legislative matters, his insistence on the nicest regularity, wherever governmental activities were concerned. His militant nationalism and his abhorrence of slavery are explicable on the same ground.

Bates and Applegate, though differing much in mental gifts, the younger man being more brilliant and original than the elder, were so congenial that a warm friendship grew up between them which endured through life. It is said that even while under the enormous strain of his cabinet duties, during the war, Bates never failed to write, each year, one or more long letters to Applegate, and no letter ever failed to bring a response. This is important, for it enabled Applegate, from his ranch in far away Oregon, to keep himself in close touch with the great currents of national politics.

Jesse Applegate made himself so good a surveyor that he was taken into the office of William Milborn, surveyor-general of Missouri, as clerk and deputy before he had attained the age of twenty years. He performed much field work in the southern part of the State. While out on one of his numerous surveying expeditions he attended a ball and there met Cynthia Ann Parker, a most estimable young woman, whom he married in 1831, and who, in becoming his wife, became also his life-long companion, counsellor and friend.

He now bought land in the Osage Valley and settled down to the life of a farmer and stock raiser. Twelve years later, the Applegates, with their family of young children, and accompanied by the families of Charles and Lindsey Applegate, with other neighbors and friends, left Missouri to go to Oregon. Jesse Applegate emigrated from the Osage Valley because of slavery. He had prospered in a worldly way; he had a valuable farm and many of the comforts and conveniences of life. But the inevitable operation of economic law was at work there as elsewhere in the South tending to transform the areas once occupied exclusively

by small farms and worked by free labor into the characteristic slave-tilled plantations, the unique industrial form under which the South was becoming unified. This process of unification always meant the elimination of two classes of the earlier settlers—those who could not own slaves and those who would not own slaves. Applegate was abundantly able to buy slaves had he chosen to do so, but he would not become the owner of human chattels. (I am told that he did buy for his wife a slave girl, but in order to rescue the waif from brutal treatment elsewhere and under a pledge of manumission. The girl, however, did not reach maturity.) For field labor he had to depend upon the expedient of hiring slaves from neighboring masters, no white laborers being procurable.

On deciding to go to Oregon, Jesse Applegate abandoned his farm, leaving a good share of the previous year's crop in the barns, and, it is said, the bacon of 300 swine in the smokehouse. He loaded four wagons with such provisions and other goods as could be taken on so long a journey, and gathering up about 100 head of cattle and horses, started for the rendezvous near Independence.

It is not my purpose to give an account of the journey, which has been frequently described; nor is it necessary to insist too strongly upon Applegate's services in bringing this emigration of nearly one thousand through to the Willamette. He was instinctively recognized by these Western men as a leader, and in the reorganization that took place just beyond the Kansas River, he was chosen captain of that part of the company which had the bulk of the cattle, the so-called "cow column." From Fort Hall to the Columbia, the part of the route over which no wagon trail had yet been made, Applegate is said to have been in advance, with his compass, to determine at critical points the course which should be followed. In this work he was greatly aided by Dr. Whitman, whose familiarity with the region enabled him to make valuable suggestions. In descending the Columbia with rafts an accident occurred and three persons were drowned. One of these was Jesse Applegate's eldest child, a bright, studious boy of twelve, named for his friend and patron, Edward Bates. Lindsey Applegate also lost a son at the same time.

Applegate settled on Salt Creek, then in Yamhill County, now in Polk County, where he remained till the spring of 1850. He did some farming, raised a fine herd of cattle, built and managed

a small grist mill, and worked much at his profession of surveying. He was one of the busiest men in the little colony.

But for all that, he would not neglect his public duty for his private interests, and in the summer of 1845 an occasion arose for giving a large amount of time and his best talents in the colony's service. The circumstances were as follows: When the 1843 immigrants arrived at the Willamette they found that the American portion of the settlers already in the country had organized a provisional government. They had adopted a body of "fundamental laws," and had chosen a set of officers including a three-headed executive, and a legislative committee.

The government was working badly for several reasons—because many desired no government at all, because of the clumsy provision for an executive, because the judiciary was defective, and especially because there was no compulsory or even coercive power to obtain revenue by taxation. The truth is, the American party had been only just strong enough to secure a majority vote favoring an organization and not strong enough to put in operation an energetic government. There had been 52 in favor and 50 against.

Moreover, there were several special interests in Oregon which greatly complicated matters. There was the Methodist Mission interest, the Catholic Mission interest and the Hudson Bay Company interest. The first two sought their advantage in the control of considerable bodies of land, and the "fundamental laws" permitted each of them to take an entire township. The Hudson Bay Company stood out against the provisional government on national grounds; it understood that the organization was in the interest of the United States and against Great Britain, both countries being at that time claimants to the soil of a part of Oregon. The arrival of the emigrants of 1843 altered conditions fundamentally. The American party was now strong enough to pursue any policy its leaders might devise. So, when the legislative committee met, in 1844, under leadership of the new immigrants, especially Peter H. Burnett, it was decided to put some vigor into the government. The question was how to do it. The "fundamental laws" had been loosely drawn and contained both constitutional provisions and ordinary statutes. Yet the whole had been adopted by the people as if it were a single constitution. It followed that if the legislative committee should amend any of the provisions which were in character merely laws, they would nevertheless be violating an instrument

which had received the formal sanction of a popular vote, while if they changed one of the constitutional provisions they would be doing nothing worse. The situation caused some hesitancy and much discussion. But changes were sorely needed, crops at home were requiring attention, the people were restive, the old government—one year old—was all but dead anyway, and doubtless the United States government would soon make Oregon a Territory. So they decided, in a very informal way, to regard the “fundamental laws” as mere statutes, capable of being amended at the will of the committee. A rigid lawyer might have had some trouble to determine where, under that theory, the committee had obtained its power to legislate at all. But in the true Western spirit, taking common sense as a guide, the committee ignored all such metaphysical subtleties, and proceeded to legislate. It reorganized the executive and judiciary, enlarged the legislative committee, revised the land law, cutting out the township gifts to the two missions, and provided for an effective system of taxation.

These sweeping changes were not submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, which was a serious omission. Instead the people were asked to vote on the question of holding a constitutional convention. Some interpreted the last proposition as a movement in favor of independent statehood. It aroused much opposition and was finally voted down. Many criticised the action of the legislative committee from interested motives, it is true; but there was so much in its proceedings that was irregular, if not positively illegal, that its work could not gain the general approval of the people. There was widespread discontent and ill will.

The new legislative committee came together June 24, 1845, with Jesse Applegate members from Yamhill County. Applegate had looked with extreme disfavor upon the proceedings of the year before. He was now to show what was his solution of the problem of creating a stable government for the Oregon colony. Since he completely dominated the committee, as the records show, he was able to carry out his views perfectly. This was his program: First, to revise the fundamental laws of 1843, which had been adopted by popular vote, making the document a true constitution. The revision was made with his own hand, other members of the committee apparently making only a few minor suggestions. Next, this new instrument, together with the earlier one which it was intended to supplant must be submitted to the

people, who were to choose between them. This was done and the people chose Applegate's constitution. The legislative committee, on Applegate's motion, had adjourned to await the decision on this question, and also on the question submitted at the same time, whether or not the officers chosen at the June election should be regarded as legally qualified officers under the new constitution. This question being also decided affirmatively, on the 5th of August, after a recess of just one month, the legislature met again at Oregon City and proceeded with its business.

At the opening of the June session Applegate had proposed a form of oath for the members in such terms as to indicate that the Oregon government reserved to Englishmen who might be under its jurisdiction the same paramount right of allegiance to their government that Americans claimed for themselves. "I do solemnly swear that I will support the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon, so far as the said organic laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain. * * *". He had aided in preventing the radical Americans from declaring illegal the election of Francis Ermatinger, a British subject, as Treasurer of the colony; and he had introduced a resolution declaring: "That this government has no power to annul a contract entered into either in the United States or Great Britain."

The way was thus prepared for what was perhaps Applegate's most cherished object, namely, the union of the Hudson Bay Company with the Americans under the terms of a provisional constitution. Applegate discussed the matter with McLaughlin, who at first protested against the plan, but was finally convinced by Applegate's arguments that such a union would be to the advantage of both parties, and especially to the company, which stood in need of the government's protection.

About the middle of August, as the result of Applegate's triumphant diplomacy, the officers of the Hudson Bay Company formally gave in their adherence to the provisional government, agreeing to accept its jurisdiction, to pay taxes for its support, and in all respects to abide by its constitution and the laws made in accordance therewith. It was a notable achievement, bringing to an end as it did the dual jurisdiction which had subsisted for several years, and demonstrating to the world that at last the occupation of Oregon by Americans was a fact accomplished.

Lieutenant Henry Warren, British military officer, sent from Canada by government order in the spring of 1845 to report on

conditions in Oregon, reached Vancouver a few days after this settlement had been effected. He was deeply impressed by it, and wrote: "The Hudson Bay Company were so completely overruled by a number of Americans that they (the company) were obliged to join in this contract (the provisional government) which neutralized their authority in the country where they had been long respected by the native tribes, and obliged them to subscribe to the laws of the very people whose settlement and occupation of the land they contributed so generously and largely to effect."

Thus Oregon was at last—and for the first time—under a secure and efficient government. All interests had been subjected to its jurisdiction, all factional opposition eliminated. It was a government that commanded universal respect, secured equal justice and fostered the prosperity of the colony. Its success may have had, also, a large influence upon the settlement of the boundary question between Great Britain and the United States. This government remained in full operation without the necessity of further amendment down to March 3, 1849, when General Joseph Lane proclaimed Oregon a Territory of the United States. In the light of this recital of facts it seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the boon of good government was conferred upon the Oregon people by the representative from Yamhill, Jesse Applegate.

Applegate's activities during the brief sessions of June and August, 1845, are partly revealed by an examination of those mysterious looking boxes of manuscripts preserved in the Secretary of State's office, and labeled "provisional government." In his handwriting, unless I greatly err, are the new constitution, a memorial to Congress, and more than one-half of the considerable body of laws passed in that year. With rare and slight exceptions, the form is faultless and the substance true. Thomas H. Benton, in presenting to the Senate the memorial of 1845, took occasion to commend it as a document which reflected high credit upon the American citizens living in Oregon. Before the adoption of the organic laws, Applegate put through the Legislature a resolution, declaring "that this government can recognize the right of one person to the services of another only upon bona fide contract, made and entered into, and equally binding upon both parties." This expresses his views on slavery. He maneuvered successfully to kill a bill for granting a certain petitioner a divorce from his wife. On the 11th of August he in-

roduced the famous bill against duelling. The statement of the matter in the journal is as follows: "The rules were suspended to allow Mr. Applegate to present a bill to prevent duelling; read three times and passed. On motion of Mr. Applegate, said bill was ordered to be forwarded to the executive for his approval forthwith. The speaker appointed P. G. Stewart special messenger for that purpose. The bill was returned to the House with the approval of the executive." Mr. Gray says it became a law in half an hour's time from its introduction in the House. Yet, the original bill as it reposes in the archives, bears no evidence of haste. It is written in the same round, bold, clear hand with Applegate's other formal papers.

The history back of its introduction is simple. Two young men had gotten into an altercation, which it seemed to them could be settled honorably only according to the code. Applegate was resolved to save them from the consequences of their own folly, and to save Oregon from the disgrace of a duel; so he hurried off to the House and had his law passed in time to prevent it.

Having gotten the government into good working order, Applegate left orders to operate it, while he devoted his energies to other matters. In 1846 he surveyed that long and intricate wagon road from the Willamette Valley to Fort Hall, by way of the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers and Klamath Lake. When the Whitman massacre was reported at Oregon City in December, 1847, Applegate came forward again, as he always did in great emergencies. He held no public post at that time, yet the journal of the Legislature reveals his agency in devising plans for the defense of the country. This is the record:

"Dec. 10. The Speaker announced a communication from Jesse Applegate, urging the necessity of sending, forthwith, a special messenger to the United States, read and referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs. Nesmith, Wair and Meek." The committee promptly reported in favor of the plan, and it was arranged to send Joe Meek to Washington with dispatches and a memorial to Congress. This memorial was without doubt penned by Jesse Applegate, and is, in my estimation, one of the finest papers ever produced west of the Rocky Mountains. Two or three paragraphs must suffice to illustrate its superlative literary merit:

"Having called upon the government so often in vain, we have almost despaired of receiving its protection, yet we trust

that our present situation, when fully laid before you, will at once satisfy your honorable body of the necessity of extending the strong arm of guardianship and protection over this distant but beautiful portion of the United States' domain. Our relations with the proud and powerful tribes of Indians residing east of the Cascade Mountains, hitherto uniformly amicable and pacific, have recently assumed quite a different character. They have shouted the warwhoop and crimsoned their tomahawks in the blood of our citizens. * * * Circumstances warrant your memorialists in believing that many of the powerful tribes * * * have formed an alliance for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against our settlements. * * * To repel the attacks of so formidable a foe, and protect our families and property from violence and rapine, will require more strength than we possess. * * * We have a right to expect your aid, and you are in justice bound to extend it. * * * If it be at all the intention of our honored parent to spread her guardian wings over her sons and daughters in Oregon, she surely will not refuse to do so now, when they are struggling with all the ills of a weak and temporary government, and when perils are daily thickening around them and preparing to burst upon their heads. When the ensuing summer's sun shall have dispelled the snow from the mountains we shall look with glowing hopes and restless anxiety for the coming of your laws and your arms."

Applegate's public career, after the Cayuse War, in which he performed valuable services as chairman of the loan commission, can be quickly summarized. He was in the Legislature just once as representative from Polk County in 1849. This was the last session under the provisional government and little was done as compared with the sessions of 1845. In 1857 he was a member of the convention to frame a constitution for the State of Oregon, but for some reason not yet fully explained he went home before its work was finished. He had gone to the Umpqua Valley to live in 1850. There he developed an attractive and valuable property in the form of a large farm and stock ranch. His great house at the foot of Mount Yoncalla was one of the finest country houses in Oregon. It was a large, well-built, roomy mansion, and was for the time elegantly furnished; it was one of the few houses that could boast a parlor melodeon. But to the student of Applegate's life and character it is yet more interesting to note that this home contained a large, well assorted and well used library. His collection of books has been in part

destroyed and in part scattered; but there is evidence to show that it contained some two or three thousand volumes and that it was especially rich in the departments of general literature, history, science and the public documents illustrating the political development of the United States. He had the records of the American Congress complete, I am told, for the year 1789. His historical equipment included such important sets as Gibbon, Hallam, Hume, Allison, Macaulay, Prescott, Motley, Carlyle, Hildreth, Bancroft, together with numerous less extensive works.

The man who would have such a library shipped around Cape Horn to Oregon, as Applegate did, has a *prima facie* claim to be regarded as a scholar, or at least as a philosopher, in the earliest meaning of that term. And Jesse Applegate was a philosopher in the same sense in which Jefferson was one—a man who loved all knowledge and tried earnestly to master the outlines of all true sciences. His keen analytical mind, tenacious memory and extraordinary intellectual activity, with the aid of his fine library, made possible to him a degree of learning to which few aside from professional scholars ever attained. He was known as the “Sage of Yoncalla.”

Applegate took the keenest interest in all local, state and national political problems, as is demonstrated by scores of public and private letters, the party platforms he indicted, and the numerous series of resolutions he presented to political conventions. He remained to his extreme old age a force to be reckoned with in Oregon politics. Once he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate; again, it is said on the best authority, a certain “boss” offered to procure him the senatorship on certain conditions, but Applegate unhesitatingly spurned the offer.

Everything he wrote on politics has now at least an historical interest, while his marvelously lucid and original style invests every subject, however seemingly commonplace, with an interest on its own account. But his rank as a political philosopher is best determined from a series of letters on the subject of reconstruction, which he wrote in the fall of 1865 at the request of Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Those four letters, amounting to a little less than four newspaper columns, were printed in the Oregon State Journal, from which they were recently copied with the editor's permission. They reveal a profound insight into the governmental system, a steadfast affection for the constitution with its many superlative excel-

lencies, and also—which is a much rarer virtue—a true appreciation of its defects. “The constitution of the United States,” he says, “has been rightly called ‘the greatest monument of human wisdom;’ it has secured civil and religious rights of self-government to a great nation, and though constrained by the necessity of harmonizing conflicting opinions and reconciling opposite interests, the convention devised machinery to effect these great objects that have stood the test of nearly eighty years—a period in which man has progressed more mentally and physically than in many centuries of any prior epoch. It is therefore no disparagement to the wisdom and patriotism of its immortal framers if, after the people to be governed by the constitution have increased tenfold, and spread themselves from ocean to ocean, and the interests it was to foster have grown and diversified in far greater proportions, that under the severe strain of a bloody civil war some parts of its machinery have proved defective and others obsolete by the changes wrought by it.”

He then proceeds to show that some provisions need to be added to the constitution and others withdrawn from it, and suggests that the work could be best done by a convention. He thinks the fathers were a trifle inconsistent in announcing, as a philosophical maxim, the right of any people, at its own will, to “alter or abolish” its system of government, and then to hedge their constitution with so many restraints upon amendment, as if, after all, they did not trust the people to make their own fundamental laws. “If,” said he, “the right to choose a form of government was the right of our ancestors, it is ours, and will descend to posterity, and anything we may do to take away that right will be impotent.” * * * “The only difference I would make between an organic and a statute law would be that the organic should be the act of the people, the statute the act of their representatives.” He would have one or both houses of Congress, as a kind of convenient committee, report from time to time such amendments as seemed advisable, and have the people vote upon them at the regular elections. This change in the method of amending the constitution was the essential positive proposal of his first letter.

In the second letter he discusses the general relation of the nation and the States, shows historically that the “purposes of the constitution ‘to establish justice’ and ‘secure liberty’ have in a great measure been defeated by the State governments.” * * * He would make some changes in the interest of more perfect

harmony of action of the two governments, to be brought about by emphasizing the federal supremacy. Extreme brevity in the discussion leaves some doubt as to the precise remedies he proposes to employ. But he sums the matter up by saying: "In short, I would take nothing from the State useful to its people, nor leave any power with it that could be used to the prejudice of the Union."

The third letter deals with citizenship and suffrage. These were questions that Applegate had pondered deeply, upon which his convictions were especially strong; and since his discussion reached to the settlement of the States of the negro citizen, it became at once the most practical and interesting feature in the series. The framers of the constitution, he thinks, acted quite inconsistently when they granted exclusive power to determine who should be citizens of the nation, yet left to the State's exclusive power to determine who among the citizens should exercise the voting power, which is the most characteristic and most sovereign function of citizenship. "Without the power to say who shall wield the sovereignty," he declares, "the purposes of the constitution, to establish justice and secure liberty are failures, and the Union itself is a rope of sand;" for the two great sections had been drifting in opposite directions, the one toward complete democracy, the other toward aristocracy, and this tendency would be likely to continue. Applegate stood for a suffrage that should be theoretically universal. "Every member of the commonwealth, no matter of which sex, what color, or where born, if free from the tutelage imposed by the domestic relations should have the right to vote, if morally and mentally qualified to do so. "I say the right," he adds, "not the privilege, because he, or she, who obeys the laws, pays taxes, or renders bodily service to the government has a right to be heard in its administration.

"But the American citizen who exercises the elective franchise is clothed with high duties and responsibilities, and the divine injunction that binds him to 'care for his own household applies with equal force to his duty to his school district, town, county, state, and lastly, to the Union; and though the numbers increase who share his responsibilities as he rises in the political circles that surround him, yet he is as much bound morally, and should be lawfully, to discharge his duties in each relation as if the whole responsibility rested upon him alone. It should

be no excuse for non-performance or neglect of public duty because thousands or millions were equally responsible.

"I should therefore require that the voter be of good moral character, that he clearly understand our system of government, and the responsibilities he took upon himself as one of its rulers. I would bind him in an oath of fidelity to it, and to cast his vote in all cases for that man or that measure that he, in his judgment and his conscience, believed would be to promote the public good; and that in casting his vote he would not be influenced by personal friendship, or any advantage to himself individually. I would have a commission (federal commission, of course) to examine and pass upon the qualifications of candidates for the right of suffrage, and those found to possess the requisite capacity and honesty, should upon taking the required oath receive a diploma, which (until forfeited by crime) should entitle him to vote at any election held in any part of the Union where he resides or might reside. * * * I would make the examination of candidates for these diplomas of citizenship as searching and impressive as possible—not a mere form, but an actual test of merit. I would have the young men of our country feel that to be a citizen of this great and free nation was an honor worth contending for; and as the disappointed might again enter the lists at pleasure, it would not only greatly encourage the growth of political knowledge among the people, but have a beneficial effect upon their morals also." No one can doubt, after reading this letter, that, as he says at its close, his "heart" was "very much in the matter of which it treats."

The fourth letter dealt with the problem of the negro from the social and racial viewpoints. He believed that it would be best for both races that the negro should live in separate communities. Yet, he says: "If we retain him among us, for our own good as well as his, we must make him like Onesmus, 'a brother and an equal.'

"But it is not among the rights he is entitled to that his sons shall marry our daughters, or that our sons shall marry his; a power higher than man's has forbidden such connection, and man must respect His decrees or suffer the penalty."

I wish it were possible to give you, in a summary, a more adequate idea of the incisive way in which he treats this race problem. But time forbids. I must, however, say a few words about the fate of these letters as a whole. They were sent to Schuyler Colfax just before the opening of the first session of the

Thirty-ninth Congress, which wrestled with the reconstruction problem. We know that Colfax was impressed with the importance of some of Applegate's ideas on the subject, for it was after a brief conversation with Applegate in the summer of 1865 that he requested the more complete written statement. It is probable that Colfax submitted these letters to the joint committee on reconstruction; and there is evidence that the committee at least considered the proposing of a constitutional amendment along the lines of Applegate's third letter, namely, to take the control of suffrage from the State and give it to the national government. The idea was abandoned, because, as the committee reported, "it was doubtful * * * whether the States would consent to surrender a power they had always exercised, and to which they were attached." The Applegate idea of federal control of suffrage with an educational test was advocated by Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican, who had called on Applegate in company with Colfax, and also by the New York Nation. Had the committee seen its way clear to recommend it as the Fourteenth Amendment, instead of the non-workable scheme they did propose, it is at least allowable to conjecture that the results would have been beneficial. There would then have been no need of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the problem of the negro vote would have been settled at the outset on right principles.

No judgment is here expressed as to the practicality of other parts of Applegate's reconstruction plan; but in my estimation, these letters give to the "Sage of Yoncalla" a place among the profound political thinkers of his age.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

WILLIAM CLARK: SOLDIER, EXPLORER, STATESMAN

About the year 1630, a trifle less than a quarter of a century after the planting of Jamestown colony, one John Clark, a recent immigrant from England, settled upon the James River in Virginia. We have little knowledge of his antecedents in the Old World, but he himself appears soon to have become a successful tobacco planter; his descendants were colonials of considerable social and political prominence, and affiliated by marriage with some of the best blood of Virginia.

Americans of the seventeenth century, especially those south of New England, were not wide travelers. Roads were crude, bridges few, settlements and even farmsteads wide apart—practically none stirred far from home, save officials, land speculators, fur-traders, raisers of half-wild forest cattle, and a few well-to-do young fellows in whose veins strongly coursed the wanderlust of our Teutonic race, and who must have their outing before settling down into the humdrum of business, professional or plantation life. A few years after his settlement, John Clark appears to have made what was then a notable journey into the neighboring colony of Maryland, where he wooed and married “a red-haired Scotch lady” who had relatives in the Virginia county of King and Queen, wherein was Clark’s evidently small plantation.* In later marriages, during successive generations of Clarks, Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood was freely mingled with the pure English strain that John Clark had brought to the James—a fusion such as has given to the history of American pioneering heroes and heroines for many of its most glowing chapters.

This John Clark, great-grandfather of George Rogers and William, left one son, who in due course married, but early departed this life, leaving a widow and two sons, John 2d and Jonathan. In 1725 the latter married Elizabeth Wilson, the daughter of an English Quaker settler of King and Queen County. Nine years later he in turn died, survived by a well-provided family of two sons and two daughters, of whom the oldest child was John 3d (born October 9, 1726), father of the man whose services to civilization we have to-day formally recognized.¹

* Correspondence of Col. John O’Fallon, of St. Louis, quoted in Draper MS, 1J37, in Wisconsin Historical Library.

¹ The widow of Jonathan Clark subsequently married one Richards, whom she survived. About 1783, when at an advanced age, she died at the residence of her son, John 3d, in Caroline County.

John 3d married (1749) his second cousin, Ann Rogers—"an amiable young lady of about sixteen," an old chronicler tells us—who on her mother's side was related to the celebrated Byrd family of Westover. John and Ann began their career in a rude cabin topping a height of ground on the western frontier of Albemarle County, quite near the plantation of Mrs. Clark's elder brother, John Rogers, who had explored that region as early as 1712; and within a mile of Monticello, in later years to become the home of Thomas Jefferson. Here were born the first four of their ten children—Jonathan (1750), George Rogers (1752), Ann (1755), and John 4th (1757).

In 1757 occurred the death of Mr. Clark's uncle, John 2d, who had remained a bachelor and bequeathed to his namesake and favorite nephew his large farm in the southwestern corner of Caroline County. Thither the family of John 3d at once removed, and their six other children were natives of the new seat—Richard (1760), Edmund (1762), Lucy (1765), Elizabeth (1768), William (August 1, 1770), and Frances (1773).

John and Ann Rogers Clark appeared to have been a strifty couple. According to the simple eighteenth century standards of the Virginia frontier they were well-to-do, although doubtless many a Western farmer of our day would consider himself to have won but a fair competence had he only the fortune of our hero's parents. After the manner of borderers, the children obtained but the most elementary education; reared to hard work at home, they also had a full knowledge of woodcraft, for their fields were still girt about by jungles, and not far distant were dense forests darkly mantling the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies; cattle, horses and hogs were pastured on the rich mast of the foothills, and after the annual round-up driven in herds to distant seaboard markets; guarding the mountain passes and the west-flowing waters beyond, were fierce tribes of Indians, visited only by wandering fur-traders, hunters and occasionally a venturesome missionary or an exploring surveyor, or now and then by a punitive expedition of the free-and-easy border militia.

When William was two years of age (1772), his elder brother George Rogers Clark, then a young surveyor and well-equipped borderman, made his first exploration down the Ohio River. Thus William grew up familiar with the ways of the woods, with long hunting trips, with Indian fighters, of whom there were several in his own family, and with thoughts of venturesome deeds far beyond the fretted sky-line of the Alleghenies that gave bound to Virginia on the west.

In the month of October, 1784, five years after George Rogers Clark, the most famous of all the sons of John Clark 3d, had valorously won for American arms the country beyond the Ohio, and the year following the confirmation of that conquest by the treaty of Paris, his parents and most of his brothers and sisters, born frontier folk, took up their line of march from Virginia for the newer land of Kentucky. Their route lay along the overmountain path from the Potomac to the Monongahela, that had been moistened by the blood of Washington's men at Fort Necessity and by Braddock's at the Turtle Creek crossing. Winter chanced to set in early, so that on their arrival the Monongahela was found to be choked with ice. With other Western emigrants the Clarks tarried at Pittsburg until the February thaw, when re-embarking they descended to Louisville (then known as the Falls of the Ohio), reaching that far-off Western outpost early in March. The new seat of the Clarks was attractively located at Mulberry Hill, on Beargrass Creek—three miles south of George Rogers Clark's rude fort at Louisville, with its cordon of log huts for the settlers—and here John Clark died fourteen years later (July 29, 1799); his aged wife, Ann, having passed away several months previous (December, 1798).

Thus in his fifteenth year William Clark became a Kentuckian. The life at Mulberry Hill was quite similar to that on the Virginia uplands, save that frontier conditions were more evident. The Clark home was a center of hospitality and sociability for the entire region. Under the roof-tree at Mulberry Hill were frequently entertained sturdy pioneers of the Kentucky movement, bringing their tales of Indian warfare and other perils and hardships of the early days; and the second generation of Kentucky immigrants also found here a welcome—gentlemen and lawyers of the new settlements, Revolutionary soldiers seeking homes in the growing West, men of enterprise, culture and promise, permanent founders of a new civilization.

Among them all, a marked favorite was young "Billy," whose large and powerful frame was capped by a full, broad face, profoundly serious in composure, yet lit by kindly, sympathetic eyes that were windows to a persistent, dauntless soul. His thick shock of red hair eloquently bespoke his great-grandfather's Maryland wooing. But his own words were few; his reputation—being that of a youth who accomplished things, rather than talked of them. Frequently he was a member of war parties against the still troublesome aborigines. He had but entered on his seventeenth year when we find him enlisted in the Wabash expedition

under his elder brother, now General George Rogers Clark. Three years later (1789), he joined Colonel John Hardin's unfortunate enterprise against the tribesmen north of the Ohio, that met with at least one success, the spirited defeat of the enemy on White River.

In 1790 young Clark served the federal government by undertaking a dangerous mission to the Southern Indians, when the Creeks and Cherokees were giving trouble. The season following (spring and summer of 1791), on reaching his majority, he was commissioned as ensign and acting lieutenant, and served in the successive Wabash Indian campaigns of General Scott and Wilkinson. "Your brother William," writes one of the family friends,¹ "is gone out as a cadet with General Scott, on the expedition. He is a youth of solid and promising parts, and as brave as Caesar."

Two years later (March 19, 1793), we find him commissioned as a first lieutenant of riflemen in the Fourth Sublegion, in General Anthony Wayne's Western Army. After being engaged as an engineer in constructing forts along the line of advance, he was, late in the season, dispatched upon a perilous and tedious expedition up the Wabash as far as Vincennes, during which his soldiers were for some time obliged to depend on their rifles for supplies, while for twenty days their progress was blocked by ice.

Returning to Fort Washington (Cincinnati) in the spring of 1794, Clark—who, although holding but a lieutenant's commission, frequently commanded a company—was promptly ordered to escort to Fort Greenville seven hundred packhorses laden with supplies for the army. Attacked by the savages (May 13), he lost six men killed and two wounded, but gallantly repulsed the enemy and elicited praise from Wayne,² under whom he later (August 20) won distinction by leading the left column of riflemen in the battle of Fallen Timbers. During this campaign he also acted as adjutant and quartermaster to the legion.

In 1795 Wayne sent Clark with a message to the Spanish authorities at New Madrid, protesting against the erection of a fort at the Chickasaw Bluffs. It is said that they were much impressed by the dignity and soldiery bearing of the young lieu-

¹ Dr. James O'Fallon to Colonel Jonathan Clark, May 30, 1791; in Draper, MSS., 2L28.

² In a letter to his brother, General Jonathan Clark, dated May 31, 1794, Lieutenant Clark complains that the commander-in-chief in his public order wrongly attributes to Lieutenant Turner, a passenger in the expedition, and under-ranking Clark, more laurels than to the latter, who considered himself as entitled to full credit.

tenant who was so soon to be planning for the exploration of their vast trans-Mississippi possessions. The following summer, in his twenty-sixth year, he resigned his commission and retired from the army (July 1, 1796), because of ill health—apparently with the brevet rank of captain, for thereafter he was given that title.

Clark's four years' service in the Western Army had been of a character*to bring fresh honors to the Clark name, had he done no more. He had become familiar with the methods of handling and retaining the respect of large bodies of frontiersmen under military discipline; his store of courage and resource had been tested to the full in dealing with savage foes; he had acquired experience on diplomatic missions; he had been in touch with the prominent men of his time. But most significant and far-reaching of all, he was for several months previous to his resignation thrown into intimate companionship with Meriwether Lewis, four years his junior, whom he had doubtless known as a boy in Virginia, and who—in the capacity of an ensign assigned to his company—was now his fellow campaigner.¹

Captain William Clark became, in his retirement, a young country gentleman, and at first, after recovering his health, placidly occupied himself with the business of his now aged father's estate. When the latter died, Mulberry Hill fell to William's share. But with these rustic duties were soon mingled the management of the tangled affairs of his famous brother, George Rogers Clark, which henceforth occupied much of his attention. Vexatious suits were brought against the hero of Vincennes, for supplies furnished to his troops during the Revolutionary War; and to meet these William Clark, self-sacrificingly loyal to his brother's interests, parted with a large share of his own possessions, even the ancestral seat of Mulberry Hill. As some measure of compensation, General Clark conveyed to William 65,000 acres of land below the mouth of Tennessee River; in later years, when this tract became valuable, the latter shared it with other members of the family.

William Clark's affairs were in this condition when, in his thirty-third year, a momentous letter reached him (July 16, 1803), from his old comrade and subordinate in Wayne's army, now Captain Meriwether Lewis, of the First Infantry, and lately private secretary to President Jefferson. This communication, dated

¹ See Clark's letter to Nicholas Biddle, dated St. Louis, August 15, 1811, in Coue's, *Lewis and Clark expedition* (N. Y., 1893), i, pp. lxxi, lxxii.

Washington, June 19, gave confidential information of Lewis' projected exploring expedition through Spanish territory to the Pacific Ocean, under Jefferson's auspices, and Clark was invited to "participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors." The young Kentucky Cincinnatus was cordially assured by his still younger friend-at-arms that "there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself."¹

It will be seen that owing to the slowness of Western mails, Lewis' letter was all but a month in reaching Kentucky. Failing to hear from his friend as soon as he had expected, and fearing that this might mean that he was unable to go, Lewis had meanwhile opened tentative negotiations with Lieutenant Moses Hooke of his own regiment, then in charge of military stores at Pittsburg. When Lewis' letter arrived, Captain Clark was at his brother George Rogers' estate at Clarksville, Indiana, on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite Louisville, and the following day (July 17) he accepted the offer with enthusiasm. "That is," he wrote, "an immense undertaking fraught with numerous difficulties, but my friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake and share the Difficulties of such a trip than yourself."

The circumstances under which this proposed exploration towards the Pacific was undertaken are, in this centennial anniversary period, doubtless familiar to all of us. But for the sake of continuous narrative it is necessary, even at the expense of bringing historical coals to this Newcastle, briefly to recount them. Jolliet and Marquette (1673) had first hoped that the Mississippi might be found emptying into the Pacific; but on ascertaining that its flood was received by the Gulf of Mexico, they looked upon the Missouri as the undoubted highway to the ocean of the West. There was, indeed, a widely-prevalent tradition among aborigines living upon the Mississippi that the Missouri sprung from a low-lying watershed that might easily be portaged to some stream emptying into the Pacific. Even at the opening of the eighteenth century, charts published in Europe showed west-flowing waters interlocking with the Missouri. Several French expeditions were organized for exploring the Missouri and some of its lower affluents—La Harpe and Du Tisne (1719), De Bourgmont (1722), and Mallet (1739); but they accomplished little

¹ See correspondence in full in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904-5), Vol. VII.

more than obtaining a knowledge of the country for a few hundred miles above its mouth, with side ventures upon the South Fork of the Platte, the Arkansas and the plains stretching south-westward to the Spanish seat of Santa Fe.

Upon the eve of the downfall of New France, the crafty Louis XV, in order to prevent England from obtaining them, ceded to Spain (November, 1762), the town and neighborhood of New Orleans and the broad possessions of France west of the Mississippi, the so-called Province of Louisiana. But the Spaniards who came to the two capitals, New Orleans and St. Louis, were in the main only soldiers and public officials. French habitants occupied their little waterside villages, as of old; being joined in the closing decade of the century by Kentuckians like Daniel Boone, who, weary of the legal and social restraints of growing American settlements, were willing to accept Spanish land grants with their promise of a return to primitive conditions, in which farming alternated with hunting. French trappers, many of them blood relatives of the red men, and now released from the tyranny of the fur-trade monopoly of New France, freely plied their nomadic calling upon the lower reaches of the Missouri and its branches, and even up the Platte and Arkansas to the bases of the Rockies. French and half-breed fur-traders—etieher on their own account, or as agents of the warring British companies of the Canadian wilds, the Hudson's Bay and the North West—wandered far and near among the tribesmen, visiting them in their permanent villages and accompanying them upon hunting, fishing and war parties. Their long journeyings by land and water occasionally carried them as far afield as the great northern bend of the Missouri, where were the villages of the trade-loving Mandans, who bartered indiscriminately with Gauls from St. Louis and Britons from the Assiniboine.

In California, Spanish missions to the Indians had by the opening of our Revolutionary War extended as far north as San Francisco and Monterey. Spanish mariners, seeking vainly for a transcontinental waterway that should furnish a short route between Spain and India, had by this time become familiar with the Northwest coast up to the modern Sitka, and developed a considerable trade with the natives, chiefly at Nootka Sound, on the western shore of Vancouver's Island; while adventurous Spanish missionaries had contemporaneously penetrated eastward to the Great Basin. Russian trading vessels had ventured southward from Alaska to Nootka Sound. In 1778 Captain Cook

touched the Northwest Coast on his third voyage around the world; and by 1785 traders of several nations—English, American, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese—were plying these waters in a world-wide commerce for furs, and rapidly extending a knowledge of our Western shores and of their savage inhabitants.

Such was the situation when Thomas Jefferson—philosopher, seer, statesman—always interested in the Middle West, first felt within him yearnings for a more intimate knowledge of the vast country lying beyond the Mississippi River. That the Province of Louisiana belonged to Spain gave him no pause; he felt that so long as British traders from Canada were exploiting the trans-Mississippi interior, Americans might be excused for opening through this wilderness a trade route to the Pacific, and incidentally extending the bounds of human knowledge in geography and the natural sciences.

In 1783 he proposed such an expedition to George Rogers Clark,¹ but nothing came of the suggestion. Three years later, when American minister to Paris, he arranged with the adventurous John Ledyard, of Connecticut, who had been with Captain Cook around the globe, to penetrate to the Missouri from the west, and descend that stream to the American settlements; but Ledyard's enterprise came to grief through his arrest in Kamschatka by agents of the Russian crown, which looked askance at American operations on the Northwest Coast. Captain John Armstrong in 1790 attempted to ascend the Missouri, under orders from the War Department at Washington, but failed because of the hostility of the Missouri tribes. In 1793—the year following Captain Robert Gray's discovery of the mouth of the Columbia—Jefferson, acting as a vice-president of the American Philosophical Society, dispatched upon this same mission Andre Michaux, a distinguished French botanist then herborizing in the United States. Michaux tarried in Kentucky to conduct a French political intrigue with George Rogers Clark and other disaffected borderers, who were planning a filibustering expedition against the Spanish of Louisiana, with the result that his project of exploration was abandoned.¹

When Jefferson became President of the United States, perhaps a score of American trading vessels were annually visiting Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia; British overland

¹ The original MS. of this letter is among the Draper MSS. (press-mark 52J93), in the Wisconsin Historical Library.

² See documents connected with these several projects, in Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Appendix, Vol. VII.

traders were, as we have seen, operating among the Mandan Indians and their tribal neighbors, at or below the great bend of the Missouri; French and half-breed trappers and traders, together with a few expatriated Kentuckians, were familiar with the Missouri and its lower affluents; upon St. Peter's River (now the Minnesota), British free-traders were profitably bartering with the Sioux, a circumstance causing much uneasiness among Americans of the Middle West. As yet, few citizens of the United States were engaged in the exploitation of the trans-Mississippi, which Napoleon, dreaming of another New France in North America, had now (October 1, 1800) obliged Spain to retrocede to him, although he had not thus far taken formal possession of the country.

President Jefferson had not forgotten his early dreams of exploring the Far West. In the winter of 1802-03, the opportunity was presented of again pushing the scheme, this time with the greater influence attendant upon his exalted position. An "act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes" had lapsed, and he urged Congress in a secret message to reach out for the trade of the Missouri River Indians, suggesting an exploring party as the best means of accomplishing this object.

He recognized that the country which he thus proposed to enter had recently become the property of France, although still governed by Spain; but thought that the European powers would not object to an enterprise cloaked "as a literary pursuit." Congress acceded to his wish, and appropriated \$2,500 to carry the project into effect. This amount seems amusingly small; but contemporary documents¹ abundantly prove that Jefferson intended that the exploring party should, while still east of the Mississippi River, be subsisted by the War Department as a military enterprise. In addition thereto he issued in their favor a general letter of credit, which while it proved of no avail, further demonstrates the fact that the enterprise was not expected to confine itself to the appropriation.

The story of the expedition of Lewis and Clark is so familiar a tale in our day that we need not here dwell at length upon it. Lewis, who in 1803 was but twenty-nine years of age, had won an excellent reputation in the Western Army, and as Jefferson's private secretary shown himself a man of affairs, thoroughly imbued with common sense, and much of a diplomat. The President had at first wished that a scientist might lead the party;

¹ Given in full in Appendix (Vol. VII) to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.

but just then no such person was available who at the same time understood the Indian, was an adept in camp life, could govern a company of frontiersmen, and possessed the physique necessary for an enterprise of this hardy character. Lewis sought, in some measure, to overcome his deficiency on the scientific side by taking brief but evidently strenuous lessons from eminent scientists of his day, especially regarding the use of the crude astronomical instruments then in vogue, and the making of geological, natural history and ethnological notes.

Clark, in his thirty-third year, furnished not only a knowledge of aborigines and wild life generally, quite the equal of his friend's, but for his day was a competent engineer and facile draughtsman, qualifications as essential to the undertaking as the necessarily superficial scientific training of Lewis; he also proved much the better boatman of the two, and to him apparently was in large measure assigned the difficult task of training the men.

Preparations were quite complete—Lewis was ready to start from Washington, Clark had already enlisted a number of young Kentucky riflemen, boats for the Ohio River trip and supplies had been ordered and were assembling at Pittsburg, Jefferson had issued his final detailed instructions, and permits had been obtained from both French and Spanish officials who, however, had small notion of what the expedition meant—when a new phase was given to the enterprise. On the second of May, 1803, American commissioners had, quite without authority for so important a transaction, signed a treaty with Napoleon by which Louisiana was sold to the United States, France having three years previously secretly obtained the province from Spain. Some inkling of the Louisiana Purchase had certainly reached Washington by the middle of June, for Lewis privately mentioned it in his invitation to Clark; but official confirmation was not received until July 14, by which time Lewis had nearly reached Pittsburg, prepared to descend the Ohio with his little flotilla. Thus the expedition was on its feet and would surely have marched, despite European ownership of the trans-Mississippi. News of the transfer of sovereignty wrought no other change, save that the secrecy heretofore maintained was no longer necessary.

At Louisville, Clark joined Lewis with his volunteers, and the company wintered near the mouth of River Dubois, on the American side, opposite the entrance of the Missouri. While Lewis appears to have spent much time in the then village of

St. Louis, consulting with French fur-traders and others conversant with the country, Clark was for the most part engaged at camp, accumulating stores and suitable craft for the long journey, and in organizing and disciplining the party—a somewhat sturdy task, this latter, for the court-martial records of the expedition reveal the fact that the young Kentucky riflemen whom Clark had gathered, were slow in bending their democratic necks to the military yoke: In March, Lewis was the chief official witness of the transfer of Upper Louisiana—at first from Spain to France, and then from France to the United States.

May 14, 1804, Clark started from the camp on the Dubois, “in the presence,” he tells us in his journal, “of many of the neighboring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri,” picking up Lewis six days later at St. Charles, whose citizens hospitably entertained the adventurers.

The long and painful journey up the great river during the summer and autumn of 1804 was followed by a winter spent in log huts enclosed by a stout palisade, among the Mandan Indians, not far from the present Bismarck, North Dakota. Making a fresh start from Fort Mandan, upon the seventh of April, 1805, there ensued a toilsome experience all the way to the head-spring of Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, which was reached August 12. Then came the crossing of the rugged, snow-clad Bitterroot Mountains, which here constitute the divide; and the descent of the foaming rapids and cataracts of the Columbia, until the Pacific was reached in November. By Christmas the party were safely housed within Fort Clatsop, a rude structure—like Fort Mandan, log huts within a palisade covering a plot of ground some fifty feet square.

Another dreary but busy winter was spent in studying the natives and making other scientific observations in the neighborhood, and filling their large note-books with these interesting data. This was not the season, however, for meeting any of the numerous trading mariners who frequented the Northwest Coast; thus the letter of credit given by Jefferson to the explorers proved useless, for lack of any one to whom it might be presented. For several months they were in dire straits, being obliged to exercise great ingenuity in making trinkets and in the rude practice of medicine and surgery, with which to obtain supplies from the avaricious natives.

Leaving Fort Clatsop the twenty-third of March, 1806, the return of the expedition was delayed by heavy snows on the

mountainous divide, and much hardship was experienced. The actual crossing of the range commenced June 15. By the first of July the party had arrived at Travelers' Rest Creek, where the over-mountain Indian trails converged, and here they divided into two sections—Lewis' party going direct to the Falls of the Missouri, and afterwards exploring Maria's River with a view to ascertaining its availability as a fur-trade route to the north; Clark and his contingent proceeding to the head of Missouri navigation of the year before, and then crossing over to the Yellowstone and descending that stream to its junction with the Missouri.

Parting company on the third of July, it was the twelfth of August before the two branches of the expedition reunited on the Missouri, several days below the mouth of the Yellowstone. Their final happy arrival at St. Louis, on the twenty-third of September, 1806, after an absence of two years, four months and nine days, is one of the most familiar and equally one of the most romantic and significant events in American history. "We were met by all the village and received a hearty welcome from all its inhabitants," etc., is Clark's terse record of what must have been an hilarious popular demonstration. Would he might have seen this beautiful city on the present memorial day, and experienced the warmth of affection in which his memory is still held at the close of the hundred years during which the trans-Mississippi wilderness that he and his brave companions opened to the world has developed into a seat of imperial wealth and power.

I should like to linger upon the curious and romantic story of the journals kept by Lewis and Clark and several of their forty-three companions; but time presses, and as the tale has lately been told at length,¹ it is left but briefly to allude to it. Upon their return, both of the two leaders began at once, here in St. Louis, to write out their notes for publication. But both were soon summoned to high office—Lewis being made governor of Louisiana Territory, and Clark its superintendent of Indian affairs and brigadier-general of its militia.¹ The onerous duties

¹ Introduction to Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

¹ Upon the expedition, Lewis held a captaincy in the First Infantry. Clark had been promised a captaincy, but when his commission arrived it proved to be but a second lieutenantcy of artillery, which somewhat piqued him; but he concluded to proceed, when assured by Lewis that the latter did not recognize any difference in rank between them. On their return Clark resigned from the army on February 27, 1807, and Lewis on March 2. President Jefferson signed Lewis's commission as governor on March 3, Clark's commission being signed nine days later.

appertaining to these new positions in the vast territory through which they had journeyed were necessarily absorbing; and neither being possessed of the literary habit, further progress towards publication was easily deferred.

Urged thereto by Jefferson, the originator and promoter of the expedition, Lewis began seriously to undertake the work; but he died (probably was murdered), the night of October 11, 1809, in a Tennessee wayside tavern at which he was stopping, en route to Philadelphia and Washington, where he intended at last to settle himself to the task. Clark, now the sole survivor, was promptly importuned from Monticello to assume charge of the undertaking, and finally engaged Nicholas Biddle, a young Philadelphia lawyer and financier of considerable literary experience, to edit the journals and prepare from them a popular narrative. This publication, after many strange adventures, finally appeared in 1814, eight years after the return of the expedition. It was, in many ways, an admirable piece of work, and has become an American historical and geographical classic. But it was not full enough, especially on the scientific side, to satisfy Jefferson, who sought to collect the original note-books for the use of some future historian of his great enterprise. Such as he gathered were placed in the care of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; but it appears that Clark, unknown to Jefferson, retained at St. Louis a good share of his own notes, and nearly all of the numerous and admirable annotated maps and plans he had made en route. In due course of time—sixty years or more after his death—these drifted to New York City, and only a few years ago were by the present speaker discovered there in the possession of his heirs. Recently, and for the first time, practically all of the Lewis and Clark journals and the Clark maps have been published, a hundred years after they were written and drawn in the field.¹

From these journals written day by day, abounding though they are in scientific data—concerning the botany, zoology, meteorology, geology, astronomy, ethnology and geography of the Missouri and Columbia Valleys—we obtain for the first time a vivid picture of the great explorers and their life. Their pages are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving consideration that the two leaders felt, each for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis—officially the leader,

¹ Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (7 Vols. and Atlas).

and chancing to hold a captain's commission while Clark, evidently through some clerical misunderstanding, was gazetted merely as a lieutenant—in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move save by Clark's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who, less emotional but undoubtedly feeling deeply, wrote in brief, pointed, business-like phrases, and, less scholastic of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically, and occasionally slipped in his grammar—all these, and more, are evident on every page; causing the reader deeply to admire the men, and to follow them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and admiration.

A hundred years ago, St. Louis was on the utmost Western frontier, and for many years after the Louisiana Purchase was the principal entrepot for the rapidly-developing region of the trans-Mississippi. The dreamy little village necessarily enjoyed intimate relations with the aborigines, a far-reaching fur-trade, and extensive transportation intrests along the great interlacing river system of the Far West—over boundless grassy plains rolling to the horizon like the billows of the sea, across desert wastes gay in shadow but parched in the midday sun, and through rugged mountain canons reaching tortously to the sun-kissed slopes of the Pacific. Socially, St. Louis was an interesting medley of French, Spanish and Americans, each with their distinct ideals; and here met North and South. This seat of Western dominion, its buoyant aspirations tempered by an old-fashioned conservatism, appealed strongly to these soberly-trained Virginians who had become imbued with a passion for pioneering. Thus Lewis and Clark, in settling down in Old St. Louis, found its life congenial, and at once became typical citizens, whom this modern cosmopolitan community does well to venerate.

Soon after Lewis' death, Gen. Benjamin Howard succeeded him (April 17, 1810), as Governor of Louisiana Territory—Brigadier-General Clark becoming inspector-general of the Territorial militia and still retaining the superintendcy of the Indians of the Territory, as well as the agency of the federal Indian Department. Upon the twelfth of December, 1812, the name of the Territory, which now contained a population of over 20,000, exclusive of Indians, was changed to Missouri, and Howard re-

tired, being made a brigadier-general in the federal army. After a few months of interregnum, Clark was appointed by President Madison as Governor of the new Territory (July 1, 1813), administering the office with great ability until Missouri entered the Union as a State (August 10, 1821). A candidate for popular election as Governor of the new commonwealth, he was defeated by his old friend, Colonel Alexander McNair,¹ then Register of the United States Land Office at St. Louis; both men were widely known and had many admirers, but McNair was apparently the better politician of the two, moreover he had married into a prominent French family of the place. In May following, President Monroe appointed Clark as federal superintendent of Indian affairs, an office newly created by Congress, and this post he filled until his death in 1838; although for a short time (1824-25), he also held the position of surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas.

Ten months after General Clark had founded a home in St. Louis, he married (January 5, 1808), Miss Julia Hancock, daughter of Colonel George Hancock, of Fincastle, Virginia, a charming young woman then only in her seventeenth year, of whom Clark had for some time been an ardent admirer, and for whom upon the great expedition he named one of the principal affluents of the Missouri "Judith's River" (now the Big Horn). She died in 1820 (June 27), leaving him five children.¹ Seventeen months later (Nov. 28, 1821), he married her first cousin (three years her senior), Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford, who died in 1831 (Dec. 25), having borne him two children.²

Amidst his numerous and often exacting official duties, Clark appears to have found time and opportunity to enter freely into the commercial side of life in Old St. Louis. In the newspaper press of the time we find frequent references to his somewhat extended dealings in city real estate. The brick mansion that he built (1818-19) on the corner of Main and Vine Streets, not far from the site of the building in which he died and which we have this day marked by a beautiful memorial tablet, was one of the most imposing of early St. Louis residences. Within his

¹ The vote stood: McNair, 6,576; Clark, 2,556.

² Meriwether Lewis, born St. Louis, January 10, 1809, died at Frankfort, Ky., Oct. 28, 1881; William Preston, born St. Louis, Oct. 5, 1811, died there May 16, 1840; Mary Margaret, born St. Louis, Jan. 1, 1814, died near Middleton, Ky., Oct. 15, 1821; George Rogers Hancock, born St. Louis, May 6, 1816, died at Minoma, St. Louis County, Oct. 2, 1858; John Julius, born St. Louis, July 6, 1818, died there Sept. 5, 1831.

³ Jefferson Kearney, born St. Louis, February 29, 1824, died January 9, 1900, in New York City; Edmund, born St. Louis, Sept. 9, 1826, died there Aug. 12, 1827.

adjoining block of brick houses on Main Street, he constructed a large hall which for many years was used as a council room for Indian treaty conventions and talks; while upon its walls and in cases were displayed a very considerable collection of Indian curiosities that was open to the public, being frequently alluded to in terms of admiration in the journals of travelers who visited this then frontier community. "Here were Indian dresses decorated with feathers; weapons, such as bows and arrows, battle clubs and stone axes; birch-bark canoes, suspended from the ceiling; skins of animals; the bones of a mastodon; and other interesting specimen and relics."¹ This hall was also the scene of numerous banquets, patriotic celebrations, and other popular gatherings, thus largely entering into the daily life of St. Louis three-quarters of a century ago, and of itself well meriting to-day's memorial exercises.

The general was also prominent in the Indian fur-trade of the great region whose gates Lewis and himself had opened to commerce. In 1809, he in company with Manuel Lisa, Silvestre Labadie, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Auguste Chouteau, Jr., Reuben Lewis and Benjamin Wilkinson, all of St. Louis, and other stockholders from neighboring States, organized the American Fur Company, capitalized at \$27,000, to trade with the aborigines of the Upper Missouri and the mountains beyond. Three years later, the capital stock was increased to \$50,000, and the name changed to the Missouri Fur Company, an organization long dominating the trade of the Far West, and popularly accredited with considerable financial success.

It is an interesting revelation of one phase of his private character to find him, in documents of the period, assisting in the establishment of Christ Church in St. Louis, and thus becoming one of the founders of the Protestant Episcopal communion west of the Mississippi. In Christ Church Cathedral, an outgrowth of that early parish, there can to-day be seen a beautiful memorial window placed there by his daughter-in-law, Eleanor Glasgow Clark, in memory of his son and her husband, George Rogers Hancock Clark.¹

General Clark was great as an explorer, and doubtless it is in that capacity that posterity will chiefly view him. But in

¹ From note to the writer by Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, of New York City, great-grand daughter of General Clark, published in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, xi., p. 263. Miss Voorhis relates that after Clark's death the keeper of the museum, without authority or knowledge of the family, took the collection to England and disposed of the specimens to his own profit.

² On the left side of the chancel, near the organ.

truth his services to his country as superintendent of Indian affairs in Louisiana and Missouri Territories, and his career as governor, were quite as important, although less heralded. During the three decades of his superintendency, when American explorers and traders were first occupying the trans-Mississippi region, it was of the utmost importance to these civilizing agencies that the aborigines be kept at peace with our army of occupation. Upon the transcontinental expedition of 1804-06, Clark was the dominant figure in all negotiations with the Indians. Unlike Lewis, who while eloquent in his tribal talks, did not always please his native hearers,² Clark's manner was mild, affable, conciliatory, sympathetic, in which attitude he was much assisted by a benevolent, kindly countenance, and large expressive eyes, which inevitably inspired confidence. His skillful diplomacy upon the tour, to which every page of the *Original Journals* bears unconscious but eloquent witness, was continued in his capacity as superintendent. The result was, that between the mouths of the Missouri and the Columbia, he was venerated by scores of tribes, among whom the word of "Red Head," as he was affectionately styled, became law.

Clark's reputation for stern integrity, for absolute purity of private character, for sympathy with the unfortunate, for advocacy of the rights of men, whether red or white, mingled with his capacity for swiftly administering needed retribution, was of the utmost importance in a vast border region wherein the original inhabitants were being slowly but surely, and not always gently, ousted by the vanguard of civilization, and where the worst elements among both whites and reds might at any moment precipitate widespread conflict. Through these troubled waters, General and Governor Clark safely steered the course of the Great West. Whether in times of peace or of war—his splendid services on the frontier in the war of 1812-15 were alone enough to win him the nation's gratitude—he was for the thirty-one years of his official career in more senses than one the dominant figure in your midst. When, upon the site dedicated by this

² In his journal, given in L. R. Masson, *Bourgeoise de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), I, p. 336, the explorer Charles Mackenzie, who met Lewis and Clark at Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-5, says: "Mr. La Rocque and I * * * became intimate with the gentlemen of the American expedition, who on all occasions seemed happy to see us, and always treated us with civility and kindness. It is true, It is true, Captain Lewis could not make himself agreeable to us. He could speak fluently and learnedly on all subjects, but his inveterate disposition against the British stained, at least in our eyes, all his eloquence. Captain Clarke was equally well-informed, but his conversation was always pleasant, for he seemed to dislike giving offense unnecessarily."

afternoon's ceremonies, he passed from this life on the first of September, 1838, aged sixty-eight years and one month, his demise was sincerely mourned by both races, throughout the northern half of the trans-Mississippi.

You do well to honor him to-day. Republics are charged with being ungrateful. This is but a superficial view. A monarchy has well-organized machinery for the official recognition of its worthy servants. In a democratic government, we perforce leave to popular action the placing of laurels on our heroes' brows, and such action is necessarily spasmodic and uncertain. The republic is surely as grateful as the monarchy for noble deeds in the public cause, although less frequently giving formal expression to its sentiment. We need to cultivate this practice among us, as a people. Not that heroes are actually made by the affixing of medals, or by the expectation of popular applause; but the generous recognition of high public service, past or present, awakens within us all that civic and national pride in our past, that historic self-consciousness as a people, that is the sure foundation of patriotism.

It is not given to many cities of the West, to harbor such precious historic traditions as those clustering around Old St. Louis. But amidst all your rich heritage of glowing memory, no single event was quite so pregnant with far-reaching consequences as the expedition of Lewis and Clark, first and in many respects greatest of all explorations undertaken by our federal government. You to-day celebrate its safe and successful return to its point of departure, and incidentally honor yourselves in especially recognizing St. Louis' debt of gratitude to one of her noblest citizens, William Clark—soldier, explorer, statesman, benefactor of his race.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL AT WALLA WALLA.*

Annually during the last quarter of a century a select band of American Indians, gathered from the plains of the Western and Eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, and designated as the Wild West Show, have crossed the Atlantic to the cities of the Old World; and thousands of people there have viewed with wonder and awe their pageantry and horsemanship. But what would have been the feeling of anyone of this multitude of people had he been present in the Walla Walla Valley on May 24th, 1855, and stood with Governor Stevens and General Palmer and a few other white men upon a slight eminence, and witnessed the arrival of the Nez Perce braves, coming to attend the council that had been called, to consider their relations with the Great Father at Washington, and the permanent disposition of the lands they had a right to call their own. Lieutenant Lawrence Kip (afterward colonel) of the U. S. Army, was one of those present, and he kept a daily journal from which is drawn our description of the scene.

"Thursday, May 24th. This has been an exceedingly interesting day, as about 2,500 of the Nez Perce tribe have arrived. It was our first specimen of this prairie chivalry, and it certainly realized all our conceptions of these wild warriors of the plains. Their coming was announced about 10 o'clock, and going out on the plain to where a flagstaff had been erected, we saw them approaching on horseback in one long line. They were almost entirely naked, guadily painted and decorated with their wild trappings. Their plumes fluttered about them, while below, skins and trinkets of all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine. Trained from early childhood almost to live upon horseback, they sat upon their fine animals as if they were centaurs. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. They were painted with such colors as formed the greatest contrast; the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from the bridles, while the plumes

* Prepared for the annual meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Spokane, May, 1907.

of eagle feathers interwoven with the mane and tail, fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance. When about a mile distant they halted, and a half dozen chiefs rode forward and were introduced to Governor Stevens and General Palmer, in the order of their rank. Then on came the rest of the wild horsemen in single file, clashing their shields, singing and beating their drums as they marched past us. Then they formed a circle and dashed around us, while our little group stood there, the center of their wild evolutions. They would gallop up as if about to make a charge, then wheel round and round, sounding their loud whoops until they had apparently worked themselves up into an intense excitement. Then some score or two dismounted, and forming a ring danced for about twenty minutes, while those surrounding them beat time on their drums. After these performances more than twenty of the chiefs went over to the tent of Governor Stevens, where they sat for some time, smoking the 'pipe of peace' in token of good fellowship, and then returned to their camping ground."

And this was the first tribe to arrive; in the days following came the Walla Wallas, the Umatillas, the Cayuses, the Yakimas and other tribes of lesser note. Chief Garry of the Spokanes was present as a visitor or spectator, but not as a participant.

The Walla Walla Valley was chosen for the council ground at the instance of Kam-i-ah-kan, the head chief of the Yakimas, who said, "There is the place where in ancient times we held our councils with the neighboring tribes, and we will hold it there now" (Life of Gov. Stevens, vol. 2, page 27); and the spot was that later selected as the site of the city of Walla Walla. The Indians present, including women and children, according to Mr. Kip, numbered over five thousand, and included more than eight tribes; fifty-eight chiefs and under-chiefs joined in signing the treaties there agreed to, but so soon broken. Of the whites there was one small company of the regular soldiers from the fort at The Dalles, numbering less than fifty; and in the parties of Governor Stevens and General Palmer, about fifty more, which included secretaries and interpreters, and packers. A considerable amount of food and presents had been brought to distribute among the Indians.

There was a pathetic side to this gathering, for these Indians were not ignorant of the previous history of their race, or of what must be in the future for them. Some of them had been

to the Red River settlements and received some education, and with others had mingled and intermarried small bands of Iroquois and Delawares and others, who had been driven from their own homes and hunting grounds by the westward sweep of civilization. Lieutenant Kip transcribed some of their speeches. Chief Hal-Hal-Tlos-Sot (otherwise known as Chief Lawyer) of the Nez Percés, said: "The red man traveled farther and from that time they kept traveling away farther, as the white people came up with them. * * * They have come on from the Great Lake where the sun rises, until they are now near us, at the setting sun." Owhi, the Umatilla chief, said: "We are together and the Great Spirit hears all that we say today. The Great Spirit gave us the land and measured the land to us, this is the reason I am afraid to say anything about the land. I am afraid of the laws of the Great Spirit. This is the reason of my heart being sad. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. Shall I steal this land and sell it? or, what shall I do? * * * The Great Spirit made our friends; but the Great Spirit made our bodies from the earth as if they were different from the whites. Shall I give the land which is a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my land? I cannot say so."

There was also the heroic side. Late on the evening of June 2d, "the Lawyer came unattended to see Governor Stevens. He disclosed a conspiracy on the part of the Cayuses to suddenly rise up and massacre all the whites on the council ground—that this measure, deliberated in nightly conferences for some time, had at length been determined upon in full council of the tribe the day before; * * * they were now only waiting the assent of the Yakimas and Walla Wallas to strike the blow and that these latter had actually joined, or were on the point of joining, the Cayuses in a war of extermination against the whites, for which the massacre of the governor and his party was to be the signal." * * * The Lawyer concluded by saying: "I will come with my family and pitch my lodge in the midst of your camp, that those Cayuses may see that you and your party are under the protection of the head chief of the Nez Percés." He did so immediately, although it was now after midnight. * * * Governor Stevens on his part imparted his knowledge of the conspiracy to Secretary Doty and Packmaster Higgins, and to them alone, for he feared that, should the party generally learn of it, a stampede would ensue. Having through these efficient

officers quietly caused the men to put their arms in readiness, and posting night guards, he determined to continue the council at usual. (Life of Gov. Stevens, vol. 2, page 47.) For his brave and skillful conduct in danger and difficulty upon this and other occasions, Governor Stevens will some time be honored with a statue in the Hall of Fame at our national capital.

The limits of this paper have permitted of only an illusion. The formal meetings of the Walla Walla council, as it has come to be termed, extended over a period of two weeks, from Tuesday, May 29th, to Monday, June 11th, inclusive, but the participants were on the ground for a week longer, before and after. It was a remarkable gathering, not so much in what was directly as was indirectly accomplished, and in leaving to us a beautiful and authentic picture of Indian life, and a correct insight into Indian character and into their view of their own problem of existence. It makes one of the strongest chapters in the story of the survival of the fittest.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

DOCUMENTS.

It is proposed to reproduce in this department of the Quarterly rare journals, diaries, letters or other documents throwing light upon the history of the Northwest. Effort will be made to reproduce such papers faithfully, errors and all, so that every student and reader may have them at face value.

Hudson Bay Company Letters.

While writing her last book, "McDonald of Oregon," Mrs. Eva Emery Dye obtained through the help of Mr. R. E. Gosnell, then in the employ of the British Columbia government, copies of a considerable number of old letters in the Canadian archives, which today are of exceeding interest in the history of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. These letters were written by the leading men of the Hudson Bay Company here from 1829 to 1840, including John McLoughlin, James Douglas, John Work, Peter S. Ogden, Archibald McDonald, Duncan Finlayson, J. E. Harriott, Wm. Todd and George T. Allen, and were addressed chiefly to John McLeod and Edward Ermatinger, names equally familiar in the records and annals of the Hudson Bay Company. These communications were in character a combination of friendship, confidence, business and gossip, making them more readable and in some respects more valuable than would be the purely official letters sent by the same men to the head office at Fenchurch Street, London. The Washington Historical Quarterly will take pleasure in reproducing in print these old letters, copies of which have been kindly furnished by Mrs. Dye, enabling them to take their proper place in the history of the North Pacific Coast.

Trouble With the Indians.

William Todd writes from York Factory on 15 July, 1829, to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Upper Canada, giving the latest news of Fort Vancouver, then but four years old. The Americans here casually referred to have been overlooked in the histories of this time and place.

York Factory 15th July 1829

Dear Edward

You will I believe not be much surprised at my replying to your esteemed favour from this place where I arrived the 5th inst after the usual agreeable journey across the mountains. As you

will naturally be anxious to hear the news from your old quarters (Vancouver) I shall without further ceremony commerce altho aware these will be more fully detailed by Frank and our old friend Work both of whom I left in good health the latter particularly sore at the late promotions and Frank talking as loud as ever bye the bye he appears a favourite with the great man.

You had hardly left Vanr. when we were put on the alert by Indian reports (of the capture of Fort Langley and massacre of Mr McMillan and party) it is needless to say without their being any foundation for them; nevertheless the Doctor took it much to heart and so far credited it that Mr Birnie was prepared to follow you express with the dismal news when it was contradicted. Nothing again of moment occurred till the arrival of the Brigade from the Interior Casualties on their way down three men drowned at the lower part of the Priests Rapids a keg of castoreum & some dressed skins lost Bostowvis was in the boat & had a narrow escape. An expedition against the Clalhins as Frank told me he had sent you his Journal which I have no doubt is a masterpiece of the kind and to which I refer you for particulars, It was a failure the effects of which has been since severely felt. Frank was talking high on the business without respect to persons, you know his way. On the 10th August Mr Smith an American & three men made their appearance being the Commissioner of a party of twenty men, I saw him in California which place he left in January with 315 horses & mules arrived at the Umpqua on the 10th July four days after his party attacked & sixteen murdered by the Indians he was himself absent with two men examining the country for grazing horses, his sensations on his return could not have been very pleasant he was fired on when he returned, but gained the woods without injury. One only of the party attacked made his escape after receiving several slight wounds. Another expedition must now be fitted out to recover this gentlemens property & this was not a very popular measure either with men or gentlemen as it was thought we would have difficulty enough to hold our own being already at war to the northward but the Dr. would have his way and Mr McLeod was again fitted out with a party to proceed there and after using his efforts, to continue his journey to the Bonaventura in California take of course all the beaver he could fall in with. He succeeded in recovering most of the furs but making considerable sacrifices and losing so much time that the winter set in before he had the business settled and was obliged to take up his quarters in his old hunting ground, he paid Vancouver a visit about Christmas time much to the astonishment of the Doctor who sanguine as usual imagined him near San Francisco. Your old friend Ouvrie had a narrow escape of leaving his scalp on one of his divisions his brother in law having killed an Indian who was accompanying him (Ouvrie) to Chicalias [Chehalis] and obliged him to return, the friends of the Indian who belong to the Fort George side took to their arms and would have soon made a finish had not the Princess* sent him

out of the way till the hurry was over. The American Brig *Ouwyhee* paid us a visit in February & a schooner her consort in March both were then when we left fine picking for the mercenary Chinooks a beaver being now equal to five in days of yore. The Most melancholy part of my narrative relates to the Coy's Brig *Wm & Ann* she crossed the bar on the 10th March but from some fatality (I can call it nothing else) struck on the spit at the mouth of the River, Captain Swan & all the crew

(I write in charge of *Brandon House*)

26 persons embarked in the boats & landed at *Clatsop point* when they were butchered by the natives not a soul left to tell the melancholy tale this no doubt will cause another war excursion it is to be hoped they will acquit themselves better than the last. Having now given you the principle heads I shall conclude with my sincere wishes for your future welfare & happiness & am

Dear Ned

Yours very truly

WM. TODD.

Miles says he will write you by the ship.

Beginning of Fraser River Fisheries.

Archibald McDonald writes to a friend in the East, giving among the gossip a fine glimpse of the first attempts at using the salmon fisheries which have since grown to such vast proportions.

Fort Langley, 20th Feb'y, 1831

My dear Mc.

I have very great pleasure in acknowledging rect of your kind letter of July last from your old quarters, which came only to hand five days ago via *Puget Sound* after a march of 11 weeks thro the different tribes between *Vancouver* and this & when I tell you that my private letters alone furnished the whole of my news from *Hudsons Bay*, you can guess at the avidity with which I glanced over two & thirty of them. It is with very sincere regret I find by yours that you enjoyed but very indifferent health last season—a blessing as you say, we never sufficiently appreciate when we have it, & when decay and sickness overtake us, few mortals present a more dismal and forlorn situation than an Indian Trader, in a manner abandoned by the world & by himself. Thanks to the great Father of all blessings I have had little cause of complaint myself since I last had the pleasure to address you; yet I have had awful warnings about me. I have buried two of my men since—*Jno. Kennedy* who was unwell but still walked about entered our kitchen one day in the month of April and dropp'd dead on the floor. In the month of August, another of them (*Therien*) ran out of the Fort in sound health and was brought in a corpse in a very few minutes—his case was

*Note.—Probably King *Concomly's* daughter.

an accident—shot by one of the Guns of the Vancouver. I was very sorry indeed to hear of poor McKenzies death, but no one tells me how it happened. Finlayson says he died in June, and you say it was in Jan'y. When I wrote to you last I was not aware of Mr. Deases fate, poor man—it would have been much better had he not returned to the Columbia. I should now like to give you some of our West side News and you know my itching in general for writing long letters; but really if I attempted on this occasion it would be with great disadvantage, for almost the whole of the occurrences of any importance in this quarter are known to me but by mere report; there is lots of it however, & the loss of another Brig is not the least important—their Honours liberality however in that way, by sending out two others beside, has saved other distance. One of them returned to England with the Returns and the other with the two schooners is cruising about I believe at present the Brig and the Vancouver are to California & the Sandwich Islands. with Deals and salted salmon, & the whole three of them on their return, will proceed with Ogdens Expedition to Nass, which from various causes was put off last year. He succeeded in the Snake country by Work and probably McLeod will be the Bearer of this. Our friend Black is at Kamloops and our t'other friend at Colville. I take no credit for this Kind of News to you, because it is such as everyone will report—then let us back again to Ft. Langley, where I shall defy any man to speak of, unless it passes thro my hands—to be more plain (for actually I do not thoroughly comprehend myself in what I wrote then (I shall write upon Frasers River affairs, because tis only myself that knows anything about it by having the field to myself, however, do not suppose that I impose upon you when I say that in the face of two vessels our Trade is not 150 skins less the Great Returns of the year before, and that this defficiency is more than made up by 220 Barrels of Salmon, and the Establishment now to one clerk and 10 men besides 2 or 3 raw Owhyhees. If the Americans are off this year I hope things will be still better. 'Am now preparing from 2 to 300 Barrels to be at the salmon immediately in the commencement of the season—they say a cooper is come across for me but we saw nothing of him as yet. In Consequence of my Casks of last season losing the pickle, the Dr. sent none of them to market but sent his own, and kept ours for home Consumption, so the end is always assured and perhaps this ought at all times to be the arrangement as the Columbia fish is acknowledged better than ours. Curious they are caught a week or two sooner at the bridge than here—last season it was approaching the end of August before they appeared here.

I must now congratulate you all on the great acquisition to your society of late. The Governor's residence at Red River must give a wonderful luster of the state of affairs there—and it is to be hoped that his own health will also improve there. I see our grand Joint Stock Company has fallen to the ground and an Experimental Farm substituted in its stead under the super-

intendence of my predecessor here. So you see our rank N'West-ers give a hand to promote the interest of poor Red River—by the by I hand a letter from Mr. Halkett by the last conveyance—he has returned from the continent with Lady and family and were then living near London with Lady Isabella Douglas—Countess Selkirk was daily expected there with her two daughters from Scotland and Lord Selkirk was at Oxford—grown tall like his father—stout and in good health—what nonsense I do write to a man just returning from England—never mind I did not give it a thought at the moment that you was across the big water and I knew it would give you pleasure to hear of the family. Jenny and the Boys are well—I think I forgot to tell you that her 3'd came to the world last Oct'r—quite enough to transport out of this rascally country. You see I must conclude and it will be with fresh assurances of my sincere good wishes for your better health and prosperity—Yours

ARCH'D
McDONALD.

Heavy Losses Reported.

J. F. Harriott, writing from Fort Vancouver, gives a gloomy picture of losses by wrecks and fever, and claims that men who had once served in this Northwest should not be compelled to return. This comports ill with the record of the many who came back to die in the land they had learned to love, even in its days of wildness.

To

John McLeod, Esq'r,
Hon'ble H. B. Co.

Fort Vancouver, 25th Feb. 1831

Dear Sir,

As the express is preparing to part somewhat earlier than usual and as I have given up long since all hopes of accompanying it, I take my pen to address you a few lines to let you know that I am still living and enjoying good health though not so comfortably situated as I could wish, however I must put up with that part as well as I can and live in hopes of at any rate going out next spring. I am sorry to inform you that the Columbia has again been prolific in misfortunes, in fact more so than ever, in the first place the loss of the Isabella which although not attended with such melancholy circumstances as the wreck of the William & Ann caused a great commotion in the lower part of the Columbia and had not Dr. McLoughlin gone down himself I do not doubt that something very disagreeable would have taken place, even as it was he had some difficulty in keeping things together, the next on the list of misfortunes was Mr. Ogdens loss at the Dalles, one of his Boats was swallowed up in a whirlpool and nine men and a woman and two children perished and I am sorry to say what I met with a similar accident in a Rapid

a little above Okanagan one of my Boats struck upon a stone and upset and seven of the crew perished, add to all this misfortune the Intermitting Fever which broke out here in August and was still (when I reached this on the 1st Nov'r and for some time after) raging with great violence most of the inhabitants of the villages in this vicinity were carried off by it and a number of the women and children of the Establishment also some of our men Mr. Anderson died in December in fact that has no less than twenty-four of the Companys servants paid the debt of nature in some shape or other. It is really alarming to think of the number of deaths that have taken place in so short a time. I am afraid it will prevent people from volunteering for this side of the mountains. I am not however aware that many were ever over-anxious on that score but on the reverse rather desirous of keeping from it as long as they could. I know it was the case with me, though now was it not for my private misfortune I should be very well satisfied with my situation, but at all events would by far prefer going and coming from F F yearly—this arises from an unselled [unsettled] disposition for I am never contented long in the same place.

Our vessels sailed in Nov'r, The Dryad Captain Simpson for Monterey laden with salted salmon and Deals and with the same commodities we are now daily looking out for them and when they arrive the famous Nass expedition will soon be set on foot, this Expedition was to have started last Fall but so many of our people were laid up with the Fever that rendered it altogether impossible to budge in fact when I reached this there was only one man on board the Dryad able to do duty all the rest were under the Hatches.

Mr. Simon McGillivray reached this on the 6th Jan'y and after regalling himself a few days at this place took his departure for Walla Walla to replace Mr. Barnston who intends to return at least to the East side of the Rocky Mountains Messrs. McLeod, Kittson, Pamburn Annance and Douglas are by the present arrangements to accompany the Express besides Messrs Connolly and McDonald who passed via Peace River this makes a great hole in our complement of Gentlemen a number of recruits will be wanted but really I do not see where they will come from, there are now very few who have not tasted the sweets of the Columbia and New Caledonia and it would certainly be considered hard to send those back who have already passed three or four years and have had the satisfaction of getting safe out of it.

I am sorry to inform you that our Returns have this year fallen off at least at this place and what renders it more disagreeable our expenditure is greater but I hope the ensuing campaign will turn out something handsome.

Wishing you a pleasant meeting with your family I remain

Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

J. E. HARRIOTT.

Beaver Growing Scarce.

Peter Skeen Ogden, who later became Chief Factor of New Caledonia, continued on the West Coast until, at the age of sixty, he died in Oregon City^d at the home of his son-in-law, Archibald McKinlay, in 1854. In this chatty letter he gives some quaint views of life as well as news of the day.

John McLeod, Esq'r
&c. &c. &c.

Col. River.
Vancouver 10 March, 1831

My dear Sir,

On my arrival last Feb'y from my Trapping Excursion I received your friendly favor from Norway House dated August 1829 and was glad to find from it that you did not include me amongst the evil disposed towards you—pray what motive could I have to injure any man even granting he had injured me it would in my opinion be a miserable retaliation. On the arrival of Mr. Harriott in the Fall I was dissappointed in not hearing from you but as he informed me you were making preparations for a voyage across the Atlantic on the plea of ill health this I trust you are again in the enjoyment of and I am fully convinced a visit to their Honors occasionally in Fenchurch Street with some well tim'd remark is of more service than 10 years hard labour in this Country and will eventually well repay you the money you have expended while in London. Our friend Lewis has succeeded and I consider him a fortunate man but still more so old Capt. McKenzie who long since I had consigned to his grave and who really is not in want, but no doubt all these things are wisely ordain'd and every man's time will come in the course of time. I am so much harrassed here that I shall not enter into particulars but refer you to Mr. Harriott who intends writing you a long letter we have spent the winter in the same room. Bachelors and have both behaved uncommonly well a good change in me, since you left the Columbia I have increased the number of my children by ten and although I should remain Fifty years longer in the Country not one more will add to the number the Bachelors Flag I have hoisted and if ever I leave it, it will not be in the H. B. Coys territories. I was not so successful in my last years Trapping as the year preceding although I extended my trails by far greater distance to the Gulph of California but found Beaver very scarce and unfortunately below the main Dalls of the Col. my own Boat was engulfed in a Whirlpool and 9 men drowned. I had a most narrow escape—on my arrival here I found from the Committee Letter I was appointed to form an Establishment at a place called Nass about 10 degrees to the Northward of this and was to have sail'd last Fall but an infectious fever made its appearance amongst the Natives carried off upwards of two hundred and our servants unfortunately took it and for three Months

we had no one at our command. We are now again making preparations for this same place. I know not what success I may meet with there but I am not of the opinion our wealth will be increased.

Our friend Work has succeeded me in the Snake country I accompanied him as far as Nez Perces and gave him a fair start—surely this man deserves a most substantial reward than he now enjoys it is an unpleasant situation he fills I wish him every success but it is all a lottery.

Believe me to be

Yours truly

PETER SKEIN OGDEN.

P. S. My regards to Charlotte and the children

Mr. Black, Thompson River

Mr. Simon Nez Perce

Mr. Ermatinger here

Mr. Heron Colville a snug birth [berth]

Reference to Americans.

John Work here gives just a tantalizing reference to a meeting with Americans at that early date. He also pictures the dangers these daring men continually encountered.

Fort Nez Perces 6th September 1831

Dear Sir,

It is with much pleasure I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind favour of 30th July 1830, which was handed me on my arrival from Snake country about a month and a half ago. I was sorry to hear of your ill health, but hope that ere now your visit to the civilized world has completely renewed you indeed I had the pleasure to hear from Capt. Kipling that you were all well before the Ganymede sailed from London. I envy you the pleasure you have enjoyed of civilized life, which I have so long deprived myself of. I fear the seclusion of an Indian life with its want of comfort or anything like enjoyment will be very irksome to you. My last campaign in the Snake country was not so successful as I had anticipated, the return and profits were nevertheless pretty fair considering the exhausted state of the country and the great severity and unusual length of the winter, which was greatly against our trapping operations. Moreover we met some parties of Americans who had hunted some portions of the country through which we meant to pass. I escaped with a scalp last year. I much doubt whether I shall be so fortunate this trip. I am now just starting for the borders of the Blackfeet and F Head lands a much more dangerous part of the country than which I passed last year. My party is too weak for the undertaking, but from the sickness prevailing at Vancouver no more men could be spared but as this is the only quarter now where there is a likelihood of making anything we must try. The country to the southward is ruined so much

that little or nothing is to be done in it. An intermittent fever was raging at Vancouver when I left, this scourge was carrying off the few wretched natives who escaped last year, it had also attacked several of the people about the establishment. My people did not escape it several of them were taken ill, and some of them remained so badly that I am obliged to leave them here as they are not able to proceed, this I much regret as my numbers at first were too weak. Before this reaches you you will have had all the Columbian news. I need therefore not trouble you on the subject. Wishing you every manner of happiness I remain my dear sir

Yours sincerely & truly

JOHN WORK.

Beginning of Fort Simpson.

Archibald McDonald tells of the successful establishment of Fort Simpson and at the same time chats along about Fort Langley and his pleasant surroundings there.

John McLeod, Esq'r.

Fort Langley 15th Jan'y 1832

My dear Sir,

Your very usual kind token of remembrance for me, duly came to hand last fall, & I congratulate you most sincerely on the happy change in your own health within the last twelve months, this, as you say, is of all others the most valuable promotion we can enjoy & to appearance those who have the state of us in that respect, seem to make up their minds to sacrifice everything to a constant adherence to their state of commotion. There may be some policy in begging their continuance in the service, but I cannot see into it, unless tis that of making the Bench of Counsellors more respectable by being gray and venerable. I have no doubt you will find your situation in the Labrador more cheerful and comfortable than at Jack river and it may perhaps after all lead to greater renown. I am glad to hear you had so favourable an interview with the great Folk of the concern at home, & one thing certain those occasional visits to England can do a man no harm, especially when he can do it at his own expense, and with becoming respectability. Our friend Clark did not write me on his return. I wish you had given me more of his adventures. Were you and he always of the same opinion? I hear not. Mr. Stewart you must have found a most amiable man and I conceive you are very fortunate in your choice of a traveling companion—he wrote me a long letter from York and gave me some interesting news from Glencoe, Appin and Fasnacloich. From this part of the world I should now like to be doubly particular with you, and I shall expect in return the same compliment—it is but fair that we should be so, from the two extremes of America, & everybody else in the intermediate space. To begin with then, in the first

place, you will be glad to hear that I myself happily weather over another years campaign on the N. W. coast, & thank God I can further say that I have experienced nothing very unpleasant either of a public or private nature since I last had the pleasure to address you and what is more, when I add that with these blessings everything prospered, you will own that I have reason indeed, to be satisfied, I should rather say thankful. Man's life now in the Columbia has become mere lottery—your friend Joseph Moreau and 2 or 3 others were drowned at the Cascades last summer—a couple of men also perished below Alexandria in Frasers river & 10 to 1 there will be some loss in the Snake country,—this with the natural deaths make the score melancholy enough. Among the latter we have to lament the loss of poor Lieutenant Simpson who died on board his own vessel at Mr. Ogdens new Establishment last Sept of a Liver Complaint after a few days illness. In the cruise of the season he had seen the land party picketed in and secured, and then made a very successful cruise on the coast from which he was only returned 14 days when he was a corpse. Independent of his loss to the concern I regret him very much as a private friend. I am sorry to say with you in confidence however that he was not over popular with us—the cause you know as well as I do, and poor man he has now left his command and his commission to divide among them—the latter he did not live to see—a Mr. Kipling who came out with the last English vessel is now the commanding officer, and Capt. Ryan who broke the *Isabella* went home in charge of the *Ganymede*. Sinclair [Cadbow] and Duncan [Vancouver] have the 2 schooners *Nass*, you see is established, & with less risk & difficulty than was originally apprehended Mason writes me he did not find the Natives by one half so bad as those of Frasers River & the Gulf of Georgia. The spot chosen is not I believe very favourable for gardening, nor does it appear that *Nass* is the entrance of any considerable stream. The principal river thereabouts according to recent discovery made by the deceased is more to the Northward—however an acc't of the shipping and other considerations perhaps Ft. Simpson is just as well where it is for in my opinion there is no river that will lead to an easy communication with the back settlements of N. Caledonia. There is Beaver in this quarter but the price is enormous, still the Yankees stick to it and what is more strange they say they make something by their labour. Here we get rid of our opposition—a very fortunate circumstance—we are gaining by it in many respects, but in none more substantial than in a considerable increase of Trade.

Fort Langley this year is up from 1400 to 2,500 Beaver—tariff rose from 1 to Two skins the $2\frac{1}{2}$ pr. Blks—which I trust will be found a good start for one year. Our salmon, for all the contempt entertained for everything out of the routine of Beaver at York Factory, is close upon 300 Barrels and I have descended to Oil & Blubber too though not on your large scale—so that

altogether, whatever others may think of Frasers River, I am well satisfied with its proceeds myself.

Late last Fall after the Indians left the river, I ventured on a trip to see the Dr. & Mrs. Harriott—then. I had the pleasure to receive your kind letter, for Mr. Finlayson was arrived a few days before me. At that time he and Harriott were below at old Fort George previous to the sailing of the London ship. Had I arrived with them a few days sooner tis probable I would have taken a passage in her to the Islands—either the Young Factor—Harriott—or myself will go this season. I will say no more of Columbia River news. Harriott goes out this Spring with the acc'ts accompanied by Heron—your last year's laws give me 15 years of the blessed country—go who will McDonald can't budge—therefore I begin to make myself as comfortable and happy as I can where I am. Our Gardens increase our comfort in this way & I have now 4 milch cows in already killed 3 pigs this winter, and 3 more are fattening this with country resources in abundance you will own ought to keep a little establishment like mine in perfect affluence. What I regret most is the condition of the Boys—for there is nothing like early education—however I keep them at it Mother and all. My chinook now reads pretty well and has commenced cyphering. Your children must soon afford you great pleasure and happiness. Mr. James Douglas gave me a very flattering account of Flora and her education ought to be followed up. Jenny returns the kind compliment of Charlotte & sympathises with her much in the melancholy loss her family met with lately—we knew nothing of it on this side till this fall.

Now you see what an industrious correspondent I am; and within a wall of 200 ft. square to fill a whole sheet, how many would I not fill had I like you semi-traversed the Globe and back again. I flatter myself I shall this fall have something from you worthy of travel so extensive and of incidents and occurrences unquestionably interesting. Let us hear all about old friends and acquaintances in Canada. I have no letter from Edw'd Ermatinger last fall. With sincere good wishes for your good health and prosperity

I am,

My dear Sir,

With the usual regard

Yours

ARCH'D McDONALD.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Spirit of American Government. By James Allen Smith, Professor of Political and Social Science, University of Washington. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907, 409 pp., \$1.25.)

In his remarkable book, "The Spirit of American Government," Professor Smith has done in an exceedingly brilliant way what is bound to win the hearty approval and enthusiastic applause of every close student of our constitutional system and of American politics. His exposition of the constitution and political development under it should be read by every intelligent American citizen, certainly by every student of history, politics or economics. In a masterly way Professor Smith shows the undemocratic character of the constitutional machinery of our government, and his plea for democracy as over against the order of aristocracy and privilege safeguarded by our undemocratic constitution is splendid in its logical clearness and its humanitarian ring.

The author shows in a convincing way that it was the aim of the constitution of 1787 to frame a constitution, the democratic form of which would assure its ratification, while it should be so constructed as to guard the government as much as possible from the supposed tyranny of the majority, and be also so capable of elastic construction as to enable the federal party to strengthen the central government and to limit effectually the power of the people. "It may be said without exaggeration that the American scheme of government was planned and set up to perpetuate the ascendancy of the property-holding class in a society leavened with democratic ideas" (p. 298). "While honestly believing that we have been endeavoring to make democracy a success, we have at the same time tenaciously held on to the essential features of a political system designed for the purpose of defeating the ends of popular government" (p. 303).

In his opening chapter Professor Smith gives a brief but clear and adequate characterization of the development of the system of checks and balances in the English government, showing their non-democratic character down to the Reform Bill of 1832. The next chapter discusses the democratic influence of the Revolution on colonial government, the significant mark of which influence was the tendency toward supreme legislatures. The conservative Loyalist element, rendered ineffective by the

political reorganization following the Declaration of Independence, asserted itself after the Revolution. Upon the return of peace this element of conservatism, representing so largely the wealth and culture of the colonies, regained some measure of its influence, swept away by the Democratic wave of 1776. The strength of this class was augmented, too, by that part of the Revolutionary party that did not subscribe to radicalism. Then too hard times resulting from the economic disturbances of the time, in part at least one of the fruits of the war favored reaction. Distress and discontent were abroad in the land, consequently any change was apt to receive a popular welcome. Thus can be explained the reaction from the democratic tendencies of the Revolution—a reaction that found expression and embodiment in the federal constitution, which even today, because of its non-democratic nature, forces upon us a continued tolerance of abuses that belong to the aristocratic order of privilege and blocks the path of American democracy in its march toward the goal of social improvement. Consequently, at the present time, as Professor Smith so well says, "We are trying to make an undemocratic constitution the vehicle of democratic rule (p. 31)."

The constitutional convention desired not only to establish a strong and vigorous central government, but also a stable one that would not be dangerously responsive to public opinion, a government that would restrain democracy. Hence they placed in the constitution only such features of popular government as they deemed necessary to assure its adoption. Among the non-democratic features of our fundamental law is its difficult provision for amendment. Difficulty of amendment makes for conservatism and tends to thwart popular desire for change—change demanded by general social progress. The history of our attempts at amendment is ample proof that those conservors of property and propertied interests in the convention did their work well in so far as the power of amendment is concerned.

Our author points out clearly the non-democratic character of the federal Supreme Court. The absolute presidential veto to operate directly on acts of Congress and indirectly on State legislation, proposed by Hamilton, has become vested in our Supreme Court, whose powers are unique in the history of government. This power of our courts was not granted, however, by the constitution. It was developed by interpretation under Federal party rule. The Supreme Court itself established its own autocratic authority, which makes it impossible for the people

to enact effective laws without the consent of the judiciary, if any one by suit disputes a law. Men favorable to the federal ideal of centralized and more or less aristocratic rule were our first justices and so the Federal party was able to carry out the spirit of the constitution, the spirit of the protection of property and vested interests against the rule of the majority. By judicial interpretation, not by constitutional grant, the Supreme Court has become in our political system what Professor Burgess has called "the aristocracy of the robe," possessing a veto power on legislation and a power of amendment that the constitution denies to the people. Under a democratic government the people have the right to both secure such legislation as they want and to prevent such as they do not want. In our system, however, the veto power of the judiciary makes this impossible, in which veto power survives the monarchic principle of supreme power and supreme wisdom. In connection with his able discussion of our judicial system, Professor Smith asks this pertinent question: "One may well ask, after viewing these decisions (legal tender, interstate commerce, income tax and insular cases) if constitutional interpretation as practiced by the Supreme Court is really a science in the pursuit of which the individual temperament, personal views and political sympathies of the justices do not influence the result? Have we gained enough under this system in the continuity and consistency of our legal policy and its freedom from class or political bias to compensate us for the loss of popular control?" Our whole legal and judicial development characterized by its extremely tender regard for property and vested interests has furthered alliance between our legal class and corporate power, and the reviewer is not certain that Professor Smith is right in implying that our legal policy has been free from class bias and from political bias in so far as politics have been related to class interests.

As to the system of checks and balances in our constitution, "It is to be observed, then, that what originally commended the system to the people was the fact that it limited the positive power of the king and aristocracy, while the framers of the constitution adopted it with a view of limiting the power of the people themselves."

It is significant, as Professor Smith points out, that the executive is not bound to execute the laws of Congress. His oath of office is to "execute the office of President * * * and preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

With Richard Henry Lee we may say that "The only check to be found in favor of the democratic principle in this system (of checks and balances) is the House of Representatives, which, I believe, may justly be called a mere shrèd or rag of representation."

The constitution marked off the limits of federal and State jurisdiction, without specifying how the federal and State governments were to be kept within their respective boundaries, but the federal government found a means of protecting itself by calling into being the judicial veto, which made operative checks upon the authority of the States, but where was the power of checking the federal government? As Professor Smith says, "To carry out in good faith what appeared to be the purpose of the constitution, i. e., to limit the authority of the general government as well as that of the States, it would seem to be necessary to make each the judge of the other's powers (p. 169)." The author quotes the significant observation of Von Holst, "Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances."

Not only was our government undemocratic in the beginning, but popular control over the only element in the government representing the people, the House of Representatives has become less and less effective as our political system has developed. A newly elected house does not meet in regular session until thirteen months after its election. Its second regular session does not begin until after the succeeding Congress has been elected. Consequently a Congress often legislates for a people by whom it has been repudiated (p. 189).

Our party system is in complete rapport with the irresponsible character of the government. A strictly party system is repugnant to minority rule. Such a system enforces a rule of the majority. The American political party, however, while professing to stand for majority rule, has become an additional and powerful check on the majority. The constitution has so checked the power of the majority that the American political party makes promises knowing that it will probably never have power to carry them out, whereas an English political party makes promises that it knows it will be expected to fulfill, and finds itself

able to do so if elected. Hence, while the English party is responsible, the American party is not. Consequently American citizens are not enthusiastically interested in their parties, whose promises so often mean nothing; while the office-seeker and the franchise grabber is interested in what the party may be able to get for him. Our party system thus discourages unselfish, public-spirited party interest, while it appeals to those who use politics for selfish ends. The machine politician and his corporate allies tend to dominate our party politics, an evil condition that is traceable to the checks of the constitution on the will of the majority. The evils of our party system "are the outcome, not of too much, but of too little democracy."

The State constitutions also reflected the reactionary movement that was given such clear expression to in the federal constitution, the judicial veto being established and difficult processes of constitutional amendment being adopted. In a State, a political party may conceivably secure a two-thirds majority in the Legislature, but its lack of responsibility to the people and its connection with national politics make it an untrustworthy instrument for amending a constitution. The reactionary changes in the State constitutions were due in part to the non-democratic reaction and in part also to an emulative spirit in the people, who were deluded into believing that the constitution was a perfect embodiment of the principle of democracy. This emulative and venerative spirit did not, however, lead the States to adopt indirect election of Governor and Senate. Furthermore the State conservative reaction was followed by a new democratic movement, resulting in making the State judiciary more amenable to the people than the corresponding branch of the federal government. However, "the relatively long term for which judges of the State supreme court are elected, and the plan of gradual renewal makes this body the most conservative in the State government. The State government differs from the federal in having a multitude of executives, in local officers and State boards and commissions, a condition of divided responsibility that invites corruption and corporate control. The city, the home of so much of our political shame, has been denied home rule and has been made the subject of exploitation by party machines. While some steps have been taken by way of constitutional amendments to reduce State control of municipal affairs, yet even the provisions granting considerable home rule embody limitations and restrictions that put a great check on majority rule.

Besides, judicial interpretations of these constitutional provisions have robbed them of much of their democratic force, since the courts have held that cities must govern themselves in conformity with the constitution and laws already enacted and to be enacted. Professor Smith makes a powerful plea for a larger measure of municipal freedom in the matter of taxation and indebtedness, a measure of just freedom that has not been allowed even by State constitutions most friendly to home rule (p. 272). The purposes of debt limitation are discussed by the author in a most interesting and enlightening way, showing in particular how these limitations were intended to protect the propertied and capitalistic classes and that they constitute another expression of the distinguishing feature of the spirit of American government, distrust of majority rule. The author shows the tendency in municipally owned water and light plants to a policy of profit for the benefit of the taxpayers at the expense of the general users of the water or light. These arguments are supported by interesting statistics (pp. 278 ff). The establishment of universal suffrage has worked against home rule in cities by making the conservative element in control of state politics anxious to control the cities also. This desire has been furthered by corrupt politicians and grasping business interests so that our municipal conditions are the natural result of an alliance between conservatism and corruption. Although he does not call it by that name, Professor Smith points out that it is "the business man's government," not the influence of the ignorant and vicious, except the reviewer would add in so far as they have been used by the "business man," that is the source of our city fraud and corruption. It is "the big graft," as Dr. Frederic C. Howe calls it, that makes our cities a political disgrace. "The evils of municipal government are not the evils of democracy, but the evils of a system which limits the power of the majority in the interest of the minority (p. 290)."

In his chapter dealing with individual liberty, the author gives a splendid discussion of the eighteenth century doctrine of individualism in its political bearings, both in England and in America after the Revolution. With splendid clearness Professor Smith repeats that whereas once "the many advocated the limitation of the power of king and aristocracy in the interest of liberty," the conservative classes in 1787 advocated the limitation of the power of the many for the protection of the propertied few. The extreme and too often unjustifiable tenderness of the

courts for property and vested interests is discussed in a telling way.

The next chapter contains a splendid discussion of the tariff, the contract labor law and immigration in relation to labor. There is a protest against the greed that secures a tariff and with a cry of pretended humanitarianism and democracy clamors for free immigration—in order that American labor may be cheap, an immigration, beginning with that of African slaves, that has given us most serious political, social and economic problems, and has made easier the way of the political boss and the grasping corporation in its greedy pursuit of gain.

Hope of amending the constitution lies in the development of democracy in the States, since Congress must upon the application of two-thirds of the State legislatures call a convention to propose amendments. Such a convention may well throw overboard the present constitution as the fathers did the Articles of Confederation and propose a constitution that will ensure majority government. This possibility may at least serve to frighten the interests profiting by the present order into allowing some constitutional concession to democracy.

In State and local politics, broadening of the suffrage, secret voting and the direct primary make conditions less undemocratic, but there is needed in addition to these some means of insuring the responsibility of public offices after election. This may be secured by the recall, while the initiative and the referendum will bring in much democracy into our State and municipal governments. "It is through our State governments that we must approach the problem of reforming the national government. Complete control of the former will open the door that leads to eventual control of the latter. Democratize the State governments, and it will be possible even to change the character of the United States Senate. With a State Legislature directly nominated and subject to removal through the use of the recall, it will be possible to deprive that body of any real power in the selection of United States Senators. Under these conditions the Legislature would merely ratify the candidate receiving a majority of the popular vote just as the electoral college has come to ratify the popular choice of the President. In this way direct nomination and direct election of United States Senators could be made really effective, while at the same time preserving the form but not the substance of election by the State legislatures (p. 357)."

The author discourses in a most enlightening way on the effect upon morality of a transition from minority to majority rule. Much of the apparently greater immorality of today is due to our higher ethical standards, while the means of discovering offenses against society are far greater and more effective today than in the past. There is of course some increase in evil because of the abandonment of the old superstitious belief in future rewards and punishments, but this increase is but temporary and need give us no great concern. Our whole system of business fraud and political corruption is an effect of the struggle between the old system of minority rule and the coming system of majority rule,—corruption is used to combat majority rule. The widespread disregard of law that characterizes American society today is explained by the struggle between the minority and the majority principles of government. We are not declining in morality; we are struggling toward a higher plane of existence.

In his concluding chapter on democracy of the future, Professor Smith discusses democracy and the heaven it brings into society. Democracy is as an intellectual or a moral movement according to our viewpoint; intellectual, in that it presupposes a more or less general diffusion of intelligence; moral, in that its aim is justice. Everywhere democracy stands for political and social reform. On its economic side it protests against the small share that the masses have received of the results of our great material progress and demands control of the State in order that economic justice may be achieved.

Our author shows that in our artificial social environment, survival is too often of the unfit, an idea that in the opinion of the reviewer cannot be too vigorously and persistently proclaimed. Under present conditions those who survive are but too often fit only for their immoral or unjust environment, which worship of success too often mistakes for a natural or at least desirable environment. "Success is a matter of adaptation to the environment, or the power to use it for individual ends,—not the power to improve and enrich it. The power to take from, is nature's sole test of fitness to live; but the power to enrich is a higher test, and one which society must enforce through appropriate legislation. * * * The problem which democracy has to solve is the problem of so organizing the environment as to assure progress through the success and survival of the best (p. 402)."

RAYMOND V. PHELAN.

The Eleven Eaglets of the West. By Paul Fountain, author of "The Great North West and the Great Lake Region of America." (London: John Murray, 1906, pp. x, 362.)

This book is the attempt to describe the reaction produced by a series of tours through the Western States at a time when these were still practically unsettled. These States are designated as the eleven eaglets, a truly significant term, and comprise California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Nevada. There is no continuity in the trips described, as they cover a number of years and many separate expeditions.

Mr. Fountain's book is written with such a peculiar style and arrangement as to keep it from ever becoming a popular account of a voyage, and its lack of order and accuracy destroys any historical or scientific value it might otherwise possess. At a great many inopportune places the author takes occasion to manifest a childish resentment against his previous reviewers, and replies to all criticisms that it is his way and therefore the correct manner for him to write, which may all be true, but which undoubtedly works a hardship on the readers of the book. It is at any rate not overly pleasing to have the description of some sublime scene interrupted by such a tirade. It is also exceedingly difficult to find out just where the author is supposed to be, as the results of several journeys are lumped, as it were, and no distinctions as to time are made. Altogether, the book in this respect is very vague and unsatisfactory. Of course this gives one a sort of snap-shot of the country under view, but after all the snap-shot is blurred in outline and very badly out of focus. Many of the descriptions resemble those we read in a hotel prospectus, as they are hackneyed and use all the conventional adjectives, especially in those scenes with which we are all more or less familiar, by description at least; such as the Grand Canyon, Yosemite and Yellowstone. Mr. Fountain does not seem to realize the beauty of simplicity, as there is too much ornate description and not enough of the simple and deep appreciation of nature.

Mr. Fountain's trips were no doubt very interesting, and a clear-cut description of them would be delightful reading and would possess great historical and scientific interest as being an account of a by-gone day. But no one cares to read page after page of description, always couched in the same language, and when the scene is not clearly defined. There are rarely descriptions of the people or towns of the trip.

The author is a firm believer in the Indian of James Fenimore Cooper, and holds that all his faults are the results of the unjust and unfair treatment he has continually received. Many of the faults of the Indians are undoubtedly the results of civilization, but it is equally true that the Indian before the coming of the white man was not the model that the author harps on. "In North America, in the Rocky Mountains, and east of that range, I have found the Indian a courageous, manly and noble-hearted fellow—a man such as Cooper and other writers of the past century, who had a personal knowledge of him, have painted him." In another place he remarks that "Generally speaking, the scientific writers on the red man know nothing worth knowing about him, his original distribution, language, habits or religion." Mr. Fountain, however, is quite willing to supply this lack of knowledge, and to deride all scientific study of the Indian as well.

Another frequent assertion that can hardly be accepted is the statement that "No wanderer need perish in any of the wilds of America. I am convinced that the Northern Continent could be tramped across with ease by anybody worthy of the name of a backwoodsman." Most of the inhabitants of pioneer towns remember well authenticated cases of experienced woodsmen starving in the wilderness, and the author himself came very near perishing of thirst in the desert regions. Yet again and again statements like the above are met, so often, in fact, that the repetition becomes most exasperating.

Mr. Fountain, had he been sufficiently capable, might easily have produced an account which, like Bates Naturalist on the Amazon, would have become a classic. But the more scientific aspect of the story of his travels is perhaps even more disappointing than the merely descriptive element. The author had an unrivalled opportunity to become acquainted with the habits and habitat of many of our fast-disappearing animals, but most of his work consists of the mere cataloguing of names. At times there can be found a whole page or more of names of the animals and plants seen, but this list is of no value inasmuch as the area included under the list is so large, practically a whole State being considered at a time, and there is no indication of the time of year at which the list was made out. If such a list had been carefully compiled it would have been exceedingly valuable for a study of the changes in distribution which have taken place, but this golden opportunity has been neglected. Even the catalogue as given is frequently incorrect, as there is no attempt at

a scientific nomenclature and there are mistakes in the common names, such as calling a katydid a kittydad, and speaking of the wapiti as the wipiti. Such mistakes discredit the entire account. A great deal of the possible scientific value of the book is destroyed by the fact that Mr. Fountain is a confirmed, bitter and unreasonable enemy of any evolutionary doctrine, and an equally firm believer in the outworn and outgrown special creation theory. He says: "I do not accept the theories of professional naturalists, having a first-hand proof that many of the most widely accepted of their doctrines are of no real value; and I am satisfied that animals occupy the habitats to which they were originally appointed by their Creator. But it may not be out of place to ask the advocates of animal emigration how it happens that such creatures as the burrowing owl (which has but the poorest power of flight) and rattlesnakes, and a thousand and one other creatures with no particular powers of locomotion, have not found the Rockies, to say nothing of the mountains of Central America, and such rivers as the Mississippi and the Amazons, an insuperable barrier to their wanderings?" This is a fair example of the scientific reasoning to be found throughout the entire book.

On the whole, Mr. Fountain has not written either an entertaining book or a useful one. The book suffers from too much discursiveness, a lack of an extensive and definite vocabulary, and from the poor style and arrangement. It is not a useful book because of its indefinite and vague statements, its frequent mistakes, and the opinionated attitude of the author, together with his frequent tirades against the holders of beliefs differing from his own.

SISTER INGER ANTHON.

The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-16. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Edward G. Bourne. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 2 vols.)

While many of the publishers are competing with each other in the publication of elaborate and artistic limited editions of the journals of the early travellers and explorers, it is a pleasure to welcome "The Trail Makers," a series of journals at a popular price (\$1 each).

This edition is translated from the French one of 1632. Prof. Bourne selected this edition because it "is in a very definite sense a revised and final edition by the author of his earlier publica-

tions," and also because Champlain appears "not only as a narrator of his own explorations, but as the historian of the earlier French discoveries and as the earliest French writer on colonization."

All the previous translations of Champlain's writings have been used as guides, though there can obviously be few variations in a true translation. The voyage of 1603, which was reprinted in Purchas His Pilgrimes, is also included in this edition.

The value of such a source as this is hard to overestimate. The impression gained is more vital and lasting than any story at second or third hand can be.

The "History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark" (3 vols.) appears in the same series, with an introduction written by Prof. John Bach McMaster, who also supplies the historical notes.

This edition is a complete reprint of the Biddle edition of 1814, to which all the members of the expedition contributed. This edition, it will be remembered, was compiled by Nicholas Biddle out of a total of over 1,200,000 words. More elaborate editions have been made since the re-discovery of the Lewis and Clark manuscripts, but the price is almost prohibitive except for very large libraries. "The Trail Makers" series is planned for those of more moderate means.

The publishers claim for the series "The advantages of an interesting, straightforward, consecutive narrative over an exhaustive and exhausting compilation of all available material."

"The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and His Companions" (1 vol.) is a later issue in the same series. This volume is translated by Fanny Bandelier and the introduction is written by Ad. F. Bandelier.

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were the first whites to cross North America, having made the trip from Florida to the Pacific Coast in 1528-1536.

The original of this translation was published at Zamora in 1542 and only two copies of it are known to exist. One at the Lenox branch of the Public Library of New York, the other at the British Museum.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

An Introduction to the English Historians. By Charles A. Beard. (New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.60 net.)

This volume of nearly 700 pages is another evidence of the progress we are making in the teaching of history. It consists

of fifty-four extracts of varying length from the standard histories of England and is an attempt to place a satisfactory body of reading in English history in such shape as to be convenient.

Reading in history outside of the text-book is now almost universally required and that question need not be argued.

The problem confronting the teacher in schools having small library facilities, or with large classes, is to get this reading done carefully and critically and at a time when the particular topic is reached in the text-book or lectures. Every live teacher has attempted to solve this question in some way.

Prof. Beard's book is a very creditable attempt, and we think a reasonably successful one. With this book in the hands of the pupil the teacher can know that a reasonable amount of the best writing on English history is within reach of the pupil. Careful study and discussion can be insisted upon.

Further study and reading are of course not prevented; in fact, the author's purpose is to stimulate the student to further reading.

Teachers will differ, perhaps, as to the selections chosen, but it is sufficient to say that every one is good, if not the best.

Prof. Beard has done a helpful piece of work, and the book will undoubtedly have a wide use, both in college and high school.

A detailed table of contents cannot be given here, but a few extracts may be noted as indicative of the scope of the book:

"Alfred the Great and English Learning," Green, conquest of England; "The Mediaeval Guilds," Ashley, economic history, etc.; "John Wyclif and the Church," Trevelyan, England in the age of Wycliffe; "Charles I. and His Accusers," Gardiner, history of the great Civil War; "Walpole and His System," Morley's Walpole.

Each extract is preceded by a short introduction, accompanied by exact reference to the original text, and followed by a brief bibliographical note.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

King Philip's War. By George W. Ellis and John E. Morris. (New York: Grafton Press.)

The narrative and references are the work of Mr. Ellis and the copious biographical and local notes that of Mr. Morris.

The authors have made extended use of the sources in writing the book, but seem not to be able in telling the story to free themselves from the necessity of citing and quoting.

Parkman made perhaps as careful use of his material, but his style is not loaded down with the evidences.

Philip's war does not stir the blood in its narration like other wars, perhaps, and our authors have added little to the facts in the telling. The campaigns are ragged and detailed to a degree. The material in the hands of more skillful writers would make an interesting story. This one is far from interesting.

Yet the work is not without its value. One feels that a great amount of time has been spent in collecting the data.

Numerous passages show us the grim God of the Puritan. We see the curious conceptions of life and duty as they framed themselves in the Puritan mind, and at times one wonders who were the real savages—Puritans or Indians.

The policy toward the Indians almost consciously calculated to drive them to desperation is adequately told. Instead of finding in their inhuman treatment of the Indians the cause of the uprising, they saw only a permission given by God "to the barbarous heathen to rise up against and become a smart rod, a severe scourge to us," for such an unpardonable crime, for instance, as was committed by some women "wearing borders of hair, and cutting, curling and immodest laying out of their hair, especially among the younger sort."

The Indians as "heathenism and blood-thirsty blasphemers who made war on God's people," had, of course, no right and were shown no mercy.

The whole story is replete with savagery and makes it extremely hard to justly estimate our Puritan forefathers.

EDWARD M'MAHON.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Honoring the Memory of William Clark.

Because a number of historic spots have been marked in Washington during the last few years by the placing of bronze tablets and stone pillars, and also because of our love of the history of William Clark, the people of the Pacific Northwest will be glad to preserve in this permanent form a record of recent honors paid to his memory. The centennial anniversary of the return of the Lewis and Clark expedition to St. Louis (September 22, 1906,) was chosen as the occasion for unveiling a bronze tablet, placed on a building occupying the site of the old home in St. Louis where Governor Clark lived his last years and where he died. The tablet was the gift of the National Bank of Commerce. It was designed and erected under the direction of the Civic League of St. Louis and the Missouri Historical Society, which organizations also had charge of the ceremonies.

The act of unveiling was done by Miss Marie Christy Church, great-great-granddaughter of General Clark.

In the evening Henry T. Kent, President of the Civic League, presided. The presentation speech was made by J. C. Van Blarcom, President of the National Bank of Commerce, and the speech of acceptance was made by Judge Walter B. Douglas, on behalf of the Missouri Historical Society.

The orator of the day was Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D., of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, editor of the best edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. His subject was "William Clark: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman." This address was published in the Missouri Historical Society Collections, volume II, number 7, but notwithstanding that fact it is reproduced in this Quarterly for the benefit of Northwestern readers who might find the Missouri publication difficult or impossible of access.

Seward, Empire-Builder and Seer.

Under this title there appeared in Putnam's Monthly for June a beautifully illustrated article by Charles M. Harvey, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. The timeliness of the article is seen when it is recalled that in the same month of June occurs the fortieth anniversary of the ratification of the Alaska Purchase Treaty. Besides giving an appreciative sketch of Seward and

his work, the author refers to the purposes of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and to the plans of the people of Seattle to honor Seward by the erection of a fine bronze statue to be unveiled during the exposition.

The following paragraphs will give an idea of the spirit of the article:

"I defy any man on the face of the earth,' exclaimed Washburn of Wisconsin, while the appropriation bill was before the House in 1867, 'to produce any evidence that an ounce of gold has ever been found in Alaska.' In 1906 Alaska furnished us \$22,000,000 of gold, or three times the sum which Seward paid for the Territory. It will probably give us at least \$26,000,000 of that metal in 1907. Alaska produced more gold in 1906 than any other single community in the United States except Colorado, leaving California far behind; in 1907 it is likely to lead Colorado. And nearly all of this is from the placers. Thus far the surface of the gold-producing area has only been scratched."

"When on his deathbed, Seward was asked what he believed to be the greatest achievement of his public career of forty years, he answered: 'The annexation of Alaska. But,' he added, 'it will take the country a generation to find out Alaska's value.' This, too, was prophetic. It was thirty-four years after Seward's death—in 1872—that Congress passed the Alaska Territorial Act."

Jesse Applegate of Oregon.

Oregon pioneers held a reunion at Lafayette, Oregon, and on June 5th the meeting was addressed by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. The title of the address was "Jesse Applegate: Pioneer, Statesman and Philosopher." The address is reproduced in this issue of the Quarterly.

Professor Smith's New Book.

Raymond V. Phelan, who writes the appreciative review of Professor J. Allen Smith's new book on "The Spirit of American Government," is an associate Professor of Economics and Sociology in Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. It is especially interesting to publish the views of an educator of the Middle West on a book produced by an educator of the Pacific Slope or the Far West.

Oldest Pioneer Is Active.

The Pioneer Associations of both Oregon and Washington held their annual meetings on the same days this year—June 18 and 19. From all accounts, the most significant and interesting event of these two assemblies was the annual address of Rev. George F. Whitworth, President of the Washington Pioneer Association. Mr. Whitworth, now in his ninety-first year, is undoubtedly the oldest active member in either of these organizations. In prefacing his annual address on "The Retrospect of Half a Century" he personally visited stores, factories and offices to gather facts and statistics. The pioneers were justly proud of their aged president and his annual address. It is with pleasure that the Washington Historical Quarterly reproduces this address in this issue.

Work of Curtis Honored.

The remarkable work of E. S. Curtis, of Seattle, among the Indians of America continues to attract attention in high places. Under the caption of "The Vanishing Race" the New York Herald, in its issue of Sunday, June 16, gives three full pages of his wonderful Indian pictures and with the pictures is a most appreciative account of the thorough and artistic work of Mr. Curtis.

History in the State University.

Readers of the Washington Historical Quarterly will be pleased to learn that the Department of History is keeping pace with the remarkable growth of all other departments of the State University of Washington. Last year there were nearly four hundred students enrolled for history. The instruction was given by Professor Edmond S. Meany and Associate Professor George H. Alden, assisted by two advanced students. At the annual meeting of the Board of Regents two instructors were added to the department.

Louis J. Partow will begin his work on the European side of the subject during the coming university year. He took his undergraduate work at the University of Wisconsin and his graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the Doctor of Philosophy degree. Then he was recalled to his

Alma Mater and has been Instructor of History at the University of Wisconsin until called to this new field.

Edward McMahon is a graduate of the University of Washington. He did graduate work at the University of California and has been five years at the head of the History Department of the Seattle High School. Last year he obtained the Master of Arts degree for graduate work in the University of Wisconsin. He was then granted a Fellowship and will complete his work for the Doctorate in the same institution next year, after which he will return and take up his work in the University of Washington on the American side of the subject.

Public Documents.

Charles W. Smith, Assistant Librarian of the University of Washington, has contributed a valuable paper to the Library Journal on "Public Documents as a Library Resource." Appreciation of the article was shown by the editors of that official organ of the American Library Association when they gave it first place in the issue for May, 1907. Mr. Smith is preparing an article along similar lines with special reference to history for this Quarterly, to appear in an early issue.

In this section of the magazine will be reproduced a few of the rarest out-of-print books bearing on the history of the Northwest. The one selected as the first to be reprinted here is "The History of Oregon, Geographical and Political," by George Wilkes, published by William H. Colyer, New York, 1845. It is one of the rarest and least known books of that period just before the treaty with Great Britain in 1846, during which many books and pamphlets were published. The book includes a proposition for a national railroad and a series of letters from an Oregon immigrant of 1843.

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND
POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical
Quarterly.]

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon
Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish
Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the
United States Title.

The stream was found as Gray had described it to be, seven miles wide at its mouth, and decreasing to the extraordinary narrowness of a thousand yards, at a distance of twenty-five miles from the sea. This remarkable circumstance suggested an idea to Broughton and Vancouver when they laid their heads together afterward at San Francisco, which, if it do not give them credit for an extraordinary stretch of ingenuity, at least bestows upon them the most unquestionable title for meanness and dishonesty that could possibly be contrived. These gentlemen asserted that the **river** commenced at the distance of twenty-five miles from the sea; that Gray had not reached this point, but the part surveyed and explored by him was only an **inlet** or **sound**; consequently, the discovery of the river itself belonged of right to Lieutenant Broughton! Unfortunately, however, for these maritime lexicographers, the geographical definitions of these terms will not consent to turn themselves wrongside out, either for their purposes, or for the service of her most Christian Majesty, and "sounds" and "inlets" of the sea, despite the ungracious straining of Captains Vancouver

and Broughton, will still, as before, stand for independent arms, or friths, whose waters flowing up into the land are necessarily salt. The waters of the Columbia, on the contrary, are fresh in their whole volume to within ten miles of the ocean, at which point, by the way, Captain Gray filled the casks of his ship. The conduct of the British government in adopting such an absurd pretense as this, is sufficiently discreditable; but when contrasted with the assumption in favor of Meares, it receives an additional tinct of dishonor, and betrays a desperation of motive approaching to insanity. In a **Statement*** presented by the British plenipotentiaries in 1826, to the American minister, embracing a number of propositions of about equal weight, it is alleged that **Meares** (!) is really entitled to the merit of the discovery of the Columbia, because "he actually entered its bay in 1788, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment, a name which it bears to this day." This reasoning on both sides of the question may be considered as the climax of argument, and the world may now rationally hope to see the long standing proposition, that black is white and white is black, satisfactorily established by the transcendent genius of British diplomacy. What signifies it if the doctrine in favor of Meares lets in the superior claim of Heceta, or if the rule of Vancouver wages destruction against Meares, the proposition is fortified at both ends, and those who like may fire away at either. Glorious, wise, powerful, magnanimous England! happy art thou in the possession of diplomatists, whose sagacity has discovered that a false position backed with power, is better than a true one supported only by the illusory strength of right, and who have the moral boldness to adopt a principle, maugre the whinings of all the theoretical ideologists who dream of honor, and who waste their lives in speculative rules of ethics!

From the time of the breaking out of the war between Spain and Great Britain in 1795, up to the year 1816, the monarchies of Europe were too much engaged in wrestling with the energies of revolutionary France, and in resisting the stupendous power of the Empire, to pay any attention to a region so distant and insignificant as the Northwest Coast of the Pacific; but the citizens of the United States, whose happy geographical position preserved them from being embroiled in the inhuman strife, availed themselves of the peculiar facilities thus offered to them, and carried on the trade exclusively between the Northwest coasts and the China Seas.

[Continued.]

*See Appendix No. 6.

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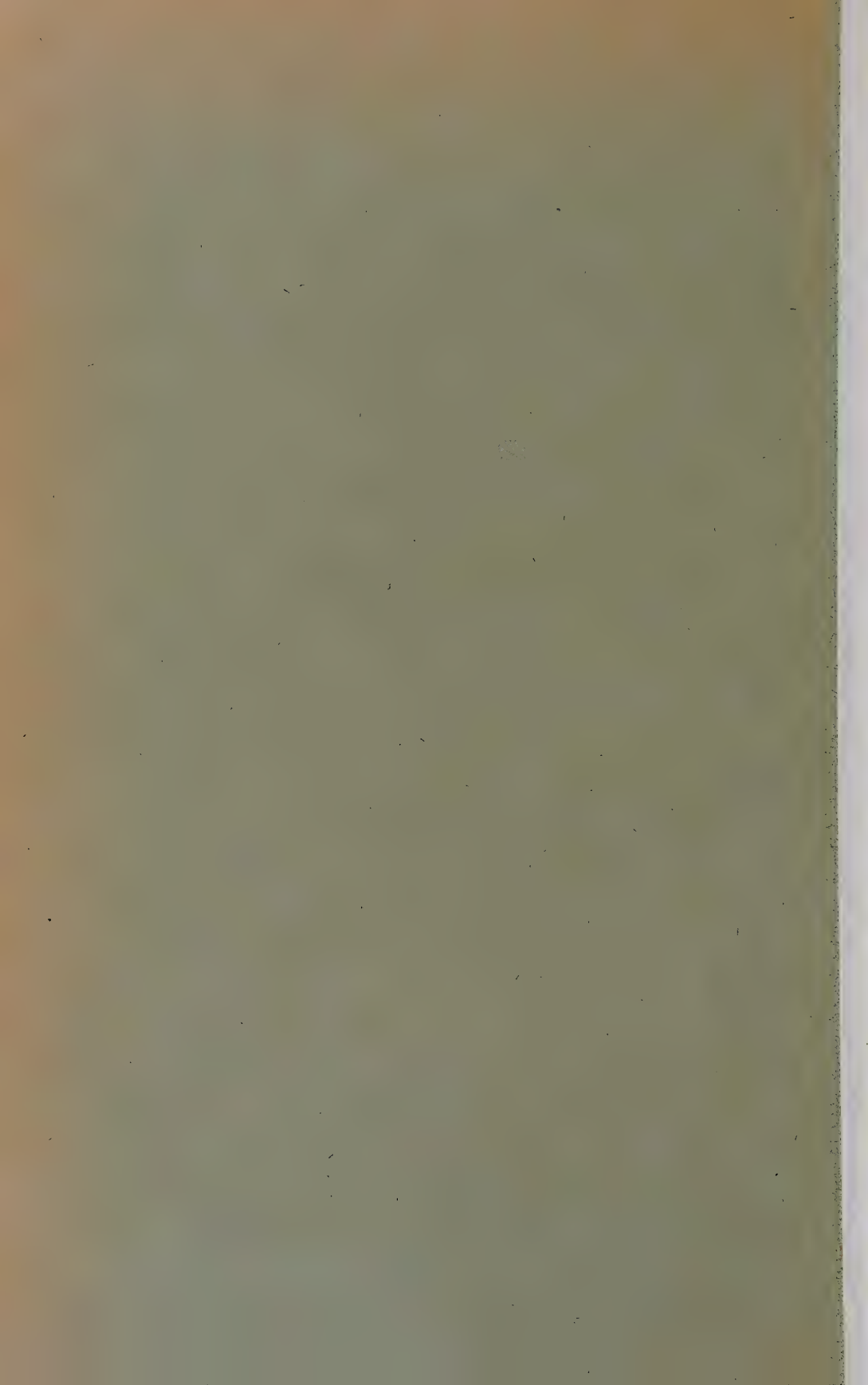
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EDMOND S. MEANY

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

SARAH LORETTA DENNY—A TRIBUTE.

In the death of Sarah Loretta Denny, Seattle has suffered a loss. The helping hand of the needy and troubled is forever stilled. But her work was well done, her rest well earned, and she went to the great Master, leaving the world the better for her having lived.

Miss Denny came from good old southern stock, both her father and mother being southerners, her father coming from Kentucky and her mother from Tennessee. In the year 1835 her parents settled in Knox County, Illinois, and there, near the little town of Abbingdon, on February 14th, 1851, she was born. It was just at a time when the fever to "move westward" swept the land, and when but a tiny baby the home was broken up, and on the 10th of April the long, tedious march across the plains to Oregon began—a march full of dangers and hardships; then, for five weary months, a prairie schooner was her home.

The family settled first on a farm near Salem, Oregon. Here they lived until Miss Denny was eight years old, when her parents again moved, this time to Seattle, where they remained, and where she made her home until her death. Here she attended the public schools and the Territorial University. For several years after obtaining her education she taught school in Seattle and on Whidby Island.

As a child her great love of nature was noticeable; flowers and pets, rather than little playmates, were her companions, and especially fond was she of all feathered creatures. No doubt this natural love of nature was developed by the grandeur of the scenery with which her life was surrounded.

Early in life she entered the church, being a charter member of Plymouth Congregational Church of Seattle. As a church

worker she was earnest, conscientious and untiring. She was an active member to within a few months of her death, when her health, much to her sorrow, compelled her to give up her work.

Her father died in 1875. She and her mother continued to live in the old home, on the corner of Third and Union, where the Federal building is now being erected. Upon her mother's death, in 1888, she made her home with her brother, Arthur A. Denny, and his family, until her death on July 25th, 1907.

The keynote of her character was to do good in secret. The main study in life, her one life thought, was to do the most good possible with what she had, whether much or little, and to do it quietly. Her unassuming nature shrank from publicity, and many a family in the time of stress and worry has been helped, but by an unseen hand; and how many times flowers and fruit were sent to the sick, food and clothing to the needy, without the name of the sender. It was not for glory or praise or thanks that she gave, but for the love of suffering humanity, the love of giving—and the thought that as she went her way she might do what she could to lessen the world's suffering. She was always ready with a smile and a word of encouragement, and was never too busy to listen to any story of real trouble, and then to help in her own quiet way.

Miss Denny possessed a strong character, a fine intellect and keen wit. She never swerved from the path of right and duty; there were no two paths for her—just the one. She was a deep thinker and a great reader, and was remarkably well informed, having time to read only the best, for time was too short and life too full to waste any precious moments on the mediocre. Her quiet sense of humor and fun, and her bright smile and witty sayings, will long be remembered by those who loved her.

"The good is oft interred with their bones" is not so with Miss Denny, for when the memory of her goodness, and the warmth of her many kindnesses have passed on with those who have known her, the good that she planned will live on and grow. Generations to come will reap the benefits of her thoughtfulness and charitableness as found in her last will and testament. In death as well as life her thought was of the suffering, the poor and needy, and her beloved church.

Her will is conceded by all to be one of the very best yet executed in the State of Washington. She remembered all her relatives with gifts of various values, and then divided the bulk

of her fortune, estimated at more than \$300,000, among the most worthy charities and public institutions. Among the bequests are the following:

The Congregational Home Missionary Society of New York.....	\$10,000
Women's Relief Society of Seattle.....	10,000
Congregational Home Missionary Society of the State of Wash- ington.....	5,000
The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.....	5,000
The Women's Board of Missions for the Pacific.....	5,000
Young Women's Christian Association of Seattle.....	5,000
Seattle Seamen's Friend Society.....	4,000
Salvation Army, for work in Seattle.....	2,000
Crittenton Home	2,000
Young Men's Christian Association of Seattle.....	1,000
Thomas and Jessie Kenney Home for Old People.....	20,000
Pioneer Association of the State of Washington.....	20,000
University of Washington, for the establishment of fellowships....	25,000
Toward founding a Pulmonary Hospital in Seattle.....	10,000
Toward a fund to aid Seattle firemen injured during the discharge of their duty.....	5,000
Seattle General Hospital.....	10,000
Plymouth Congregational Church.....	5,000

The people of Seattle are well aware that every one of those bequests has been most worthily bestowed. They reveal a fine sense of appreciation on the part of the quiet, unassuming philanthropist.

DANIEL WEBSTER AND OLD OREGON.

The lamented John Hay, Secretary of State under President McKinley, and also under President Roosevelt, and recognized as one of America's most brilliant diplomats, not long before his death awakened comment and interest by saying that the success of American diplomacy had been due to its directness. Mr. Albert Gallatin, of equal fame, perhaps, with Mr. Hay, but of an earlier period of our history, describing English diplomacy said, in a letter to his son: "Some of the Frenchmen say what is not true; here (in London) they conceal the truth." It would be of interest to note the application of these contrasts to the negotiations with England over the Oregon boundary, and particularly to the part taken by Daniel Webster therein; but first we may pertinently direct attention to the fallacy of the popular belief that Mr. Webster was indifferent, and even hostile, to American interests in the Pacific Northwest, and emphasized his real attitude during the years 1842-6 when his influence counted for so much in the settlement of that dispute.

Webster's Real View.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who ranks high as an historical authority, says: "In regard to the Northwestern boundary, Mr. Webster agreed with the opinion of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, that the 49th parallel was a fair and proper line." (American Statesmen Series, Vol. 21, pp. 257-8.) In support of this conclusion, Mr. Lodge would quote from Mr. Webster's speech in the Senate on March 30th, 1846:

"If, on the general notion of contiguity or continuity, this line be continued 'indefinitely west,' or is allowed to run to the 'northwestern ocean,' then it leaves on our side the valley of the Columbia, to which, in my judgment, our title is maintainable on the ground of Gray's discovery. The government of the United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine (with the navigation of the Columbia), and it never will. It behooves all concerned to regard this as a settled point. With respect to the navigation of the Columbia, permanently or for a term of years, that is all a matter for just, reasonable, and friendly negotiation. But the forty-ninth parallel must be regarded as the general line of boundary, and not be departed from for any line farther south." (Nat. Edit., Vol. 9, p. 73.)

He would also quote from a speech in Boston on November 7th, 1845, as follows:

"It is well known that the forty-ninth degree of north latitude is the boundary line between the western part of this country and the British provinces, as far as the foot of the Rocky Mountains. It seems to be natural enough, if the two governments contemplate a change, that they should agree to an extension of this same line westward; that the two should keep on abreast, side by side, with the same line of division till they reach the Pacific Ocean. It is well known that about where the Columbia River crosses the forty-ninth parallel it makes a turn and flows nearly southward. Very well. Suppose it made as sudden a sweep to the northward. England would then naturally say, this river, which has been making westward, sweeps to the northward; instead of making with it a great bend to the north, we will leave it and go on straight to the Pacific Ocean on this parallel of forty-nine degrees. For the same reason, it is not unnatural for the United States to say, since it proves that the river makes a circuit to the south, instead of following that circuit we will go straight upon the forty-ninth parallel till we meet the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

"This very proposition has been made to the British Government three successive times. It was made in '19, in '24, in '26—again and again to follow up the forty-ninth parallel westward from the Lake of the Woods, not only to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, but over the mountains and onward to the ocean." (Nat. Edit., Vol. 13, p. 314 et seq.)

And he would refer to Mr. Webster's declarations in January and February, 1843, through Senator Choate. (See Wash. Hist. Quar., July, 1907, p. 213.)

It must not be understood from this that Mr. Webster was an enthusiastic supporter of Western or Pacific Coast interests, or that he was a strong believer in expansion, though it is by no means proper to say that "the contrary rather is true." He was a New Englander and represented particularly the wealthy business interests of the East; and on that account he deprecated war and rumors of war that would disturb business relations. He was proud of New England against any other section of the country, and his private opinion of the Oregon country was by no means high. But as a statesman considering American rights and claims, he was consistently firm and was active in maintaining the American title to Oregon and anxious to acquire California. It has suited the controversialist to select a fragment of a letter or speech and lead up to an opinion from that, when an examination of the whole speech, or of others in connection with it, leads to a different conclusion; and in this manner the popular idea has become biased.

That Prairie Dog Speech.

The speech most often attributed to Mr. Webster, and quoted with sardonic emphasis, is what is termed the "Prairie Dog" speech, beginning as follows:

"What do we want with the vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?"

But students of our history have been for years credulous as to the author of this diatribe, and are coming to regard it as merely another of the vagaries of Rev. H. H. Spaulding and W. H. Gray. It was not Mr. Webster who said it, for his published works and the records of Congress have been carefully searched without success; and it does not ring true. Those who have used it, or continue to use it, are open to criticism as to their care or their scholarship, or the motive for doing so.

The River St. Johns vs. the Columbia.

Passing from what Mr. Webster did not to what he did say, we will examine his statements in the Senate in April, 1846, in which he contrasts the St. Johns River with the Columbia. Now, this seems, in the light of our present knowledge and pride, a foolish contrast, and at the present day he would not repeat it. But when we examine the speech itself we find that it was not one derogatory of Oregon, but a defense of the Ashburton treaty and laudatory of the St. Johns River as a valuable asset of that treaty; and the comparison is not with the Columbia alone, but with other well-known rivers. We quote:

"But Maine, I admit, did not look and ought not to have looked to the treaty as a mere pecuniary bargain. She looked at other things than money. She took into consideration that she was to enjoy the free navigation of the St. Johns River. I thought this a great object at the time the treaty was made; but I had then no adequate conception of its real importance. Circumstances which have since taken place show that its advantages to the State are far greater than I then supposed. That river is to be free to the citizens of Maine for the transportation down its stream of all unmanufactured articles whatever. Now, what is this river St. Johns? We have heard a vast deal lately of the immense value and importance of the Columbia River and its navigation; but I will undertake to say that for all purposes of human use the St. Johns is worth a hundred times as much as the Columbia is, or ever will be. In point of magnitude it is one of the most respectable rivers on the Eastern side of this part of America. It is longer than the Hudson and as large as the Dela-

ware. And moreover, it is a river which has a mouth to it, and that, in the opinion of the member from Arkansas, is a thing of some importance in the matter of rivers." (Webster's Works, Vol. 5, pp. 102-3.)

Even the last ten years have not been without exaggerated allusions to the Columbia River and its commerce, and hearing a part of this speech read without knowing the author, one might easily suppose he was merely listening to some newspaper editorial laudatory of the Puget Sound waters as against the Columbia.

Not an Agricultural Country.

The only part of Old Oregon that Great Britain seriously laid claim to after the year 1818 was that lying north and west of the Columbia River. Another quotation used to show Mr. Webster's ignorance and indifference is a sentence taken from his letter to Mr. Everett (in London), on November 28th, 1842: "I doubt exceedingly whether it (Oregon) is an inviting country for agricultural settlers." At that date the doubt was not an unreasonable one, especially for Mr. Webster, who was considerable of an agriculturalist himself and had his own ideas upon the subject. At that particular time the Oregon question was seriously before him, and he had at hand the reports of the government expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, whose exploring parties from Puget Sound to the interior traversed for the most part dense forest and trackless plain. Agriculture was then not very prevalent north and west of the Columbia (or in any part of Old Oregon); in fact, a considerable portion of that region has not yet been turned over by the plow, being too mountainous. Even in 1885 the government statistics stated that only one-tenth of the land in the whole State of Washington was good for agriculture. In the seventies people were laughed at for buying what are now the most fertile grain fields in the Walla Walla valley, and without irrigation (not thought of in 1842) the Yakima and Wenatchee lands would still be selling for a song. The Red River emigration in 1841 to settle the Puget Sound country had proven a failure, and the whole Oregon country, in the same latitude as Montreal and Quebec, might well have presented doubts to the mind of Mr. Webster as to its agricultural possibilities in 1842.

Navigation of the Columbia.

Mr. Webster has also been criticised because of his willingness to negotiate regarding the navigation of the Columbia

River, and one writer has said: "Think of our being in a war with England and she by treaty having the use of the Columbia River permanently!" From the quotation already made, it is easy to get an idea of what might have been conceded to England had it been necessary to do so, namely, the same rights the Americans enjoyed on the river St. Johns. The Columbia River might have been open to England for the transportation of raw material and the passage of boats to and from her own territory, that is, British Columbia; a privilege that would have been of actually no service up to the present time. But think of Mr. Webster advocating a clause in a treaty with England under which she would have the right to bring her warships into the Columbia River while at war with the United States!

Oregon and California.

The original Spaulding-Gray tale was that Mr. Webster was keen to trade off Oregon for a cod fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland; but when that was found to have been a false alarm the terms of the trade were changed by later writers to make it appear that California was the territorial desiderata. This refers to what is called the tripartite plan of President Tyler ("a dream of policy never embodied" he himself afterward described it), and its consideration belongs properly to a discussion to be entitled President Tyler and Oregon. Mr. Webster did not summarily reject this as impossible, but gave it little serious attention, as shown by his own letters. What we know about it from the diary of John Quincy Adams, entries on March 18-21-25-27 and April 1, 1843, serves to illustrate Mr. Adams' rancorous opinion of Mr. Webster at that time, rather than to give any accurate informaton about the plans of the administration. Mr. Webster was preparing to leave the cabinet, and his recommendations regarding Oregon and other disputed points with England were already made (see his letter to Mr. Everett, dated March 20th, 1843). Mr. Adams pressed him for information and received—to use an expression popular just now—a lemon, and a squeezed one at that, as far as Mr. Webster was concerned.

In Conclusion.

Curiously enough, the horizon of Mr. Webster's view of the future greatness of the United States did not include the Pacific Coast, favorable as he was to asserting American claims to it. He shared the careless views of other public men of those days, even of Thomas H. Benton, as to a future Pacific Republic. Wit-

ness a part of his famous speech in behalf of Oregon in Faneuil Hall, November 7th, 1845:

"I am the more confident of this when I look a little forward and see the state of things which is not far in advance. Where is Oregon? On the shores of the Pacific, three thousand miles from us and twice as far from England. Who is to settle it? Americans, mainly; some settlers undoubtedly from England; but all Anglo-Saxons; all men educated in nations of independent government and all self-dependent. And now let me ask if there be any sensible man in the whole United States who will say for a moment that when fifty or a hundred thousand persons of this description shall find themselves on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, that they will long content to be under the rule of either the American Congress or the British Parliament? They will raise a standard for themselves, and they ought to do it. I look forward to the period when they will do this as not so far distant but that many now present, and those not the youngest among us, will see a great Pacific republican nation. I believe that it is in the course of Providence and of human destiny that a great State is to arise, of English and American descent, whose power will be established over the country and the shores of the Pacific; and that all those rights of natural and political liberty, all those great principles, that both nations have inherited from their fathers, will be transmitted through us to them, so there will exist at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably farther south, a great Pacific Republic, a nation where our children may go for a residence, separating themselves from the government, and forming an integral part of a new government half way between England and China, in the most healthful, fertile and desirable portion of the globe, and quite too far remote from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country."

And even then a railroad to the Pacific was being talked of by newspaper writers in New York.

C. T. JOHNSON.

LAST SURVIVOR OF THE OREGON MISSION OF 1840.

Searchers in the field of history sometimes stumble upon the rare joy of finding a living witness of events in the long ago, events which may have become tangled in the confused records after the death of the principal actors. Such was my experience on the broad plains of South Dakota in the month of July, 1907. I was visiting the reservations of Siouan tribes with Edward S. Curtis, helping in his monumental work among the Indians of North America. He had photographed many of the chiefs and head men of the Brule Sioux and I had recorded their biographies, when Mrs. Clark, wife of the Episcopalian missionary at Rosebud, came into camp and announced that there was a very old lady in the village who would like to meet the historian from the Oregon country. Mrs. Curtis became interested, and so we three started for the home of Dr. E. J. De Bell, who for twenty-three years has been a physician and trader at Rosebud. In this home his aged aunt, whose maiden name was Sarah Ruhamah De Bell, is spending the last years of her long and eventful life.

"I am glad to meet you, friends. I cannot see you at all, and I cannot hear a word you say unless you talk right here," pointing a long-wasted finger to her forehead.

"Is it true, Mrs. Beggs, that you went to Oregon in an early day?"

"Oh, yes. I went there around Cape Horn in 1840."

"Then you must have known George Abernethy, who afterwards became the first governor of the Provisional Government of Oregon."

"Indeed, I did. He was in our party and he was a fine gentleman, too."

"Did you know Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, Gustavus Hines and H. K. W. Perkins?"

"Yes, yes. I knew them well, and many others. Name some more of them. Did you know any of these?"

"No. Most of them had died before I was born. Let me see. Did you know J. P. Richmond, who was the first missionary on Puget Sound?"

"Yes, he and his family came with us around the Horn."

"Did you know Solomon H. Smith, who taught a little school at Fort Vancouver and then married an Indian woman and settled near the mouth of the Columbia river?"

"Yes."

"Why, then you must have known Rev. J. H. Frost, who established the mission at Clatsop?"

"Glory be to God! He was my husband!"

"What!"

"Yes. You see, after we returned from Oregon Mr. Frost died, and on January 1st, 1866, I was married to Rev. Stephen R. Beggs. So I am the widow of two Methodist ministers."

This valuable clue was seized upon, and the interviewer plied the questions that brought forth a flood of information and gossip about those historic days of early Oregon. The chance dropping of a word of the Chinook jargon was like an elixir. The old lady's face brightened and she proceeded with a lengthy discourse in that language, though probably half a century had passed since she had heard it used. In those early days she and her husband had used the Chinook in their home at Clatsop, as well as in religious services among the natives.

Sarah Ruhamah De Bell was born in Colchester, January 1st, 1816, and on the same day in 1834 she was united in marriage to Rev. J. H. Frost, and sailed with him and their little son for mission work in Oregon late in 1839.

She was very emphatic in her praise of the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, especially of Dr. John McLoughlin and Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie. They were always kind and considerate. She earnestly scouted the idea that these men or any of their associates could have had anything whatever to do toward inciting the Whitman massacre by the Indians. She was equally emphatic in denying that the Catholics had incited that murder, as has been charged by some writers. She is undoubtedly the last living survivor of that missionary epoch. As is usual with such aged people, her memory was much more clear on those events of 1840 than on the events of the last half century of her life.

She remembered very well the wreck of the Peacock, one of the vessels of the famous Wilkes exploring expedition, on July 18, 1841. She says Captain Hudson was a religious man, and that very Sunday of the wreck he had held services, using as a text: "This day I will be with thee in paradise." In recording the wreck Commander Wilkes says: "It being Sunday, Captain Hudson, as usual, performed divine service." Mrs. Beggs also says that the missionaries and their wives did all they could to relieve the sufferings of the shipwrecked men. On this point Commander Wilkes bears this testimony in his final report:

"Mr. Birnie, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Astoria, Messrs. Frost and Koen, the missionaries, with several residents, came promptly to the aid of the shipwrecked crew with provisions, tents, cooking utensils, and clothing, all vying with each other in affording assistance."

The old lady remembers that soon after they had located at Clatsop the ocean beach was strewn with twenty large whales. Her husband's journal says there were forty black-fish, measuring fifteen to twenty feet in length, and two large hump-back whales. Some of these monsters took a long time to die, but all of them furnished food for the Indians. The white folks saved as much as they could of the oil. For these purposes they cleaned portions of the whale intestines and made of them rude bottles for holding the oil. Many of these rude bottles were hung in the trees until they could be carried to the mission homes. They had a few little lamps in which this oil would be used, and these were supplemented by what were called "slut lamps," an open vessel filled with oil from which the burning wick would hang, after the fashion of the stone lamps of the Aleuts.

Mrs. Frost was the richest woman in Oregon so far as china-ware was concerned. She had carefully packed her treasures and now proudly boasts that not a thing was broken in the long journey, not even the handle of the fine gravy ladle. Her largest platter had indentations in the bottom from which gravy could be ladled. Her mouth seemed to drool as she recalled those great Columbia River salmon on that large platter.

She and Miss Maria T. Ware were chums on the voyage around the Horn. At Honolulu they bought new dresses just alike. Arriving in the Columbia River, and while waiting for assignment to their several mission stations, Rev. Daniel Lee proposed marriage to Miss Ware and was accepted. On that occasion Mrs. Frost served her friend as bridesmaid.

This suggests one of the best incidents related by the old lady at Rosebud:

"When I left the States in 1839 I had a lot of fine gowns. These were all nicely packed in a barrel. When we got out to Oregon I did not need these gowns, so I just left them in the barrel. I had a bureau, too, and a fine bonnet. Now, I did not need that bonnet in Oregon, so I put it in the bureau and left it there. When I got ready to leave Oregon I took my bonnet from the bureau and found that a skunk had gnawed a hole in the top and made a nest in my bonnet. I was a good milliner. I say it, but I really was a good milliner. I learned of a good woman. So I just put a fine bow of ribbon over that hole made

by the skunk and had a good bonnet again. As we drew near Boston I had that barrel of gowns opened and selected the best one there. As my husband and I walked down the gang-plank and along the streets folks turned around and stared at us, and they fairly snickered as we entered a missionary meeting. You see, when I left for Oregon the style was short gowns with low neck and short sleeves, and I guess the style must have changed considerably before I got back and opened that barrel again. But, do you know, my husband and I did not care a bit for their stares or their snickers."

One reason for the sensation was shown by a picture of Mrs. Beggs in 1872, when she was fifty-six years old. She was then tall, plump and commanding in appearance, with a beautiful and intellectual face. Boston certainly must have been pleased at that Rip Van Winkle apparition from the Far West.

As the interview at Rosebud drew to a close, the last survivor of the old Oregon mission days said:

"I don't know how many more days there are for me in this world, but one thing is sure, you have brought a glad hour that I will not forget. Nika tiki cloh tumtum copa mika (I have a good heart toward you)."

This is an appropriate time and place to rescue from complete oblivion the name of Joseph H. Frost. A year ago the interest of the whole Northwest was aroused when the bones of Jason Lee were brought across the continent from Lower Canada and reburied with fine and elaborate ceremonies in the little cemetery he had established near the old Oregon mission more than seventy years before. Ten years ago a monument was reared over the grave of the martyred Marcus Whitman, near Walla Walla, thus celebrating the semi-centennial of his cruel murder by the Indians he was cheerfully giving his life to serve. These two great leaders earned the right of having their names cherished throughout the Pacific Northwest, but, as is so often the case in other walks of life, in bestowing honors upon the leaders, the names of their colleagues and assistants are allowed to slip into the refuse heap of forgotten history.

Not only is this true in regard to Missionary Frost, but Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his thirty-nine volume history of the Pacific States, casts mean slurs upon his character and work. Bancroft takes peculiar delight in ridiculing the missionaries, and yet the footnotes in his volumes show that he made free use of their diaries and journals in preparing his work. In volume XXIX., page 185, are two thrusts at Frost, as follows: "Frost

spent most of the summer between the missions and the forts of the fur company, apparently waiting for some one to provide a pleasant place for him." * * * "Frost being afraid of canoes, bears, savages, and, in a general way, of everything not to his liking, they made little progress, and the autumn rains came on before the green log-house was ready for use, or the mission goods had been brought from Astoria. However, by the time the December storms had set in, with the strong southwest winds and floods of rain, they had comfortable covering; but at night their floor was often covered with sleeping Indians of the filthiest habits, and through the leaky roof the water came down upon their beds."

Frost had been dead and his widow re-married for more than twenty years when Bancroft published those words, and yet it is not difficult to trace back to his source of information. When Frost left Oregon he had, as a fellow-passenger, Daniel Lee. The two planned, during the voyage, the publication of a book giving their experiences. The book appeared in New York in 1844 under the title of "Ten Years in Oregon." Bancroft drew frequently upon that little book, and from it drew the mean inferences quoted above, which a fair or impartial student would hesitate or refuse to do.

In the first place, the expedition that brought him to Oregon had brought a number of carpenters, blacksmiths and other artisans to aid the missionaries. He had a wife and child, besides himself, to shelter. He had never built a house. Now, what was more natural than that he should strenuously seek some of that expert help after he had been assigned to the lonely field of Clatsop, the farthest outpost at the very mouth of the Columbia River?

As to being afraid of canoes, every resident of Puget Sound or the Columbia River can readily recall the sensations of uncertainty, if not of fear, when first attempting to navigate in the frail canoes. It took me a long time to master one as a boy, and I combined the lessons with numerous swimming exercises.

Frost's portion of the little book referred to tells in a familiar way all about his trials and fears. In regard to Bancroft's slur that he was afraid of bears, I will let the missionary speak for himself out of his own book. He had been trying to get some of the expert help to build a shelter, but found them assigned to other stations and many of them sick with fever and ague. So he concluded to return and build the house himself with the

help of Solomon H. Smith, who was to locate with his Indian wife near the new mission home; and of Rev. W. W. Kone, who had been assigned to help him at the Clatsop station. The wreck of a large canoe manned by experts showed how well-founded was anybody's fear in such navigation. On page 282 of his book, Frost says:

"We now consulted upon the best mode of operation and determined that we would leave our families in the care of Mr. Birnie, while we would proceed immediately to the Clatsop Plain and put up a cabin. So after arranging matters as well as we could, and packing up our tools, and provisions, and tent, which occupied our time until the next day, we bid our families farewell, launched our canoe, and steered our course across Young's Bay, entered the Skapanowin River, paddled up to the head of canoe navigation, and hauled our crazy bark on shore. We now made up our cargo into packs, loaded ourselves, as we had no beast of burden, and by a circuitous route, through the marsh and across the plain, upon which we forded two creeks, reached the place selected for our dwelling about sunset. Just before we reached the place we discovered a large bear near the spot where we desired to pitch our tent; this caused us, strangers to this description of inhabitants, to hesitate; but as Mr. Smith said, 'I am not afraid of bears,' and marched on, not even deigning to notice our new neighbour, we took courage, and as we approached, the bear withdrew, and retired into the thicket so that we took possession of the place in peace, struck a fire, pitched our tent, and soon sat down to a hearty supper, which consisted of brown biscuit, pork roasted on a stick, and a cup of tea. We now united in prayer to Almighty God, imploring His direction and aid, that we might become instrumental in rearing the gospel standard in that wild place, where the enemy of all righteousness had from the beginning held unrivalled dominion."

Had Mr. Bancroft himself been educated in the East he would, under similar circumstances, manifest quite as much "fear" as is betrayed in this simple narrative.

In regard to Frost's being afraid of savages, the little journal is full of evidence that he had sufficient courage among them, and the sincerity of his efforts to improve them physically, intellectually and religiously did not, most assuredly, deserve the slurs in the Bancroft volume.

Even Bancroft has just a faint word of praise for Mrs. Frost as follows: "In February, 1843, Frost requested and received his discharge from the mission. He was suffering from a disease of the throat, which unfitted him for exposure, besides which Mrs. Frost, a kindly and cheerful woman by nature, was much broken down and discouraged."

This idea of Mrs. Frost's amiability was most likely obtained from the narrative of the famous Wilkes Expedition, published in Philadelphia in 1845, while the Bancroft book was published in 1886. In volume IV., pages 322 and 323, Commander Wilkes describes his visit to the Clatsop Mission as follows:

"On the 23d (Sunday) [May, 1841,] it was reported that a vessel was off the Cape firing guns. This made me extremely anxious to go thither, but as there was much difficulty in accomplishing this, Mr. Birnie proposed a trip to Point Adams, and a visit to the missionaries at Clatsop. This proposal I gladly accepted, and at an early hour the next morning we set out, crossed Young's Bay, landed, and after walking a mile, came to the mission, where we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Frost. Mr. Frost gave us a kind welcome at his new dwelling, which I understood him to say had been built with his own hands. [Frost, in his own journal, published a year before the Wilkes publication, tells the help he had in building the cabin.] His wife appeared cheerful and happy, and made herself quite agreeable. The house is a frame one, of one story, and contains three rooms: it is situated in a young spruce and pine grove, which is thought to be the most healthy situation here. There are two American settlers, who are building houses here, named respectively Tibbits and Smith; both of them are very respectable men, and good mechanics. This place is not susceptible of improvement, and I understood that it had been chosen for its salubrity. I understood that Mr. Frost was engaged with the Rev. Mr. Koen in cultivating a tract of land, about four miles distant. The latter resides upon the tract, and is occupied in raising a large crop and superintending cattle. There appeared to me to be little opportunity for exercising their ministerial calling, though I understood afterwards that at particular seasons a number of Indians collected to hear them.

"After spending some time with them, Mr. Birnie, Mr. Frost and myself set off for Point Adams and Clatsop village. I think, in all my life, I had never met with so many snakes as I saw during this short walk: they were on the beach, where they were apparently feeding at low water. We looked from the sand-hills on Point Adams for vessels, but none were in sight; and then we walked on to the village. It consisted of a few rough lodges, constructed of boards or rather hewn planks, of large size; the interior resembled a miserably-constructed ship's cabin, with bunks, &c.; the only light was admitted from above, near the ridge and gable-end. Pieces of salmon and venison were hanging up in the smoke of their fire. Numbers of the Indians are always to be seen lounging about, and others gambling. On the bunk-planks are painted various uncouth figures of men, and in one was seen hanging the head of an elk, which it was understood they make use of occasionally as a decoy in the chase, for the purpose of taking their game more easily. Around the

whole is a palisade, made of thick planks and joists, about fifteen feet in length, set with one end in the ground, to protect them from attack.

"The Indians of this region even now make war upon each other on the most trivial occasion, and for the most part to satisfy individual revenge. The Hudson Bay Company's officers possess and exert a most salutary influence, endeavoring to preserve peace at all hazards. It is now quite safe for a white man to pass in any direction through the part of the country where their posts are, and in case of accident to any white settler, a war-party is at once organized, and the offender is hunted up. About a year previous to our arrival, an Indian was executed at Astoria for the murder of a white man, whom he had found asleep, killed, and stolen his property.

"He was taken, tried, found guilty, and executed in the presence of most of the settlers. The culprit was a slave, and it was some time before the chief to whom he belonged would give him up. It was proved on the trial, and through the confession of the slave, that he had stolen the property and committed the murder by order of his master, who took all the stolen goods. The master made his escape when he found his agency had been discovered; and I understood that he kept himself aloof from all the company's posts until the matter should be forgotten.

"As the tide had risen so much as to render it difficult to walk along the beach, we returned to Mr. Frost's in a crazy canoe, and were very near being upset. Had this accident happened, it must have proved fatal to some of us in the strong tide that was running; we therefore felt much relieved to get again to the beach. After partaking of Mrs. Frost's good cheer, we returned to Astoria, much pleased with our day's jaunt."

Wilkes was an officer of the United States Navy. He had been instructed to visit the missions in Oregon. So this is an official report. It shows some of the savage dangers confronting the Clatsop mission, as well as a glimpse of the life and work of the missionaries. In spite of a life spent on the sea, Commander Wilkes also expresses fear of the Columbia River canoe. How silly seem the slurs of Bancroft in the face of such evidence!

It may interest some readers to recall that one of the valliant officers of the Peacock at the time of her wreck at the mouth of the Columbia in July, 1841, was Lieutenant George F. Emmons, who afterwards led an overland expedition from Oregon to San Francisco, where he joined the Vincennes of the same expedition. He was the father of Lieutenant G. T. Emmons, who in late years has become famous as an expert on the Tlingit Indians of Alaska.

Another book of that missionary epoch was by Rev. Gustavus Hines, who calls his book, published in 1851, "Exploring Expedition to Oregon." Since Hines was a fellow passenger with Frost in 1839, I naturally turned to that book expecting to find a cordial and sympathetic record of his colleague's work and life. In this I was disappointed, for there is only the briefest possible mention of the Frosts in those pages. I suspect there are hidden reasons for this show of coolness on the part of Hines. Here is a quotation from his book, pages 235 and 236:

"Four missionaries had returned to the United States, the station at Puget's Sound had been abandoned, and the four appointments mentioned above [Hines at Oregon City and Tuality Plains; Leslie at the Wallamette settlement; Waller among the Indians along the Wallamette River; Parrish at Clatsop] connected with the mission school and the various secular departments, constituted the Oregon mission, when the Rev. George Gary, the newly appointed superintendent, arrived at Wallamette Falls on the 1st day of June, 1844.

"Mr. Gary had been appointed to supercede Mr. Lee in the superintendency of the mission in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Board in New York with the latter, arising from the supposition founded in the statements of missionaries, oral and written, that they 'had been misled as to the necessity of so great a number of missionaries in Oregon,' and from the to them unaccountable fact that they had not been able to obtain any satisfactory report of the manner in which the large appropriations to the late reinforcement had been disbursed. These objections, however valid in the estimation of the Board, should not be considered as any disparagement to the character of Mr. Lee. Changes inconceivably great with respect to the Indians of Oregon took place betwixt the time the great reinforcement was called for, and the time of their arrival in the Columbia River. The natives were wasting away during the time, like the dews of the morning, so that Mr. Lee himself, on his return to Oregon with the reinforcement, was not among the least disappointed."

Then follows a discussion showing how much in error some of the estimates as to the numbers of Indians had been, how surprising the influx of white settlers since an appeal had been made for secular help for the missionaries and how the money matters had been placed in the hands of George Abernethy, who likely found his work too heavy to send regular reports to the Board in New York. All this explained the wrong impression that had resulted in the recall of Jason Lee.

No doubt there were a number of gloomy reports from the missionaries in Oregon. Mr. Frost is responsible for one of

these, for he writes, on pages 233 and 234 of "Ten Years in Oregon," as follows:—"those who have found the Indians of Oregon to be very anxious, as they have stated, to have missionaries sent among them that they might be taught 'how to worship the Great Spirit aright,' have been led into error, not being sufficiently acquainted with the beings with whom they had to do to understand the secret drift of their pretensions. And, no doubt, this is one, if not the greatest reason, why the church has been led to put an improper estimate upon the prospect of Christianizing and civilizing the natives of that region, and must now realize the consequences, namely, disappointment and regret—disappointment because the work which she expected her missionaries to be instrumental in accomplishing has not been accomplished by them; and regret that so many thousands, which ought to have been employed in the cultivation of a more promising field, have been spent in Oregon for the purpose of effecting that which, in all sober reason, ought never to have been expected."

However close to the truth, such reasoning as that would have been combatted by partisans of Lee during that period of misunderstandings.

Mr. Frost claimed no great things for himself. He was in Oregon three years and three months. During that time he endured the privations and hardships incident to his calling at such a time and place. He helped to build four houses in the wilderness, he helped to save shipwrecked men, he explored a route from Tillamook to the Willamette valley, he fed and clothed hungry and naked Indians and sought to improve them morally, physically and religiously, he strenuously and bravely opposed the degraded seamen who tried to inflame the savages with liquor, he preached the Gospel and prayed fervently on every appropriate occasion until bronchitis closed his throat, he returned to the States and published a plain, sensible account of his experiences and observations—a little book that is full of valuable information about the country and its inhabitants. This, in brief, is the record of Missionary Frost. No sensible man should slur or be ashamed of such a record. In fact, it is a page of our early history in which we may all take pride.

The mission immigration of 1840 was one of the most important events in early Oregon history. Never had so large a company sailed from the States to a mission field, and so the sailing was important also to the religious and political circles

of New York and the entire East. Jason Lee had taken with him to the East a memorial to Congress by the citizens of the Oregon country asking for the protection of the United States. This memorial was presented to the Senate by Linn, of Missouri, on January 28, 1839. On the 11th of the preceding December the same Senator had introduced a bill to organize Oregon Territory from the forty-second degree north and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. The memorial and Lee's personal appeal must have had considerable effect. Bancroft gives Rev. Josiah L. Parrish as authority for the statement that, as Farnham and Fry, shipowners, could not carry the missionaries to Oregon for the price offered by the society, the cabinet at Washington drew on the secret service fund and paid fifty dollars a head for the entire passenger list. Parrish said he did not learn of this fact until he had been in Oregon seven years. It should be remembered that Great Britain and the United States were living under the Joint Occupancy treaty, waiting for the future to settle the ownership of Oregon. This is why the large mission company excited political as well as religious interest.

The ship *Lausanne*, under command of Captain Josiah Spaulding, sailed from New York on October 10, 1839. Her large "mission family" consisted of fifty-one souls, including the following: Mr. and Mrs. Jason Lee; Rev. Joseph H. Frost, wife and one child; Rev. William W. Kone and wife; Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D., wife and four children; Ira L. Babcock, M. D., wife and one child; Rev. Gustavus Hines, wife and one child; George Abernethy, mission steward, wife and two children; W. W. Raymond, farmer, and wife; Henry B. Brewer, farmer, and wife; Rev. Lewis H. Judson, cabinet-maker, wife and three children; Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and three children; James Olley, carpenter, wife and children; Hamilton Campbell, wife and children; David Carter, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Elmira Phillips, Miss Maria T. Ware, Miss Almira Phelps, teachers; Miss Orpha Lankton, stewardess, and Thomas Adams, the Chinook whom Mr. Lee had taken with him to Oregon.

Many of those names became familiar in the stirring history of Oregon during the decade from 1840 to 1850. The *Lausanne* sailed into the Columbia River on May 21, 1840, and not long thereafter her living cargo was distributed to the various mission stations at the Willamette Falls, The Dalles, Clatsop and Nis-

qually. The earnest men and women started in with vigor to do the work for which they had risked their lives. It is not for human statisticians to attempt a tally-sheet on which to count the number of souls they redeemed from savagery. Their influence was for good among the redmen and among the pale faces who swarmed into the new lands. As the white children multiplied, the mission Indian school evolved into the Oregon Institute and that into Willamette University, which survives, a successful institution of learning at the present time. Such influences are like the tides of the ocean. No one can measure the entire length of the ebbs and floods, and yet upon them many a ship glides safely into harbor.

My chance meeting at Rosebud with the last survivor of this band of toilers for Christ will always linger in my memory. The trembling benediction she waved at our parting will brighten the pages of Oregon history, whether I read or write.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

THE WHITMAN MONUMENT.

The following statement regarding the deficiency on the Whitman monument, and the present effort to pay it, has been sent to all the Congregational churches in the State of Washington. It is hoped that those who love the history of the State and who are interested in the achievements, as well as the sufferings of the pioneers, will lend a hand toward this desirable result:

Inspired by a most pathetic appeal made by one of four Nez Perce Indians who had been sent across the western half of the continent to St. Louis to learn of the white man's God and the book of heaven, Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. H. H. Spaulding, with their wives, accompanied by a single man by the name of Wm. H. Gray, came in 1836 from the Atlantic Coast to what was then known as Oregon to teach the Indians the way of life.

Two years later a second delegation, consisting of Rev. Cushing Eells, Rev. Elkanah Walker and Rev. A. B. Smith, with their wives, also accompanied by Wm. H. Gray and his wife, who had gone East the previous year and married, made the same journey for the same purpose. Three mission stations were established, one at Walla Walla, occupied by Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray; one among the Nez Perce Indians, where Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Smith labored, and the third among the Spokane Indians, where Messrs. Walker and Eells were located. By the year 1842 two families had dropped out. Mr. Smith, on account of ill health of himself or wife, returned East, and Mr. Gray moved to the Willamette Valley, where he settled. The other four families continued to labor faithfully, earnestly, and to a certain extent successfully for the good of the Indians, until the 29th of November, 1847, when Dr. Whitman and wife and a dozen others were ruthlessly murdered by the Cayuse Indians, among whom they were living.

Succeeding hostilities made it unsafe for the other missionaries to remain longer in the country, the mission was broken up, and the work abandoned. For twelve years it was considered unsafe for Americans to live east of the Cascade Mountains.

Of the results of their work, I would say in passing, that twenty-five years after they left their fields there were found to be five hundred Christian Indians living consistent and devoted lives, and a few years later a Bible school was established among the Nez Perce Indians from which scores of young men have been sent out to preach to their own people and other surrounding tribes.

In the year 1859 Rev. Cushing Eells conceived the idea of establishing a Christian school as a monument to the memory of the first Christian martyrs of the Northwest Coast. This has culminated in what is now Whitman College.

A few years later Wm. H. Gray conceived the idea of having a monument of granite erected to mark the spot where they fell.

During the seventies he collected various sums of money for this purpose, which were deposited in one of the banks in Portland. Some time in the eighties he died, leaving this object of his life only partially completed.

Early in the year 1897 a meeting was held in the First Presbyterian Church of Portland, Oregon, to take steps to hold a suitable celebration at the half century mark of their death, and also to have erected the monument contemplated by Mr. Gray. A joint committee was appointed, of three in Portland and three in Walla Walla, and the work of securing a title to the land, of purchasing the stone, and arranging for the celebration was apportioned among the several members of the committee. The land was secured, a contract for the stone was made, it was delivered and set up, and the services were held. The contract price for the stone work was \$2,250. What Mr. Gray had collected, with accrued interest, then amounted to about \$800; other collections were made, current expenses were met, but only enough was secured to make a payment of \$1,150 on the contract for the stone work, leaving a balance of \$1,100 still due.

Shortly after this, the chairman of the committee who made the contract, and who seems to have been its financier, died, leaving the \$1,100 still unpaid. The work of raising the money to pay this deficiency languished, and then died also.

The contract was so made that there could be no lien on the monument, the claim has been outlawed, and there is no legal obligation on the part of any one to pay this sum, but for ten years now this deficiency has existed, a debt of honor, but from whom?

A year ago, when this association met in Walla Walla, an excursion was taken to the grounds, suitable exercises were held, and the fact of the aforementioned deficiency became generally known and was freely discussed. The suggestion was made that the association invite the Presbyterians to unite with them in an effort to raise the money to wipe off this indebtedness. For what seemed good and sufficient reasons, however, it was thought better that the Presbyterians take the initiative, consequently no action was taken. I would here say by way of explanation, that at the time the mission existed it was supported by the American Board, which then comprised the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed denominations. Dr. Whitman being a Presbyterian, the obligation to do honor to the sainted dead was mutual.

A few weeks later the Presbyterian Synod met in Walla Walla, at which time an informal meeting of the friends of the measure from both denominations was held, at which time a committee was appointed, composed of Rev. James C. Reid, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Walla Walla, chairman; Rev. Austin Rice, pastor of the First Congregation Church of Walla Walla, and President S. B. L. Penrose of Whitman College. To this committee the name of Edwin Eells of Tacoma was subsequently added.

This committee has had several meetings and conferences, the last being in Seattle last month, at which Dr. Matthews, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Seattle, was present. It was agreed to invite other leading and influential men in the principal cities of the State to assist, and also to refer the matter to the State organizations of the two denominations at their annual meeting this year.

At a later conference of the Executive Committee at Walla Walla, it was agreed to ask each denomination to try to raise the minimum sum of \$550.00 and to have this done before the Sixteenth Anniversary of the massacre, which will be next November, and then to hold commemorative exercises with the monument free from debt.

Messrs. Rice and Eells are here to present this matter to the association, and ask for endorsement and such other action as shall seem to them wise and best. Edwin Eells, of 1020 North J Street, Tacoma, has been selected as the treasurer of the committee, to whom any moneys may be sent to apply on this indebtedness.

We respectfully submit this matter to your careful consideration.

AUSTIN RICE,
EDWIN EELLS,
Committee.

The Congregational Association, which met at Bellingham, September 17 to 19, unanimously adopted the following resolution by a rising vote:

"We heartily commend the holding of an appropriate commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Whitman Massacre at the scene of this event in our heroic past, on November 29 next.

"We believe this should have a more than local observance, and therefore recommend that Sunday, October 27, be observed in every Congregational Church in the State as Whitman Day, and that on that day every church in the State shall share in the privilege of clearing off the indebtedness remaining on the noble monument which marks this hallowed spot, and that every church be represented at this anniversary observance."

The following letter has been sent to all the Presbyterian churches in the State of Washington:

Walla Walla, Washington, Oct. 16, 1907.

Dear Sir and Brother:

At the recent meeting of the Synod of Washington, in the City of Tacoma, October 3-5, it was ordered that, in view of the fact that Marcus Whitman was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and as such was sent as a missionary to the Indians of the Northwest, and that there is now an indebtedness of \$1,100.00 on the monument erected to his memory about ten

years since; and in view of the further fact that the Congregational Association of the State of Washington has taken steps to raise one-half of the said indebtedness before the sixtieth anniversary of the massacre, November 29, 1907, the churches within the bounds of the said synod be requested to take an offering on Sabbath, October 27, or as soon thereafter as possible, to be applied toward liquidating the remainder of the said indebtedness. By further order of the synod, the undersigned was appointed to bring this matter before all of the ministers in charge of congregations within the bounds of the said synod.

To aid you in intelligently presenting the cause to your people, I enclose herewith a brief historical resume, which I believe to be in the main authentic.

In order to encourage your people in this matter and, at the same time, to awaken a more general interest in the work accomplished by Marcus Whitman, Spaulding and their associates, it has been arranged to send to each congregation taking an offering, however great or small, a 14 x 16 photo of the statue of Marcus Whitman, which stands in front of the Witherspoon Building, our general office building in Philadelphia; this will be a valuable acquisition to your collection of missionary exhibits and is large enough to be framed and hang in your church parlors or lecture-room.

Please forward all offerings, as soon as possible after taking same, to the treasurer, Mr. Edwin Eells, Tacoma, Washington, 1020 North J Street. Also please notify the undersigned as to the amount sent to Mr. Eells, that he may be able to know just where we stand.

While our action in this matter is not prompted by any sense of legal obligation, let us feel that our interest in this the first Presbyterian martyr of this great Northwest is such that we should not allow his memory to be longer clouded by this unfortunate indebtedness. If every congregation to which this obligation is presented will only do **something** we will be enabled ere the ides of November rolls round to wipe out the whole of this debt and to plan for a celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the massacre of Marcus Whitman free from all embarrassment.

Praying that the Lord may bless you in the presentation of this cause to your people and them in making a generous offering that would be honoring to Him, I am, most sincerely,

Yours in His name,

JAMES C. REID.

We hope the Oregon churches of both denominations will likewise respond to this appeal and that the entire debt will surely be removed from the Whitman monument before the arrival of the sixtieth anniversary of his tragic death.

EDWIN EELLS.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

The operations of the United States Army were more extensive and more interesting in the Territory of Washington during the first years after the separation from Oregon than at any period since. They included several years of warfare with the Indians, and in connection therewith required the establishment of a number of military posts. The troubles with the Indians were no more than settled before another of alarming character loomed up in the San Juan Island embroglio of 1859-'60. There were also operations in military roads, some of which were opened and some merely projected, but all of which were more or less exciting in those the days of first and small things. The soldiers came and went. Barracks were built at Steilacoom, Port Townsend, Bellingham, San Juan, Colville and elsewhere, at enormous expense, and abandoned after a few years' occupancy. Fortifications were erected on San Juan Island, and others were contemplated at Point Defiance and like places. The War of Rebellion changed matters greatly, the many regular soldiers being displaced by a few volunteers, and not until nearly forty years later were there so many army posts and so many Federal troops in Washington as were here a half century ago. It is not the purpose of this article to enter in detail upon the works and movements of the United States soldiers here at that time, but merely to tell in briefest manner possible of the posts temporarily or permanently established, and equally briefly of a few of their occupants. Many of the officers at these stations became very prominent during the Civil War a few years later, going from the lower ranks to the very top, two of them—Captain U. S. Grant and Lieutenant P. H. Sheridan—becoming commanders over all. Grant was at Fort Vancouver in 1853, and Sheridan at the Cascades in 1856, and later at Fort Vancouver and at Fort Hoskins in Oregon. It may be just as well here to correct a common and oft-repeated misstatement, that these two officers were stationed at Fort Steilacoom, and that they were known to many of the old residents, slept and ate in various public houses, played billiards and did similar and many remarkable things at different places in Western Washington. Neither of these men ever lived on Puget Sound, ever visited it or ever saw it, and the stories told of them so glibly in connection with this part of the country are fiction pure and simple.

The first military posts established in Washington were in the summer of 1849, General B. Riley then having command of the United States military forces on the Pacific. Major Hathaway then landed at Vancouver, and began a station that has continued to this day; that has been favored in the past above all others on the Pacific Coast except the Presidio at San Francisco, and that now is more extensive and consequential than at any time before. Captain Bennett M. Hill came up the Coast on the same ship with Major Hathaway, but continued on to Puget Sound, where he located an army post on the prairie back of the present town of Steilacoom. The suite was occupied as a garrison for about twenty years, when it was abandoned, the land and buildings upon it being acquired by the Territory for the purposes of a hospital for the insane, and so used since. These two were the only military encampments for seven years. Colonel Bonneville succeeded Major Hathaway, and Major Larnard followed Captain Hill, at Vancouver and Steilacoom, respectively.

The forts or posts, their commanders and troops, were as here stated for the first eight years of Washington Territory:

1853.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth United States Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth United States Infantry, commanded by Brevet Major Chas. H. Larnard. While at this station Major Larnard visited Whidby Island with a few soldiers in an open boat, looking after troublesome Indians. A storm arose, the boat was lost, and he and others were drowned.

Brigadier-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock then commanded the Pacific Division. Headquarters were at Benicia, California.

1854.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain D. A. Russell.

In 1854, '55 and '56 the Department of the Pacific was commanded by Brevet Major-General John E. Wool.

1855.

Fort Vancouver—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Major G. J. Rains.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney.

1856.

Fort Vancouver—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey.

New Post on Muckleshoot Prairie—Two companies of the Third Artillery and Fourth Infantry, under Captain E. D. Keyes.

Camp on Naches River—Three companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Steptoe.

Camp on the Yakima River—Eight companies of the First Dragoons, Third Artillery, Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Colonel George Wright.

New Post at Cascades—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain C. S. Winder.

1857.

Fort Vancouver—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel T. Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney.

Fort Bellingham—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain George E. Pickett.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain D. Woodruff.

Fort Townsend—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Major Granville O. Haller.

Military Post on Muckleshoot Prairie—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Second Lieutenant D. B. McKibbin.

Fort Simcoe, Sixty-five Miles North of Fort Dalles, in Simcoe Valley, Yakima County—Three companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major R. S. Garnett.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons, Third Artillery, Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe.

En Route for Fort Walla Walla—One company of the First Dragoons, under Captain A. J. Smith.

The Department of the Pacific was commanded by Brigadier-General Newman S. Clark in 1857 and also in 1858.

1859.

Fort Vancouver—Five companies of the Third Artillery and Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris.

Fort Steilacoom—Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain D. Woodruff, at Semiahmoo Bay. Also one company of the Ninth Infantry under Captain J. J. Archer at Osoyoos Lake.

Fort Bellingham—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain Pickett.

Harney Depot, in Colville Valley—Two companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major P. Lugenbeel.

Fort Townsend—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Major Haller.

Fort Cascades—One company of the Third Artillery, under Captain J. A. Hardie.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons and Ninth Infantry, under Colonel Wright.

Escort to Lieutenant John Mullen's Walla Walla and Fort Benton Road Party—A detachment of the Third Artillery, under Lieutenant J. L. White.

General William S. Harney commanded the Department of Oregon, with headquarters at Fort Vancouver, in 1859, and in 1860, until relieved by Colonel George Wright.

1860.

Fort Vancouver—Six companies of Engineers and Third Artillery, under Major F. O. Wyse.

Fort Steilacoom—Four companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey.

Fort Walla Walla—Four companies of the First Dragoons and Ninth Infantry, under Major W. H. Grier.

Fort Cascades—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant F. Mallory.

Camp Chehalis, on Gray's Harbor—One company of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain Maloney.

Camp Pickett, on San Juan Island—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Captain Pickett.

Harney Depot—Four companies of the Ninth Infantry, under Major Lugenbeel.

Escort to Lieutenant Mullan's Walla Walla and Fort Benton Road Party—Detachment of the Third Artillery, under Lieutenant White.

En Route to the Department at the Citadel on the Missouri River, 89 Miles Below Fort Benton—Recruits, under Major G. A. H. Blake, of the First Dragoons.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission at Semiahmoo Bay—One company of the Ninth Infantry, under Second Lieutenant McKibben.

Escort to Northwestern Boundary Commission—Detachment of the Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant E. E. Camp.

"The Department of Oregon" lasted but one year, or a little more, the Department of the Pacific succeeding it, as it also preceded it.

The reader will bear in mind that the foregoing reports of garrisons and commanders were based upon the situation at each post on the 30th of June. Officers then may have been in temporary command, and occasionally were, and again posts were at times temporarily abandoned, and so do not appear in the reports.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.

Being assigned the duty of searching, for a class in history at the University of Washington, the facts pertaining to the participation of Washington Territory in the war between the States, I succeeded in finding the following:

The First Washington Volunteer Infantry was raised and organized in compliance with an order given to Colonel Justus Steinberger by the War Department under date of October 18, 1861, requiring him to enlist a regiment of volunteers in the Territory of Washington and the contiguous States, to be known as the First Washington Volunteer Infantry, for service in the Civil War, Colonel Steinberger to appoint the officers by and with the consent of the governor of the Territory.

The regiment was raised partly in this territory, partly in Oregon, and partly in California. The organization contained ten companies, or nine hundred and sixty-four men, part of whom were mustered into service at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, and part at Vancouver, Washington, and part at Fort Steilacoom, Washington. This regiment served at Pacific Coast army posts during the entire war, and was mustered out in 1866.

On May 10, 1861, an effort was made to organize a militia for Civil War duty. The proclamation calling for this organization was based on the proclamation of President Lincoln, and its purpose was to have "the militia of the Territory of Washington * * * placed in readiness to meet any requisition from the President of the United States, or the governor of the Territory, to aid in 'maintaining the laws and integrity of the National Union.'" Isaac I. Stevens was captain of the Puget Sound Rifles (Company B), organized May 25th, 1861; but a complete organization seems to have failed, and Stevens went East to become a major-general of volunteers and to fall at the battle of Chantilly in 1862.

Summarizing the services of the Territory in the Civil War, we have as follows:

(1). The organization and service of the First Washington Territorial Volunteer Infantry at Coast points, holding the In-

dians in check and doing service that would otherwise have required regulars.

(2). The continued loyalty of the people, as testified by the expressions of the Legislature.

(3). The contribution to the federal arms of one of its most brilliant officers—Isaac I. Stevens.

(4). The contribution of many of its citizens to both contending armies. Among these was J. Patton Anderson, first United States Marshal of the Territory; appointed governor in 1857, but declined; Territorial delegate 1855 to 1857; delegate from Florida in the secession convention, and later Brigadier-General of the Confederate Army. Another was John M. Wilson, appointed cadet at West Point, from the Territory in 1855, a distinguished officer of the Union Army during the war, and chief of engineers of the army, from 1897, to his retirement in 1901. Another was Charles P. Eagan, appointed First Lieutenant of the First Washington Territorial Volunteer Infantry, June 21, 1862; appointed Second Lieutenant of the Ninth United States Infantry, August 30, 1866; successively rose to be Brigadier-General of the army, and served as Commissary General from May 3, 1898, to his retirement in 1900. And still another was the Confederate, Pickett, of Gettysburg, upon whom Washington has some claim, since he served for so long and with such distinction in this Territory during the San Juan dispute.

Considering the fact that the census of 1860 showed a population of 11,594 spread over what is now Washington, Idaho, and all of Montana west of the Rockies, and that this number was considerably reduced by a general exodus to the new mines in British Columbia in 1861, we see that Washington did very well.

For the above facts I am indebted to Mr. A. N. Brown, of Olympia, and to the War Department of the United States.

FRANK A. KITTREDGE.

The letters written by Mr. Brown during this research contain much information that should be preserved for the use of future historians. His letter from Olympia, under date of 22 April, 1907, contained the following:

I would suggest that you write to the Adjutant General of the State of Washington at Olympia requesting that a copy of

the biennial report of the Adjutant General for the years 1891-1892 be forwarded to you, inasmuch as that document contains all the information on the subject available at Olympia.

The First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry was raised and organized in compliance with an order given to Colonel Justus Steinberger by the War Department under date of October 18, 1861, requiring him to enlist a regiment of volunteers in the Territory of Washington and contiguous States, to be known as the First Washington Volunteer Infantry, for service in the Civil War, Colonel Steinberger to appoint the officers by and with the advice and consent of the Governor of the Territory. Under this authority Colonel Steinberger raised a regiment which was organized partly in this territory and partly in California. Company A was organized March 21, 1862; Company C, April 7, 1862, and Company D, April 12, 1862. I am unable to give you the dates of the organization of the other companies. The organization contained ten companies, part of which were mustered into service at Alcatraz Island, San Francisco, and part at Fort Vancouver, Washington, and part at Fort Steilacoom, Washington. The report I mention gives the names of all the officers and the muster roll of Company C. This regiment served at Pacific Coast army posts during the entire war and was mustered out apparently in 1866; the exact date I am unable to give you. That data can be obtained from the War Department at Washington. In 1863 the Legislature of Washington presented to the regiment a set of colors. This subsequently was returned to the Territory, and by resolution of the Legislature in 1867 was consigned to the custody of the Secretary of State. One of the two flags is now in the possession of the Governor's office. The other flag, save for a few tattered remnants, has fallen to pieces and the remnants are in the hands of Mrs. R. G. O'Brien, wife of the former Adjutant-General of the State.

Regretting that I am unable to give you more information on the subject, I am

Very truly yours

ASHMUN N. BROWN,

Secretary to the Governor.

[Mr. Brown's letter of 26 April, 1907, contains the following:]

In the Washington Territorial session laws for 1862 you will find the resolution of the Legislature calling attention to the fact that the army posts on the Coast had been vacated by regulars and asking the commanding officer of the army on the Coast to make provision for sending troops to them. This, I assume, expressed the prevailing sentiment on the Coast that led to the authorization of Oregon and Washington volunteer regiments for home protection from the Indians and other possible enemies. This resolution was dated January 28, 1862.

In the laws of 1862 and 1863 you will find several memorials and resolutions that throw some light on the fears of our people. The Confederate privateer *Shenandoah* was loose about that time in the North Pacific and had our people somewhat rattled. For something about her see the accounts of her cruise in the various official publications; also see Lewis & Dryden's *Marine History of the Northwest*.

See the session laws of 1863 for the resolution of January 6, 1863, providing for the presentation of a set of colors to the regiment; and the session laws of 1867 for the resolution of January 16 (Council) and January 19, (House) 1867, regarding the return of the colors.

In the fall or winter of 1905 I let the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* have an article giving the text of several letters of Acting Governor L. Jay S. Turney, written in 1862, regarding the formation of our regiment. I have not a copy of that article, and do not remember the date. The letters set forth several interesting facts regarding the regiment, none very important historically, however. I found them in an old record book we have in this office. Being rather busy I cannot undertake to copy them for you, but I suggest you run through the files of the *Post-Intelligencer* (Sunday edition) from September, 1905, to February, 1906, and find the article. It was illustrated by pictures of sets of historic colors.

This same old record book contains several proclamations of Territorial Governors regarding the war, its beginning, its conduct and its close. I do not think these proclamations are in print anywhere. Also it contains the names of the officers of the Washington Territory militia in 1861, when, under General Orders No. 1 of the Territory, issued by the Territorial Adjutant-General May 14, 1861, in accordance with the proclamation of Henry McGill, acting Governor, May 10, 1861, an effort was made to organize that force for Civil War duty. This proclamation was based on the proclamation of President Lincoln and its purpose was to have "the militia of the Territory of Washington * * * placed in readiness to meet any requisition from the President of the United States, or the Governor of this Territory, to aid in 'maintaining the laws and integrity of the National Union.'" This list shows that Isaac I. Stevens was captain of the Puget Sound Rifles (Company B), organized May 25, 1861. The attempt to make a complete organization seems to have failed and Stevens went East, to become a Major-General of volunteers and to fall at the battle of Chantilly in 1862. (See *Hazard Stevens' Life of Isaac I. Stevens*.)

A tour through the session laws of the Territory during the years of the Civil War will bring to your attention a number of memorials and resolutions testifying the loyalty of this Territory during the Rebellion.

[Then follows the summary used by Mr. Kittredge, above.]

This seems to me to make up a pretty good record.

[Mr. Brown followed with a third letter, dated 28 May, 1907, containing the following:]

I am able now to give you the names and postoffice addresses of some of the surviving members of the First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry (1862-'66). They are as follows:

Michael J. Murray (Co. F), State Soldiers' Home, Orting, Washington.

James M. Thomas (Cos. F and E), The Dalles, Oregon.

George W. Easterbrook (Cos. F and E), 146 E. 26th Street, Portland, Oregon.

Abraham Bell (Cos. F and E), Macy, Miami County, Indiana.

Thomas Blackenship (Co. E or F), Watertown, South Dakota.

Daniel Dougherty (Co. E or F), Soldiers' Home, Los Angeles, California.

John F. Fraser (Co. E), National Soldiers' Home, Vermillion County, Illinois.

Hazen Squier, Lewiston, Idaho.

Isaac N. Smith, 746 Savier Street, Portland, Oregon.

In addition to these, Brigadier-General C. P. Eagan, United States Army, retired, is still living. His address can be obtained from the War Department.

These names and addresses I obtained from a special examiner of the Bureau of Pensions, who came to me with an inquiry as to whether or not a bounty ever was paid to members of this regiment to enlist. He had me stumped.

[In pursuing his search Mr. Brown wrote to Doctor Easterbrook and procured the following letter, under date of 31 May, 1907:]

In answer to yours of 28th inst. concerning the First Washington Territory Volunteer Infantry, also about its Colonel, Justus Steinberger, I have the honor to submit the following, obtained from Reference Room of Public Library of this City.

Daily Oregonian, October 14th, 1870. Helena, Montana. Yesterday in this City, Major Steinberger, Paymaster U. S. Army, was thrown from his horse. He died at 2 o'clock this morning from injuries received. His remains were taken to Fort Shaw for burial.

Daily Oregonian, October 15th, 1870.

Major Justus Steinberger killed by being thrown from his horse. Major Steinberger was an Agent for Pacific Mail Co. when that company ran its steamers to Portland, Oregon. Afterward employed Agent for Adams Co.'s Express at this place when that company wound up in a failure. He then entered the service, passed to the grade of Colonel, and after filling many places of honor, was finally appointed to the position of Paymaster with the rank of Major. He was universally respected and kindly remembered by his many friends here.

This is all that can be found of Colonel Justus Steinberger, nothing known of family nor of any portrait extant.

For few facts as to the Regiment, see War of Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. L, giving some items, also two official letters of the Col. on pages 114-174, same series and vol.

I will here relate what little I know. I joined Company F, Captain Wm. V. Spencer, First Lieutenant Peter Fox, Second Lieutenant James Halloran, July 10, 1862, at Fort Vancouver, Washington. I was at the time a resident of the Territory since 1859. Our Company never came under notice of the Colonel to our knowledge. We were kept at Fort Vancouver until late in December, 1862, when we were sent to the Dalles, Oregon, and garrisoned Fort Dalles up to March, 1865, when we were returned to Fort Vancouver on the consolidation of the Regiment and were merged into Company E, Captain William Knox. During our stay at Fort Dalles, Oregon, Captain William V. Spencer was detailed on service in the Adjutant General's office either at Fort Walla Walla or Vancouver and the command fell to First Lieutenant Peter Fox, who was at the same time Post Commander, A. A. Q. M. and A. A. C. S. Lieutenant Fox was cashiered and dismissed the service, I think in the spring of '64. Second Lieutenant Halloran then commanded the Company until we were turned over to Company E. Lieutenant Halloran then passed to a lieutenancy in the Regular Army and, Captain Knox being relieved on account of disability, we were commanded until final discharge July 8, 1865, by First Lieutenant James Shipply, First Oregon Infantry.

We never came in contact with the Regiment as a whole or in part other than as I have stated. Any other service I can render I am yours at command.

Respectfully

GEORGE W. EASTERBROOK

Late Musician Companies F and E, First Washington
Territory Volunteer Infantry.

[Evidently there was an attempt made to organize another regiment. William Pickering, who was Governor of Washington Territory from 1862 to 1864, received a significant letter in 1864. The original is among the manuscript collections of the University of Washington and is as follows:]

Fort Vancouver, W. T., Oct. 21, 1864.

Governor:

We received here last night notice of an order by Maj. Gen. McDowell for raising a regiment of infantry in Oregon and Washington Territory. We have no details of the plan by which this is to be done. I presume an effort will be made to raise the regiment by enlisting volunteers. When that fails a draft will be ordered.

I hope you will be careful should any troops be raised in Washington to secure the appointment of officers for them from

your territory. Do not fail in this matter. We want no secesh officers.

The news from the East is generally good on which I congratulate you.

Mrs. F. sends you her respects.

I am, as ever, yours

SIMEON FRANCIS.

[When the above material is utilized for the preparation of an interesting chapter of State history there is still another item that should not be overlooked. Arthur A. Denny manifested an interest in this matter, and not long before his death he made the statement that the ladies of Washington Territory were very patriotic during that war. They co-operated with the Sanitary Commission, the records showing that, in proportion to population, they led every State and Territory in the Union, in sending supplies for the comfort of the soldiers.]

DOCUMENTS.

There are here presented another instalment of the old Hudson Bay Company documents secured from Canadian archives by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye while preparing her recent book on McDonald of Oregon.

The Farm at Fort Vancouver.

McLoughlin's predecessor on the Columbia reported that it was impossible to grow provisions in this region. Headquarters were moved from Astoria to Vancouver in 1825, and the following letter shows how the new farm prospered:

John McLeod, Esquire.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1832.

My dear Sir,

I have now before me your kind letter of 2nd July by which I am happy to see that you are safely returned from across the Atlantic after having I presume had the pleasure of seeing your friends—by the by you omit mentioning whether you had any explanation about your Columbia affair and how things at present stand at home. I hope if an opportunity offered that you produced my Letters to you on the subject,—as to us here we go on in the old way Ogden is at Nass—this year though of three vessels only two could go on the coast and one was only fifteen days and the other was only three months still the coasting trade will clear itself and this year when we have nothing to interrupt our proceedings we intend to give it the first fair Trial it has had and from what has been done this year we have every reason to expect it will do well. Our other Branches of Business go on in the usual way our farm yielded

1800 Bushels wheat
1200 " barley
600— pease
400—Indian Corn
600—potatoes

I dare say the last article would be enough for all the Kings posts as to Returns you know I cant give you any information on that head as the accounts are not made out though I suppose they are about as usual quantity. I suppose you heard of the fever and ague being prevailing here in 1830 and I am sorry to say that it raged with greater violence in 1831 and for a time put an entire stop to all our Business. But thanks be to God for his mercies—My family and me Enjoyed good health. I

cannot but shudder when I think of Harriotts poor wife. Poor fellow it has affected him much—With best Wishes for your well fare Believe me to be

Yours truly,
(Signed) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Fever and Ague.

Many of the letters tell of the fever and ague on the Columbia in those early days. This writer says he could more easily endure a frozen nose at Norway House.

John McLeod, Esq.

Fort Vancouver, Columbia 16th March 1832.

My dear Sir,

I flatter myself that the interest you take in hearing of my welfare is sufficient to make you happy to hear that I reached my destination here in safety. I need say nothing of the Columbia to you who have already seen it. I may however mention that I find the climate very different from that of Norway House. We run no risk of freezing our noses but we are liable to be laid up with fever again and ague now very prevalent here and which more than compensates for a frozen nose. I have found Dr. McLoughlin very kind, he like yourself is an old acquaintance of my brothers. I have been kept very busy since my arrival in the office. We do a great deal of business here, having three vessels constantly employed on the coast, a new establishment called Fort Simpson has been lately built upon the coast by Mr. Ogden and is doing well. We have abundance to eat here, the Dr. has not yet killed any of the cattle, but we have such a variety of other good things as enables us to endure with calm philosophy the want of a roast of Beef. I expect our news from Europe will be very interesting. You have the advantage of us here in being much nearer the civilized world and you of course enjoy more frequent opportunities of communicating with your friends. I shall be very happy to hear from you at any time and I trust you will embrace an early opportunity of acquainting me where you are stationed and how you like this country after your return from civilized life. With best wishes for your welfare and that of your family,

I remain,
My dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
(Sgd) GEORGE T. ALLAN.

Trying to Best the Americans.

This letter was evidently written to John McLeod. It is marked private, evidently because of his expression of a desire to wrest the fur trade from the Americans.

Fort Vancouver 12th. March 1832

Private.

My dear Sir,

The time for the departure for our Express hence for York is fast approaching, & I cannot allow it depart, without sending a few lines in search of you, expressive for my good wishes for the welfare of yourself and family as well as the Governate, you have in view to take into your family; for the various edification of all its branches not even yourself excepted. On this account I would not in the least be surprised to hear that you have been long ere now deprived of that elegant piece of ingenuity your scalp, and every deservedly, if you have been playing hide and seek with this same Governante. But to be serious I hope you find matters in that part of the world going on smoothly & to your wish, & that the utmost harmony and good understanding prevails among you all. In this quarter matters are going on in the usual routine, the Returns of the Department are far superior to those of last year & there is but one evil to disturb the prosperous state of affairs, but that may be considered a serious one— The Fever— which committed great ravage amongst the natives during the last Summer, was still on our arrival here, sufficiently malignant to confine many of our people to their beds, and ever since symptoms of it occasionally appear amongst us, gaining ground as the warm weather sets in, & if something does not cast up, to diminish its virulence, I am afraid the consequence of its fury will be seriously felt. We must, however, hope for the best, and trust to Providence as a safeguard and an unerring guide to steer us clear of the shoals with which we are surrounded. The coasting trade is progressively improving—it turned out last summer about 3000 Beavers, exclusive of other valuable furs, but the loss it sustained in the death of Cap. Simpson will be seriously felt as his experience, coupled with his talents & abilities would give a decided favourable turn to our affairs in that quarter. He departed this life at Nass on the 2d. September of a liver complaint much lamented and regretted and whatever feelings might be entertained toward him during his career in the past of the country there is now but one of general sympathy for his untimely end. Our people appear to be firmly seated down at Nass—the natives are so far peaceable and well disposed and we have in view to extend our settlements along the coast, the best and most judicious plan we can adopt for the purpose of wresting that trade from the grasp of the Americans who have so far monopolized it and no doubt derived considerable gain therefrom. Trusting to hear from you fully and particularly and with best wishes for yourself and family I am My dear Sir, Yours Sincerely

(Sgd) D'N FINLAYSON.

Luck of the Fur Trade.

James Douglas, afterward famous as the Governor of Vancouver's Island, here shows how some posts thrive while others fail. He also tells of the river tragedies, which were most likely all too common in that day.

Vancouver, 12th March, 1832

Jno. McLeod, Esquire

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that in compliance with your request, I now forward a box, to your address, containing a variety of prickly pears, which I hope will reach your distant quarter without injury. Our Columbia news are of a varied nature, a proportion of good, mixed up with evil, but on the whole I believe the good predominates at all events I am convinced that the best news are always the most gratifying and will on that account leave the most unpleasant to bring up the rear.

The Nass party left us in the early part of April, Mr. Ogden being the superintendent of the land operations, with Captain Simpson to command the shipping. They were greatly retarded on the passage by contrary winds and in consequence did not reach their destination before the 11th. May.

To their great surprise and not a little to their satisfaction the natives received them in the most friendly manner, nor have they as yet displayed any symptoms of a hostile or turbulent disposition. They are nevertheless keen hands at the bargain and make the most of competition among the traders. If they cannot do business with one party they make no ceremony in trying what can be done with the other. The Returns of the Coast are something like 3000 skins, upon which there is a loss of £1600.

Your friend Archy has been doing wonders at Fort Langley, he has collected about 2000 Beavers, and is not a little vain of his feat. Your old post Thompsons River seems determined to remain in the background. I believe its resources are exhausted, or perhaps Langley and Colville have a share of the trade which in your time it exclusively enjoyed.

This place as well as Nez Perces show an increase of returns, but I cannot say how the campaign will end in New Caledonia as we have had no late intelligence from that quarter. The Brigade on its return to the interior met with a serious accident between the Portage Neuf and Cascades, by which two men and nearly forty pieces of property were lost. Another poor man was drowned in Frasers River.

Captain Simpson died at Nass after a short illness of 13 days of an inflammation of the lungs. Please present my respects to Charlotte, Miss Flora and the little ones. Believe me to be with much respect Your obt Servant,

(Sgd) JAMES DOUGLAS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon. By Frederick V. Holman, Director of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Oregon Historical Society. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1907, 301 pp., \$2.50 net.)

In writing this work the author has produced what has long been needed, namely, a narrative of the life of the benefactor and great overtowering figure of the Pacific Northwest. Himself the son of Oregon pioneers of 1846, Mr. Holman, as he explains in his preface, has undertaken a labor of love, for to quote his own words, "The one great theme of the Oregon pioneers was and still is Dr. McLoughlin and his humanity." The research which has resulted in the collection of the material here presented was undertaken originally in preparation for an address which was delivered on McLoughlin Day at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and which even then had reached such proportions as to require considerable condensation for that occasion. Since that time the work has been rewritten, and in its present form it constitutes a valuable historical biography. Appended to the narrative account are a considerable number of illustrative documents of interest, not only for the light they throw on the life of McLoughlin, but on conditions and events in early Northwest Coast history as well.

The life of Dr. McLoughlin is interwoven with the history of the old Oregon country from his arrival at the mouth of the Columbia in 1824 to his death at Oregon City in 1857. As chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, stationed at Vancouver, for years he directed the activities of practically the only persons of European blood in the region, and was thus actually the governor of an empire. The occupation of the region by his company under the treaties of 1818 and 1827 between Great Britain and the United States could rest only on economic supremacy, since by those treaties equal rights in the region were assured to the citizens and subjects of both powers. Mr. Holman shows very clearly how McLoughlin, from the beginning, recognized this fact, and how he understood better than anyone else on the Coast that his sway to the south of the Columbia at least must be but temporary since so much of the Coast was sure to go to the United States at the final settlement of the boundary dispute. The despotic power which he exercised within this whole region forms an interesting part of the work which the author

has ably treated. One can but feel after reading these pages that the exercise by Dr. McLoughlin of power which in other hands would have been most dangerous, and the effective assumption by him of extra judicial authority in the punishment of Indian criminals only reveal the greatness of a character which could command the respect and obedience of thousands of savages, and thus protect the lives and the property under his care. As proofs of Mr. Holman's thesis that the rule of McLoughlin was a "beneficent" despotism, his suppression of the liquor traffic among whites as well as Indians, and his stern reproof of the redmen when they uttered threats against those whose prosperity meant his ruin, are convincing.

But it is the recital of McLoughlin's treatment of the immigrants from the States which forms the most striking part of the work. The settlement of the country not only meant the end of the fur trade, but it meant the supremacy of the United States, to which these immigrants owed their allegiance. Yet a loyal British subject, the director of the activities of a British fur-trading corporation, was so far moved by a feeling of compassion for the destitute Americans who had crossed the plains and the mountains, that in violation of the rules of his company he advanced them supplies on credit that they might establish and support themselves in the Coast region. It is pathetic to read how he was not only defrauded by some of those whom he had thus befriended, but was reprimanded by the officials of his company, and forced to resign a twelve-thousand-dollar position to end his days almost in want. One feels a satisfaction in reading the tributes of prominent pioneers in later days showing that they appreciated the true value of the service rendered them, and strove to gain for McLoughlin a recognition of his goodness of heart and his actual right to be called, as Mr. Holman has called him, "The Father of Oregon."

A considerable part of the biography is given over to an account of the steps through which Dr. McLoughlin, through practical politics, backed by sectional and sectarian prejudice, was deprived of the land claims at Oregon City which he had intended to be the support of his later years and of his family after his own decease. Many will doubtless disagree with Mr. Holman in his contention that no county should bear the name of Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon's first Territorial Delegate to Congress, who was responsible for the clause in the Donation Land Law of 1850 which thus dispossessed McLoughlin, desiring, not-

withstanding his faults and his mistakes still to perpetuate the memory of the first representative in Washington of the Pacific Northwest. But all will agree to the proposition that, both in Oregon and in Washington, a county should bear the name of the good old doctor, and that the failure thus to use his name in the States he aided in founding is a species of ingratitude which should not be suffered.

Incidentally it should be remarked that Mr. Holman is one of the writers who give to Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor the credit due her for the actual authorship of the histories of Oregon and Washington which bear upon the title page the name of Hubert Howe Bancroft.

WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

The Brothers' War. By John C. Reed. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1905, pp. xviii., 456.)

The Brothers' War is the story of the causes of the Civil War and a discussion of some of the results by a well-informed Georgia lawyer who played a soldiers' part in that great struggle. The author was twenty-five years old when the war broke out, he served from Manassas to Appomattox, led a section of the Ku Klux Klan, played a prominent part in the overthrow of negro domination, and now rejoices in a united nation and the overthrow of slavery.

The author clearly sees the cause of the war in the growing nationalities of the two sections. The North, based on free labor, demanded that the Territories be free, and the South, with its economic system of plantations worked by slaves, demanded with equal emphasis that slavery be allowed to spread to the new Territories of the South and West. Three chapters are devoted to the antagonism of free labor and slave labor and the nationalization of the South and North, and the argument is well handled and convincingly presented.

Chapter VI. deals with the abolitionists and fire-eaters, who are looked upon as the products of the clashing nationalities. The economic interests of the North were against slavery extension, while those of the South demanded the extension of slavery. Opposition to the demands of each section by the other brought forth two classes of hotspurs. No mention is made of the humanitarian wave that swept over Europe and America in the early thirties, and consequently the rise of the abolitionist is treated as a purely economic outgrowth.

Calhoun, Webster, Toombs and Davis are each given a chapter. That on Calhoun deals with him as the father of nullification, and Toombs is treated as his successor, and the real leader of the South in secession. The author has done a good deal of work on the life of Toombs, whom he considers the "Webster of the South" and the equal of Calhoun, but his chapter suffers because of the great amount of material he presents in small space. The author seems to feel that he is not convincing the reader, and time after time drops the thread of his narrative to enlarge on the greatness of Toombs. Less anxiety on the author's part and a more careful presentation of material would have been more effective.

Davis is described as a dignified man of rather mediocre ability, much loved by the South, and entirely mistaken as to his military ability. Webster was the greatest orator and lawyer of the North and deserves eternal glory for his eulogy of and efforts on behalf of the Union. His argument in the Dartmouth College case and in *Gibbons vs. Ogden* are viewed from new angles. Webster's change of attitude, as shown in his speech of March 7, 1850, is, the author thinks, the result of Calhoun's demolition of the underlying principles of his earlier speeches in which he undertook to show that a State could not secede from the Union. Whether or not the author's view is the correct one it certainly deserves careful consideration. Webster's greatest speech was his reply to Hayne, and his greatest work his efforts for the Union.

The strongest chapter in the book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the one discussing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Everyone who has read that famous book should read this chapter.

The last two chapters deal with the race question and are well worth reading. In brief, the author argues that slavery was a curse to the whites of the South and a blessing to the negroes. Since the war the negroes have split into two great classes, an upper, made up of three to five per cent. of the negroes, and a lower, including the balance. The upper class, nearly all of whom have white blood in their veins, is pushing into the trades and professions and making marked progress. The larger class, less capable, shiftless, unwilling to work, is coming into the keenest kind of competition with poor whites and emigrants, and apparently doomed to destruction through the operation of economic and criminal laws.

"To solve this problem something must be found which will

train and elevate the average negro, while the exceptional one is at the industrial school or college, or studying for a profession; something which will check the prevalent reversion away from monogamic family life, and stimulate that life to develop steadily; something also that will impart to this entire mass permanent and strengthening in pulse to better its condition" (412). And finally, in order to give time for this something to take effect, the negroes should be given a State in the Union to themselves.

One note of weakness runs through the whole book, viz., an attempt to explain historical effects by reference to the will of the "fates," "fairies," "directors." Webster was designed by Providence to defend the Union, Providence arranged for the deaths of Adams and Jefferson on the same day that Webster might find a fit subject for his oration, "follow me while I try to show what the directors did in preparation for and in conduct of the brothers' war," * * * the directors induced Toombs to drink too much at a dinner in order that Davis might be President, and much more of the same order. Historical explanations should be given where possible and the balance left to the reader. Aside from this last defect the book is well done and will amply repay careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Brief Notes.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued a carefully indexed volume of 200 pages, which contains a "Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Together With Reports on Other Collections of Manuscript Material for American History in Adjacent States."

An article on the "Financial History of Oregon," which Prof. F. G. Young contributes to the "Quarterly of The Oregon Historical Society" for December, is a scholarly piece of research which was prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Institution.

The fourth number of volume IV. of the "University of California Publications" is a monograph of 84 pages, written by A. L. Kroeber, and deals with "Indian Myths of South Central California."

"A History of the American Whale Fishery," by Walter S. Towner, has appeared as number 20 in the series in Political Economy and Public Law of the "Publications of the University of Pennsylvania." It deals with the origin, progress and decline

of the American whaling industry and gives attention to apparatus used in whaling and whale products in commerce.

"The First Religious Newspaper" is the title of the leading article in the journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for June, 1907.

James Newton Baskett has contributed to the January issue of the quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association a "Study of the Route of Cabeza de Vaca."

"Provisional Report on a Course of Study in History" is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association. It is a suggestive outline for a course of study in history for the sixth, seventh and eighth grades.

The leading article in "The Iowa Journal of History and Politics" for July is the concluding one in the series "Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa," by Prof. Hugh S. Buffum of the University of Iowa. The same issue contains "A Bibliography of Iowa State Publications for 1904 and 1905," prepared by T. J. Fitzpatrick of the Iowa State Historical Society.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

Honoring Doctor John McLoughlin's Memory.

Oregon City witnessed an important and interesting ceremony, culminating on Sunday, 6 October, 1907. The occasion was the dedication there of the McLoughlin Institute, which has grown out of the St. John's Parochial and High School. Reverend Father A. Hillebrand is the spirit of the enterprise that has brought this event to fruition. Oregon City was the last home of McLoughlin, as it is also his burial place. Many distinguished guests were present on this occasion, not least of whom was Mrs. M. L. Myrick, the favorite granddaughter of McLoughlin. Archbishop Christie preached the sermon and formally blessed and dedicated the institute. Hon. W. D. Fenton, President of the Oregon Historical Society, State Senator Joseph E. Hedges, representing Governor Chamberlain, and others, made addresses, but the principal address was made by Frederick V. Holman, of Portland, who has recently published a very acceptable history of McLoughlin. He calls the good old Doctor the "Father of Oregon," and there is now a general willingness to concede that affectionate title. An idea of Mr. Holman's attitude toward his hero may be gathered from the closing sentence of his address at Oregon City, as follows:

"To this Noble Man, to this Great White Chief, to this Good Old Doctor, to this Savior of the Oregon Pioneers, to this great Humanitarian—the Father of Oregon—be honor and praise for all time."

Encouragement for the Quarterly.

Upon the completion of the first volume of The Washington Historical Quarterly it is pleasant to reflect on the many kind words received from many parts of the United States. People who are working along similar lines in other fields have been exceedingly generous in their praise. Cordial approval has also come from many earnest and thoughtful readers throughout the Pacific Northwest. The best publishers are beginning to send their works on history for review. One of the best indications

of approval, however, is the promptness with which other societies have begun an exchange of publications. These are as follows:

American Antiquarian Society.
Bulletin of the American Geographical Society.
Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Subject Index.
Illinois Historical Collections.
Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History.
Annals of Iowa.
The Iowa Journal of History and Politics.
Iowa Biographical Series.
Kansas Biennial Report of History.
Register of Kentucky.
Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Missouri Historical Review.
Missouri Historical Society Collections.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
New Hampshire Genealogical Record.
Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society.
Collections of the North Dakota Historical Society.
The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.
Report of the Oklahoma Historical Society.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly.
Reports of the State Historical Society of South Dakota.
Publications of the Southern Historical Association.
Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.
The Wisconsin Archaeologist.
Reports of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.
University of California's Publications on American Archaeology and Ethnology.

The Library of Congress has asked for the Quarterly and sends documents in exchange. Other societies have signified a desire to exchange.

All these publications are deposited in the library of the State University of Washington, where they will prove of the greatest value.

New Worker in the Field.

William A. Morris is an Oregonian who was educated at Stanford University and then took graduate work at Harvard for his Doctor of Philosophy degree. After that he made a trip for study in England and in September reported at the University of Washington for work as an assistant professor. He is a specialist in mediaeval history, but has great love for the history of the Pacific Northwest. For this reason the Quarterly will be sure to have some of his talent at its disposal.

A Correction.

In the July Quarterly was published an article on Jesse Applegate. The material as it came into the editor's hands was in the form of a clipping from a local McMinnville (Oregon) paper. There was not time for the proof to be submitted to the author, and so Professor Joseph Schafer asks that the following be published:

Page 217, paragraph 3, line 5, **create**, read **created**; par. 4, 1.2, **for those** read **for of those**; p. 218, par. 2, 1. 3, **square** read **spare**; p. 219, par. 2, 1.8, **no definite** read **little detailed**; p. 220, par. 2, 1.7, **or** read **to**; par. 3, 1.7, **statesman** read **statemen**; p. 221, par. 3, 1.2, **Milborn** read **Milburn**; p. 225, par. 5, 1.1, **Warren** read **Warre**; p. 226, par. 1, 1.4, **a number** read **the number**; () read []; 1.5, **contract** () read **compact** []; p. 227, par. 3, 1.2, **orders** read **others**; par. 4, 1.9, **once as** read **once more as**; 1.10, **1850** read **1849**; p. 229, par. 1, 1.6, **for the year 1789** read **from the year 1789**; 1.9, insert **and** before **Bancroft**; p. 231, par. 2, 1.4, **States** read **status**; 1.8, **of the nation** read **to the nation**; **State's** read **states**; p. 232, par. 2, 1.6, **be to** read **best**; 1.9, () read [].

Three Recent Addresses.

Honorable John P. Hartman has rendered a good service to readers and students of the Northwest by causing to be published his address at the ground-breaking ceremonies of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and also his address delivered in Spokane in January, 1907. These two addresses contain a large quantity of information pertaining to this region, which was compiled with evident care as well as much labor. The third address was also one of the exposition numbers. It was by

Honorable Henry Alberts McLean, President of the Washington State Commission for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. This graceful little pamphlet is well worth saving.

Descendant of Prescott.

Mr. C. P. Bissett, Right of Way and Tax Agent for the Union Pacific Railroad Company, with offices in the Burke Building, Seattle, is a great-grandson of William H. Prescott, the famous American historian. Though very deeply occupied with the work of the company he represents, Mr. Bissett has a real love for history. He has a private library of five thousand volumes devoted to Americana and makes a specialty of works on Lincoln. One can see the evidence of this inherited taste on entering his private office, where the walls are attractive with beautiful portraits of Lincoln and Webster.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

BY GEORGE WILKES.

[Continued from the Last Issue of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

PART II.

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the United States Title.

THE OLD SPANISH CLAIMS.*

Up to the year 1803, the western boundary of the United States was the River Mississippi, which shut from our possession the vast region known by the name of Louisiana, now comprising Iowa, Missouri, Missouri Territory, Indian Territory, Arkansas and the small portion at its southern extremity which still retains the former name of all. This immense country, stretching from British America on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and spreading breadthwise from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, was originally owned by France, who obtained her title to it through the discovery of the mouth of the great stream which drains it, by two of her missionaries, in 1663, and by subsequent settlements under La Sale and others. In 1763, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. In 1800 Spain ceded it back again to France, and in 1803 it was purchased from France by the United States for the sum of \$15,000,000. As soon as this purchase was made, the importance of Oregon as a Pacific gate to our possessions, became at once apparent, and Jefferson, under the direction of Congress, commissioned Captains Lewis and Clark "to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, to cross the Rocky Mountains and trace to its termination in the Pacific some stream, whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado or any other, which might

*Though it is hardly necessary to mention to the reader in this stage of our examination, that the United States purchased from Spain, in 1819, all the right devolving to her on the North West coast above 42 deg. north latitude by virtue of her discoveries and settlements, it will do no harm to direct him to bear in mind that in making out *her* title, we of consequence establish our own.

offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce." In 1805 these officers and their men crossed the mountains, and descending into Oregon, discovered a number of streams flowing westward, which, upon examination, were found to disembogue into the Columbia or some of its huge branches, whose comprehensive arms embrace within their span the 42d and 53d parallels, and roll their silver bands from the mountains to the sea. On the 15th of November they reached its mouth, and building a fort which they called "Fort Catslop," they spent the winter there. In the spring of 1806 (March 13th), having minutely explored the surrounding country, the party set out on their return, and after proceeding some distance up the stream, parted company; the one to explore the region north, and the other the country south. They met in the month of August following, at the junction of the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers, on the eastern side of the mountains. Thus we find that after having discovered the mouth of the Columbia in 1792, we explore the greater portion of the territory drained by it in 1805, build a fort at its mouth in November of that year, and thus take the actual possession "soon after," which is the positive condition of the principles of international law previously quoted.

This being a difficult circumstance to overcome, the British government were puzzled for a time how to rebut or to offset it; but their natural fertility of resource did not leave them long at a loss, and resorting to their old principle that bold assertion is as good as timid proof, they affirmed—that "at least in the same or subsequent years" (1805-6) Mr. Thompson, an agent of the North West Company, had established posts among the Flathead or Kootanie tribes (near the 56th° of latitude) and that it was from this point he hastened down in 1811 to ascertain the nature of the American establishment at the mouth of the Columbia River."

This is a part of the celebrated diplomatic **Statement** of 1826, and from its definite and satisfactory character, is worthy of taking place beside the claims of Vancouver and Meares.

The accounts given by Lewis and Clark on the return of their expedition, attracted the attention of commercial men, and John Jacob Astor, an opulent merchant of New York, who was then engaged in the fur trade on the Upper Missouri, conceived the foundation of a company, whose efforts should be specially confined to the Coast of this region. Before his plans were con-

summed, however, the Missouri Company, another American association, established a post beyond the Rocky Mountains on the headwaters of the southern branch of the Columbia in 1808, but it was abandoned in 1810 from a difficulty, through the enmity of the neighboring savages, of obtaining regular supply of food.

In 1809 Mr. Astor had completed his arrangements, and the Pacific Fur Company by his exertions assumed a definite existence. In that year the ship *Enterprise* was sent into the North Pacific "to make preparatory researches and inquiries in the scenes of the new company's operations," and in 1810 two parties were formed, one to cross the continent under the conduct of W. P. Hunt, the chief agent, and the other to proceed on the ship *Tonquin* by sea. In March, 1811, the ship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and the colonists immediately selecting a spot, erected a factory and a fort, and in honor of the patron of the enterprise, called the establishment Astoria. By some means, the Mr. Thompson who is spoken of in the **Statement** alluded to, heard at his station on Fraser's Lake (between latitude 54° 55') of this new settlement, and gathering together a party, posted in hot haste down the northern branch of the Columbia, building huts, hoisting flags and bestowing names by way of taking possession as they passed along. They reached Astoria a little too late, for on arriving there in July, they found the banner of the States waving over a fort—they found factories erected, farms laid out, and the contented colonists eating of the produce of their already flourishing gardens. They were, therefore, obliged most reluctantly to retrace their steps northward, after receiving the unwelcome information that the posts of which they had pretended to take possession on their way down had most of them been visited five years before by officers of the United States.

In the spring of 1812, the other party of emigrants under Mr. Hunt, completed their journey across the continent, and arrived safely at the settlement among their brother traders. A few days after this event, the ship *Beaver* arrived from New York, with still further reinforcements and supplies, and it was decided that Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, should sail in her in charge of an expedition to the northern coasts, the affairs of the factory being entrusted (unfortunately as will be seen) to the charge of McDougal, one of the Scotchmen who had formerly been in the service of the North West Company. During the

absence of Mr. Hunt, the news of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain reached Astoria, and created no small degree of uneasiness in the minds of the American members of the company, for they at once saw the difficulties this would lead to between themselves and their British associates. This information was received in January from New York, and in June following an agent of the North West Company arrived from Canada, bringing news of the approach of a British naval force to take possession of the American settlement. The Scotchmen and Englishmen connected with the association received the report with ill concealed satisfaction, and several of them withdrew from the service at once for that of the rival company. Those who remained could scarcely be considered faithful, beyond the considerations of the pecuniary interests that were involved in the affair. Anxious consultations were held, in which the foreigners held a superior and controlling influence. This was the natural consequence of their position, for having been selected with a view to their superior knowledge of trading operations gained in a previous service with the North West Company, they held all the most responsible situations.

The latter proposed, in view of the approaching danger, to abandon the enterprise altogether, unless additional reinforcements and supplies should speedily arrive from New York to their assistance. This the Americans strenuously opposed, choosing rather to trust to the chances of their enemies not appearing, or in case they did, to risk the hazard of a struggle; but the resolution prevailed, and the minority of **interests** was bound to submit. At length Hunt arrived, but with all his efforts, was unable to change the determination of the Scottish partners, and knowing the impossibility of conducting the operations of the concern in case of their defection, he was obliged to submit to the arrangement. He, therefore, in pursuance of the decision set sail for the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of chartering some vessels to convey the furs then stored in the factory, and other properties of the company, to Canton. In the month following his departure, a deputation from the North West Company descended the river to Astoria, bringing the additional information that a British **frigate** having under her convoy a large armed ship belonging to the N. W. Company, was on her way to the Columbia with the intention of destroying everything American in that quarter. The communication of this news was accompanied by an offer on the part of the leader of the deputation to

purchase out the whole stock in trade, and other properties of the Pacific company; adding as an additional inducement, that they would engage, at a liberal rate of wages, all who might choose to enter their service, and agreed to send back to the United States all who wished to return. This whole measure had doubtless been secretly concocted by the Scotch partners of the Pacific Company, who, to effect it, had got Hunt out of the way, and the agents of the other party were proceeding exactly according to previously imparted directions. The proposal to employ while it looked like an emanation of generosity, was a most insidious piece of treachery to entice away the employes on whom the Pacific Company depended for existence, and in such a state of society as existed there, was deserving of the punishment of death. It, however, afforded the Scotchmen an opportunity to secede without an appearance of absolute defection, and softened the opposition of those who were not unwilling to return to a more congenial society in their own country. The transfer was accordingly made, and the Pacific Company lost its identity in the North West Association.

From the time of their first arrival in the territory to the date of this relinquishment, the Pacific Company had established four forts or trading posts, besides the main one at Astoria. These were Fort Okanegan, situated at the confluence of that river and the north branch of the Columbia—Spokane House, on the river of the same name, and a branch of the latter establishment pushed further west, among the Flathead and Kootanic tribes—a post on the Kooskooske, and one on the Wallamette River. All of these establishments were included in the transfer of Astoria.

This inglorious termination of the enterprise took place on the 16th October, 1813. It was principally brought about by a Scotchman, named Duncan McDougal, whom Hunt had unwisely left in command of the fort, and who was strongly suspected of having been bribed to his course by the rival company. At any rate, the arrangement squared with his feelings, and he made it subserve his interest.

On the 1st December, before the transfer was completed, the British sloop of war *Raccoon* arrived at Astoria, expecting a rich plunder by the capture of the magazines and treasures of the Pacific Company; but all she found for prize was the American flag still waving its glorious folds above the fort. This remained there, notwithstanding the existence of the Pacific Company had

ceased more than two months before; for the citizens of the United States who had belonged to it, insisted that this emblem of the Republic's sovereignty over the soil, formed no portion of the transfer to the English company.

The following account of the capture of Astoria, and the taking possession of the fort, by Ross Cox, who gathered his information on the spot, shortly after the events took place, will not only serve to throw some light upon the motive of McDougal's treachery, but will also corroborate our claims to the first settlement of that region:

"Captain Black," (the commander of the Raccoon,) "took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and re-baptised it by the name of Fort George. He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs and other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of ulterior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the North West Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more of his claims. The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougal and Tavish, (the agent of the North West Company,) the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Raccoon, which they quickly discovered to be one of King George's fighting ships, they repaired armed to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougal. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Concomitantly, the principal chief of the Chenooks, (whose daughter McDougal had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech, in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves; and that as **they** (the Americans) **were the first white men that settled in their country**, and treated the Indians like good relations, they resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods, close to the wharf, from whence they would be able with their guns and arrows to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and rifles. This proposition was offered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity; two armed boats from the Raccoon were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man of them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougal thanked them for their friendly offer; but added, that notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him

nor any of his people, and therefore requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them in the most positive manner that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougal's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag-staff, and hoist the British ensign, after changing the name of the fort, they remarked, that however much one might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

It is not our intention to assert that McDougal should have accepted of this offer of the Indians against his own nation, but it proves that with such friends as the aborigines of the country, the settlement could never have been seriously distressed for supplies; and, therefore, that his representations, on which the resolution to abandon the place was based, were false. Had Mr. Hunt possessed those means of resistance, and been in McDougal's situation, the property of the company would not have been sold, and the flag upon the fort would never have been struck.

The war ended in 1814, and by the treaty of Ghent, signed on the 24th December, of that year, it was declared "**that all territory, places, and possessions whatever, taken by either party from the other during, or after the war, should be restored without delay.**" In accordance with the provisions of this article, the President of the United States, in October, 1817, despatched the sloop of war Ontario, with Captain Biddle and J. B. Prevost as Commissioners to Astoria and they duly received the surrender of that place by the British authorities, on the 6th day of October, 1818.

In this same year a negotiation was carried on in London between the plenipotentiaries of the two governments, for the settlement of a northern boundary line,* which resulted in the establishment of the 49th parallel, from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, as the dividing line between the British possessions and the territory of the States, leaving the portion beyond the Rocky Mountains, bordering on the Pacific, subject to the restrictions of the following article:

*See Appendix, No. 7.

"Art. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present Convention, to the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two powers; **it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of another power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and difficulties among themselves.**"

It is plain from the wording of this article that England relied very lightly upon the strength of her own claims to the territory in dispute; the concluding clause being a virtual acknowledgment of the superior rights of Spain, whose anger is carefully deprecated, by the assurance that neither party aspired to her title, but that "their only object" in making this arrangement in regard to the common privileges of navigation, fishing, etc., was to "avoid differences among themselves." It is not necessary to explain that while this arrangement goes to conclude the pretensions of its proposer it does not now in the slightest degree affect us. The whole aim of the manoeuvre is sufficiently transparent to those acquainted with the political relations existing between the courts of Madrid and St. James at the periods of its performance. Impoverished and feeble Spain was looked upon by Great Britain as a much less formidable opponent than the Republic which had just emerged triumphantly from a war with her upon her own element. Her object, therefore, was to preclude us at all risks. She would be satisfied if she could make her own invalid title balance ours, for then she would **magnanimously** propose a joint relinquishment in favor of the third claimant whose cause she had so insidiously fortified.* After this it would not have been long, of course, before exhausted Spain would have been forced to redeem one of the deep involvements incurred in the peninsula war, by turning the Northwest Coast over to her subtle and grasping creditor. It would appear that our ministers at London divined this motive in the course of the negotiation, for an immediate offer was made on our part to Spain, and that power, wisely concluding to sell rather than

*This opinion is strengthened by one of England's present offers of compromise which is, that both of us relinquish Oregon, for the common settlement of it for an independent nation, and also by her recently developed intrigues in relation to California and Texas.

to give away, closed with our overtures at once; and thus England's over-reaching diplomacy was skillfully turned against herself.

The negotiation with Spain on this subject terminated on the 22d of February, 1819, (four months after the treaty of 1818 of which the above article is a part,) in what is now known as the "Florida Treaty." By this treaty the United States purchased all Florida, and likewise all the territory belonging to the crown of Spain north of the 42d degree of latitude for the sum of five millions of dollars, in the shape of a release of that amount of claims held against her by our merchants, and of which the United States assumed the payment. This arrangement of course merged the Spanish title in our own,* and by thus removing the only possible conflicting claim, placed the latter upon a basis of indisputable validity.

The chief value, however, that we attach to this cession on the part of Spain, is for its complete subversion of the pretensions of England, on the principle of original discovery of points of the coast. Our own individual title to Oregon is in itself made complete to 53° by the single principle of international law, which confers the whole country drained by a river and its tributaries to the discoverer of its mouth. We recognized this principle in the purchase of the immense territory formerly comprehended under the name of Louisiana, and while we have paid a penalty of **fifteen millions** of dollars in vindication of its integrity, we have a peculiar right to the benefit of it when it runs in our favor.†

The treaty of 1818 expiring in 1828, the convention was renewed in 1826, but as before, no definite conclusion was arrived at, and the negotiation resulted in the following year just where it had begun, the provisions of the former treaty being indefinitely extended, subject only to the additional stipulation that either party desiring to abrogate it, might do so on giving twelve months' notice to the other.‡

From the period after the sale of the Pacific Fur Company to the North West Association, (now merged in the Hudson's Bay

*See Appendix No. 8.

† It may be captiously objected to this argument, that France derived her title from the cession of Spain in 1800, but it will be recollected that France originally acquired a title to the vast region watered by the Mississippi by the discovery of the mouth of that river by two French missionaries in 1663, and sustained it by subsequent exploration and settlement, which is our case exactly in regard to the Columbia. On this claim she held it for a hundred years, till by a treaty of policy in 1763, involving no question of validity of title, it was ceded to Spain, and by a similar arrangement, on similar considerations, it was in 1800 ceded back to France. Its sovereignty passed from hand to hand on the strength of the principle involved in the original title, and by virtue of that principle it came to us.

‡ See Appendix, No. 9.

Company,) and the consequent departure of most of the Americans, British subjects, consisting entirely of attaches of this latter body, acquired a preponderance in the territory, and by ingenious management of their wealth and power, continued for a time progressively to increase it. This circumstance has been very seriously brought forward by the supporters of the English title, as a new right to the territory they usurp; as if the tyranny their monstrous wealth had enabled them to exercise over every American citizen within the reach of their influence, gave them an additional right to outrage the government by a usurpation of its title.

There is nothing overstrained in these remarks; indeed, they but very inadequately express the outrageous means resorted to by these affiliated tyrants to crush every interest opposed to them. The following extract taken from the work of Thomas P. Farnham, a traveler of ability and character, will afford some notion of their operations and policy:

"Fort Hall was built by Captain Wyeth, of Boston, in 1832, for the purposes of trade with the Indians in its vicinity. He had taken goods into the lower part of the Territory to exchange for salmon. But competition soon drove him from his fisheries to this remote spot, where **he hoped to be permitted** to purchase furs of the Indians without being molested by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose nearest post was seven hundred miles away.

In this he was disappointed. In pursuance of the avowed doctrine of that company, that no others have a right to trade in the furs west of the Rocky Mountains, while the use of capital and their incomparable skill and perseverance can prevent it, they established a fort near him, preceded him, followed him everywhere, and cut the throat of his prosperity with such kindness and politeness, that Wyeth was induced to sell his whole interest, existent and prospective, in Oregon, to his **generous** but too indefatigable, skilful and powerful antagonists."

Mr. Farnham has written the word "generous" in good faith and honest Roman characters, as if he really thought it were generous in the H. B. Company to give Mr. Wyeth a price for his property, after forcing him to its sale by the basest means! But Mr. Farnham ate a most superlative dinner afterward at Fort Vancouver, and this may somewhat account for the tenderness of his construction.

While we are upon this subject we will furnish the reader with a further insight into the corporate economy and operations of this association, from the same author:

"A charter was granted by Charles II., in 1670, to certain British subjects associated under the name of 'The Hudson's Bay Company,' in virtue of which they were allowed the exclusive privilege of establishing trading factories on the Hudson's Bay and its tributary rivers. Soon after the grant, the company took possession of the territory, and enjoyed its trade without opposition till 1787; when was organized a powerful rival under the title of the 'North American Fur Company of Canada.' This company was chiefly composed of Canadian-born subjects—men whose native energy and thorough acquaintance with the Indian character, peculiarly qualified them for the dangers and hardships of a fur trader's life in the frozen regions of British America. Accordingly we soon find the Northwest outreaching in enterprise and commercial importance their less active neighbors of Hudson's Bay; and the jealousies naturally arising between parties so situated, leading to the most barbarous battles, and the sacking and burning of each other's posts. This state of things in 1819 arrested the attention of Parliament, and an act was passed in 1821 consolidating the two companies into one, under the title of 'The Hudson's Bay Company.'

"This association is now, under the operation of their charter, in sole possession of all that tract of country bounded north by the Northern Arctic Ocean; east by the Davis' Straits and the Atlantic Ocean; south and southwestwardly by the northern boundary of the Canadas and a line drawn through the center of Lake Superior; thence northwestwardly to the Lake of the Wood; thence west on the 49th parallel of north latitude to the Rocky Mountains, and along those mountains to the 54th parallel; thence westwardly on that line to a point nine marine leagues from the Pacific Ocean; and on the west by a line commencing at the last mentioned point, and running northwardly parallel to the Pacific Coast till it intersects the 141st parallel of longitude west from Greenwich, England, and thence due north to the Arctic Sea.

"They have also leased for twenty years, commencing in March, 1840, all of Russian America except the post of Sitka; the lease renewable at the pleasure of the H. B. C. They are also in possession of Oregon under treaty stipulation between Britain and the United States. Its stockholders are British capitalists, resident in Great Britain. From these are elected a board of managers, who hold their meetings and transact their business at 'The Hudson's Bay House,' in London. This board buys goods and ship them to their territory, sell the furs for which they are exchanged, and do all other business connected with the company's transactions, except the execution of their own orders, the actual business of collecting furs, in their territory. This duty is entrusted to a class of men who are called partners, but who, in fact, receive certain portions of the annual net profits of the company's business as a compensation for their services.

"These gentlemen are divided by their employers into different grades. The first of these is the governor-general of all the company's posts in North America. He resides at York Factory, on the west shore of Hudson's Bay. The second class are chief factors; the third, chief traders; the fourth, traders. Below these is another class, called clerks. These are usually younger members of respectable Scottish families. They are not directly interested in the company's profits, but receive an annual salary of £100, food, suitable clothing, and a body servant, during an apprenticeship of seven years. At the expiration of this term they are eligible to the traderships, factorships, etc., that may be vacated by death or retirement from the service. While waiting for advancement they are allowed from £80 to £120 per annum. The servants employed about their posts and in their journeyings are half-breed Iroquois and Canadian Frenchmen. These they enlist for five years, at wages varying from \$68 to \$80 per annum.

"An annual council, composed of the governor-general, chief factors and chief traders, is held at York Factory. Before this body are brought the reports of the trade of each district; propositions for new enterprises, and modifications of old ones; and all these and other matters deemed important, being acted upon, the proceedings had thereon and the reports from the several districts are forwarded to the Board of Directors in London, and subjected to its final order.

"This shrewd company never allow their territory to be over-trapped. If the annual return from any well trapped district be less in any year than formerly, they order a less number still to be taken, until the beaver and other fur-bearing animals have time to increase. The income of the company is thus rendered uniform, and their business perpetual.

"Some idea may be formed of the net profit of their business from the facts that the shares of the company's stock, which originally cost £100, are at 100 per cent. premium, and that the dividends range from ten per cent. upward, and this too while they are creating out of the net proceeds an immense reserve fund, **to be expended in keeping other persons out of the trade.**

"They also have two migratory trading and trapping establishments of fifty or sixty men each—the one traps and trades in Upper California; the other in the country lying west, south and east of Fort Hall. They also have a steam vessel heavily armed, which runs along the coast, and among its bays and inlets, for the twofold purpose of trading with the natives in places where they have no post, and of outbidding and outselling any American vessel that attempts to trade in those seas. They likewise have five sailing vessels, measuring from 100 to 500 tons burthen and armed with cannon, muskets, cutlasses, etc. These are employed a part of the year in various kinds of trade about the coast and the islands of the North Pacific, and the remainder of the time in bringing goods from London, and bearing back the furs for which they are exchanged.

"One of these ships arrives at Fort Vancouver in the spring of each year, laden with coarse woollens, cloths, baizes and blankets; hardware and cutlery; cotton cloths, calicoes and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee and cocoa; rice, tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, wine, brandy, gin and playing cards; boots, shoes and ready-made clothing, etc.; also, every description of sea stores, canvas, cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cables, anchors, etc. Having discharged these 'supplies,' it takes a cargo of lumber to the Sandwich Islands, or of flour and goods to the Russians at Sitka or Kamskátka; returns in August; receives the furs collected at Fort Vancouver, and sails again for England.

"The value of peltries annually collected in Oregon, by the Hudson Bay Company, is about \$140,000 in the London or New York market. The prime cost of the goods exchanged for them is about \$20,000. To this must be added the percentage of the officers as governors, factors, etc., the wages and food of about 400 men, the expense of shipping to bring supplies of goods and take back the returns of furs, and two years' interest on the investments. The company made arrangements in 1839 with the Russians at Sitka and other ports, about the Sea of Kamskátka, to supply them with flour and goods at fixed prices. And as they are opening large farms on the Cowelitz, the Umpqua and in other parts of the Territory, for the production of wheat for that market; and as they can afford to sell goods purchased in England under a contract of 50 years' standing, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than American merchants can, there seems a certainty that the Hudson's Bay Company will engross the entire trade of the North Pacific, as it has that of Oregon.

"Soon after the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, the British Parliament passed an act extending the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts over the territories occupied by these fur-traders, whether it were 'owned' or 'claimed by Great Britain.' Under this act, certain gentlemen of the fur company were appointed justices of the peace, and empowered to entertain prosecutions for minor offenses, arrest and send to Canada criminals of a higher order, and try, render judgment and grant execution in civil suits were the amount in issue should not exceed £200; and in case of non-payment, to imprison the debtor at their own forts, or in the jails of Canada.

"And thus is shown that the trade, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction in Oregon are held by British subjects; that American citizens are deprived of their own commercial rights; that they are liable to be arrested on their own territory by officers of British courts, tried in the American domain by British judges, and imprisoned or hung according to the laws of the British Empire, for acts done within the territorial limits of the Republic."

We have here an example of the very liberal construction the British government have put upon the common right to "navi-

gate the bays, creeks and harbors of the coast." In defiance of a treaty expressly denying the arrogation of any right of sovereignty on the part of either of the high contracting parties over the other, it has seized upon the chief prerogatives, nay, the very essence of sovereignty itself, by the establishment of courts of judicature throughout the territory, and by the positive enforcement of its laws on all within it.

That this course justifies any extremity of counter action on our part, in the shape of immediate occupation, or otherwise, is plain to the judgment of any unbiased mind. Indeed, when we consider the inimical influences that have been unfairly brought to bear upon the interests of our citizens—withering their enterprise and paralyzing their energies—we can hardly restrain from advocating retaliatory proceedings to fulfill the measure of redress.*

Having traced, in regular detail, the progress of every important event connected with the discovery and settlement of the Northwest Coast and the Territory of Oregon, we may now take a brief and comprehensive view of the whole subject, for the purpose of measuring at a glance the aspect and merits of the entire question.

We find, then, that a piece of territory, comprising four hundred thousand square miles, and lying on the Northwest Coast between parallels 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$ north, is claimed by Great Britain and the United States respectively.

We find that the English government advance international law in support of their claims, and base their pretensions upon the principles which confer title by discovery, and which bestow the possession and sovereignty of the whole region drained by a river and its tributaries, upon the discoverer of its mouth; and we find that they have nothing better to offer than the voyages of Drake and Cook to entitle them to the benefits of the first, and that they seek to secure the latter by the exploits of **Meares** and **Vancouver!**

The United States accept these propositions, rebutting all the flimsy pretensions by which they are sought to be sustained on the other side, by the Spanish title; and confirming its own, independent of both, on the exclusive merits of having first discov-

*We have learned by recent information from Oregon, that the American settlers beyond the Rocky mountains have resisted the exercise of British authority, and formed a local legislature of their own. If our citizens should be able to sustain their new position, it does not alter the nature of the above aggression. The oppressor is none the less deserving of condemnation because he is obliged to relinquish the victims of his wrong.

ered, first explored and first settled the territory in question. The conclusions are established in the order following:

First—We find that Spain, whose claims are ours by purchase, had explored the coast as high as latitude 43° north, nearly forty years previous to the arrival of Drake at the same point, and we find in a series of national expeditions she stretched that exploration to the 58th degree in 1775, three years previous to the arrival of Captain Cook, on whose assumed discovery of Nootka the English place their heaviest degree of reliance.

Second—We find that the impudent claim for **Meares**(!) of the discovery of the Columbia, because he looked for and could not find it, is subverted by the superior claim of Heceta, (if either exploit furnishes a claim,) who sailed through its bay three years before, asserted its existence, assigned its precise latitude, and laid it down upon the Spanish charts.

Third—We find that Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the course of the years 1790 and 1791, discovered sounds, inlets and channels; entered rivers and circumnavigated islands along the whole line of the coast; that in 1792, he next discovered the mouth of the Columbia, and navigated it to the distance of over twenty miles inland before any other white man had ever seen it; and sorry are we to say, we also find that a mean and dishonorable attempt was made to rob him of the honor due to the daring exploit, by two British officers, who, though they sailed thither, months afterwards, with his charts for their guides, sought by a disgraceful quibble to appropriate his credit to themselves.

Fourth—We find that during the years 1796 and 1814, the trade and commerce of the North Pacific was carried on exclusively by our citizens, and that they rendered the geography of that region almost perfect by the numerous discoveries they made in ranging up and down its northwest shores.

Fifth—We find that the British reliance on the pretended concessions of the Spanish treaty of 1790 is forced and fallacious, for the war of 1796 annulled its imperfect stipulations, and their clinging to it has no other effect than to substantiate the value of our purchase.

Sixth—We find that having triumphantly rebutted the English claims on the score of **discovery**, we beat them likewise on the points of exploration and settlement, for in 1805-6, a scientific commission, appointed by our government, thoroughly explored the Oregon territory from the sources of the Columbia

to the sea, and were in full possession of it by settlement six months, or a year, before a British establishment was made, even as low as 55° north.

And thus, to conclude, we find that every condition imposed by justice, every formality required by international law, has been performed by us to consummate our right to Oregon; and while all our dealings in reference to the subject have been straightforward, and in good faith, we have been met with nothing on the part of England but arrogant assumption, low finesse and vulgar cheaterly. No wrong has been too bold for their attempt, no resource too mean for their adoption, and the contempt that is in one moment excited by the unworthy fetch of a pretended discoverer, or the miserable subterfuge of a conspiracy of geographers, gives place in the next to indignation aroused at the unparalleled arrogation of a foreign corporation of sovereignty over the free citizens of our Republic.

If we have submitted to this long enough, it is surely time for us to say so. Right knows of no degrees; Justice acknowledges no relationship with policy; and we should reject the proffer of a compromise as unworthy of the dignity of our claims. The acceptance of a composition is at best but a submission to a portion of wrong, and the nation which takes but a share of its due, when it is strong enough to enforce the whole, is dishonored both in the eyes of its own people and of the world. Let us therefore settle this question as becomes us, and no longer stand in the humiliating position of negotiating with Great Britain, whether we shall have our own or no! We should be baffled no longer with the absurd pretensions of the Drakes, the Cooks, the Vancouvers and the Meares, those diplomatic John Does and Richard Roes, who are only introduced to confuse the question and to mislead its issues. We should disdain all compromises and refuse all proposals of arbitrament. Monarchs are no judges for republics. We should, in brief, reject the entertainment of any consideration short of the full and unconditional **resumption of all Oregon**, whenever such a policy shall be deemed by us to be necessary.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL VIEW OF OREGON.

Its Islands.

Having satisfactorily established our title to Oregon, our next inquiry becomes, what it is, and how we may most readily and

completely avail ourselves of its advantages. We have already shown in the foregoing pages that Oregon is a vast country lying on the Pacific Ocean, stretching along the coast through twelve degrees and forty minutes of latitude, extending its eastern limits into the body of the Rocky mountains, and embracing within those boundaries an area of four hundred thousand square miles. Attached to this immense territory, and extending along the whole line of its coast from the Strait of Fuca to its northern limit, and even beyond that to the Arctic Sea, is a continuous chain of islands, known by the general name of the Northwest Archipelago, which in themselves can scarcely be regarded as less than a feature of secondary importance. The largest are all traversed by mountain ridges, in the direction of their greatest length, and the whole archipelago may be considered as a portion of the westernmost chain of mountains, broken off from the mainland at the Strait of Fuca, and running through the sea, connecting those of Oregon on the south, with the range on the north, of which Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias are the most prominent peaks.

The first and chief of these islands is Quadra and Vancouver's. This extends along the coast from $48^{\circ} 30'$, in a northerly direction, for the space of one hundred and sixty miles, and forms, by its parallel course with the coast, (from which it is distant about twenty miles,) the celebrated arm of the sea called the Strait of Fuca. Its average width is about forty-five miles, and it contains a surface of about 15,000 square miles. The climate of this island is mild and salubrious, and large portions of its soil are arable and capable of advantageous cultivation. It has an abundance of fine harbors, which afford accommodations for vessels of any size. The chief of these is Nootka Sound, the Port Lorenzo of the Spaniards, a spacious and secure bay, running deep into the land, under parallels $49^{\circ} 34'$, and containing within itself many other harbors, affording most excellent anchorage.

A few miles south of Nootka we come to another large bay, called Clioquot, in which we have seen that Captain Kendrick preferred to remain during the winter of 1789, to any other harbor on the coast. There is another, still further south, named Nittinat, which lies at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and is filled with an archipelago of little islands. The coasts of this island, and indeed the coasts of those above, abound with fine fish of various descriptions, among which the salmon predominate. In consequence of their fisheries, the islands are more numerously populated by the natives than the territory of the mainland.

The next island of significance is Washington, or Queen Charlotte's. It received the former title from Captain Gray, who circumnavigated it for the first time in the summer of 1789. It is triangular in its form, is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and contains four thousand square miles. After Gray's visit, it became the favorite resort of the American traders of the North

Pacific. Its climate and soil are represented by Captain Ingraham as being extremely well adapted for agricultural purposes, particularly those portions in the vicinity of a fine harbor in latitude $53^{\circ} 3'$ on its eastern coast, and at Port Estrada, or Hancock's River, on the north side.

The islands of the next importance below the southern cape of Prince of Wales' Island, (which is the point of our northern boundary line,) are Pitt's, Burke's, Dundas' and the Princess Royal groups. Most of these lie between Washington Island and the shore, and form a numerous archipelago, which renders the intervening navigation extremely tortuous and difficult. Between Washington and Vancouver's Island are a continuous line of others, of considerable size, lying closer to the land, and following with their eastern outlines almost every sinuosity of the continental shore. These latter groups are for the most part uninhabited, and are composed of granite and pudding stone, which appear to be the prevailing rock north of latitude forty-nine. They are generally destitute of fresh water, and having but few anchorages, the strong, intervening currents render navigation perplexed and dangerous. They are only resorted to by the natives in the spring and in the fall on account of their fisheries.

The Coast and Its Harbors.

The coast of Oregon from the forty-second parallel to the mouth of the Columbia pursues a northwardly course, and from that point trends with a slight and gradual westerly inclination to the Strait of Fuca. Its profile consists of a bold, high, wall-like shore of rock, only occasionally broken into gaps or depressions, where the rivers of the territory find their way into the sea. The first of these openings above the southern boundary line is the mouth of the Klamet. This is a stream of considerable size, issuing from the land in $42^{\circ} 40'$, and extending into it to a distance of 150 miles. It has two large tributaries, called by the unromantic titles of Shasty and Nasty Rivers, an error of taste which it is to be hoped the future "Alleghenians" who inhabit their fertile valleys will correct and reform. The bay of the Klamet is admissible only for vessels of very light draught; its whole valley is extremely fertile, and the country adjacent to the stream abounds with a myrtaceous tree, which, at the slightest agitation of the air, diffuses a fragrance that lends to it another feature of an earthly paradise. Between this and the Umpqua River, disembodying in $33^{\circ} 30'$, are two other small streams, neither of which, however, afford a harbor available for commercial purposes.

The Umpqua River is a considerable stream, entering the land to the distance of a hundred miles. It has a tolerable harbor, navigable, however, only for vessels drawing eight feet of water, and its stream, thirty miles from the sea, is broken by rapids and falls. Its valley is blessed with its portion of the general fertility of the lower region of Oregon, and consists of

alternate groves of stupendous timber and rich arable plains. The Hudson's Bay Company have a fort at the mouth of the river, the site of which is the scene of a flourishing settlement. Five lesser streams find their way into the sea, at intervals, from this point to the mouth of the Columbia, and contribute their aid in fertilizing the extensive region lying between the coast and the parallel barrier running at the distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles, known as the President's range of mountains.

The mouth of the Columbia is found at $46^{\circ} 16'$, but is only distinguishable from the sea by a slight and gradual inner curve in the shore. Like all the harbors former by the rivers on the sea coast, it is obstructed with extensive sandbars, formed by the deposits of the river on its meeting with the ocean, and, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, "its entrance, which has from four and a half to eight fathoms of water, is impracticable for two-thirds of the year, and the difficulty of leaving it is equally great." It is thought by some that these obstacles may be removed in time by artificial means, but it is an extremely doubtful question whether it can ever be made an available harbor for vessels of any draught.

Passing Cape Disappointment, the northern headland of the river's mouth, we sail forty miles further north, where we find a secure anchorage in Gray's Bay for vessels drawing ten feet of water; but this harbor is considered of little importance on account of the extensive sand flats, which usurp the greatest portion of its entire surface. From Gray's Bay to Cape Flattery, the southern point of the Strait of Fuca, but two streams, and those of but trifling significance, break the overhanging barrier of the coast.

We have now traversed the whole coast of Oregon lying immediately on the Pacific, and in its course of five hundred miles find but two places of refuge for vessels, (Gray's Bay and the mouth of the Columbia,) and even these are of but trifling importance in a commercial point of view. Indeed, all geographical authorities agree that none of the harbors on this portion of the coast can be deemed safe ports to enter.

The next branch of the coast demanding our attention is that which lies along the Strait of Fuca. This immense area of the sea cuts off the northward line of the coast at Cape Flattery, in latitude $48^{\circ} 23'$, and runs apparently into the land in a southeasterly direction for about a hundred and twenty miles. It then turns northwest by west, and following that direction for three hundred miles more, joins the sea again at Pintard's Sound. The southern portion of this strait varies from fifteen to thirty miles in width, and the coast of Oregon along its course is an exception in its maritime advantages to the portion immediately on the sea. It abounds with fine inland sounds, offering a secure anchorage to vessels of the heaviest draught, and there are no portions of the interior navigation which conceals a hidden danger. The straits can be entered in any wind, and the great rise and

fall of the tides offer facilities for building maritime establishments unsurpassed in any portion of the world. Here, whatever direction emigration may for the present take the commercial operations of the territory will eventually center, and the din of our naval arsenals will proclaim to the world the fulfillment of the prediction that

“The course of empire has westward found its way.”

The most important branch of this strait is a spacious arm descending from its eastern extremity in a southerly direction into the land to the distance of one hundred miles. It is called Admiralty Inlet, and the lowermost portion of it is known as Puget's Sound. This inlet, like the other southern portions of the strait, is filled with splendid harbors, the southernmost of which has the peculiar advantage of being within but little more than three hundred miles of the navigable waters of the Missouri. Great quantities of bituminous coal have been found in its vicinity, and there are other peculiar advantages attached to the station which must eventually make it a point of the first importance. These circumstances have not escaped the watchful eyes of the Hudson's Bay Company, and they have already established a fort and a settlement there by way of securing possession of the point.* At the southeast end of Vancouver's Island there is a small archipelago of islands which, though well wooded, are generally destitute of fresh water. They are, consequently, for the most part uninhabited. The coast of the mainland along the northwestern course of the strait is cut up and penetrated by numerous inlets, called from their perpendicular sides and deep water canals. They afford no good harbors, and offer but few inducements to frequent them. One large river empties into the strait about latitude 49°, which pursues a northerly direction for several hundred miles. It is called the Tacoutche, or Fraser's River, and has a trading post named Fort Langley, situated near its mouth. The other portion of the coast to the north is much of the same character as that south of this river, on the strait. It is cut up by inlets and the numerous islands which line it, and the heavy fogs that are frequent in the region render it at all times difficult to approach or to navigate.

THE NATURAL DIVISION OF OREGON.

The Three Regions.

Oregon is divided into three distinct regions, by three separate mountain ranges, with an additional inferior chain, binding the extreme outline of the Pacific Coast.

Overlooking the rim upon the ocean edge, the first chain we

*The consideration of the maritime advantages of the southern coast of the Strait of Fuca and Puget's Sound, suggests a pretty forcible view of the remarkable liberality of Great Britain's offer of the Columbia as the line of compromise. This, while it secures to her every navigable harbor, does not leave us one.

come to is the Cascade Mountains, or as they are sometimes called the President's Range. They start below the forty-second parallel, and run on a line with the coast at a distance varying from 100 to 150 miles throughout the whole length of the territory, rising in many places to a height from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea in separate cones. Their succession is so continuous as to almost interrupt the communication between the sections, except where the two great rivers, the Columbia and Fraser's, force a passage through; an achievement which they only accomplish by being torn into foam, plunged down precipices or compressed into deep and dismal gorges. This chain of mountains have obtained the title of the President's Range in consequence of their most elevated peaks having been named after the chief magistrates of the United States by a patriotic American traveler.

The stupendous line runs from Mount Jackson to Mount Tyler, and there is yet room among their gigantic cousins for several succeeding dignitaries. The idea which suggested their adaptation to our natural history was a happy one. Perpetual mementos in the archives of our nation, they form no perishable notes of heraldry for the contempt of a succeeding age, but basing their stupendous data upon the eternal earth, pierce with their awful grandeur the region of the clouds, to transcribe their records on the face of heaven. The first of them, Mount Jackson, commences the list in $41^{\circ} 10'$; Jefferson stands in $41^{\circ} 30'$; John Quincy Adams in $42^{\circ} 10'$; Madison in 43° ; Monroe in $43^{\circ} 10'$; Adams in 45° ; Washington (the Mount St. Helens of the English) in 46° ; Van Buren, northwest of Puget's Sound, in 48° ; Harrison, east of the same, in $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and Tyler in 49° . Of these Mount Jackson is the largest, and is said to rise above the level of the sea near twenty thousand feet. Washington, which is next in size, is estimated at 17,000 to 18,000. This is the most beautiful of all. It ascends in a perfect cone, and two-thirds of its height is covered with perpetual snow.*

The region of country lying between this range of mountains and the sea is known as **the first or lower region of Oregon.**

The Blue Mountains form the next division. They commence nearly in the center of Oregon, on parallel of longitude 43° west from Washington, and in 46° of latitude. They run southwest-erly from this point for 200 miles in an irregular manner, occasionally interrupted, and shooting off in spurs to the south and west.

The region between this ridge and the President's Range is called **the second or middle region.**

Beyond the Blue Mountains and lying between them and the Rocky Mountains is **the high country or third region of Oregon.**

The general course of the Rocky Mountains is from south to southeast. They run south from $54^{\circ} 46'$ parallel to the coast (at a distance of 500 miles) for three hundred miles, and grad-

*The limit of perpetual snow for these mountains is, according to Lieutenant Wilkes, 6,500 feet from the level of the sea.

ually extend their distance from the sea by a continuous southeasterly course to over seven hundred at the 40th degree. In these mountains, and their offsets, rise the principal rivers which find their way into the Pacific to the west and the Gulf of Mexico on the east. Near the forty-second parallel is a remarkable depression in the chain called "the Southern Pass" which experience has proved affords a short and easy route for carriages from our states into the territory of Oregon. Above the 48th parallel, again, other passes are formed by the course of the rivers, from either side, which find their way in some places between the mountains. There are other ridges intersecting the face of this vast country, but they are principally offsets or spurs of the three main chains already described. The principal of these is the wind river cluster, on the east of the Rocky Mountains, from which flow many of the headwaters of the Missouri and the Yellowstone Rivers.

Climate and Characteristics of the Three Regions.

The third region or high country is a rocky, barren, broken country, traversed in all directions by stupendous mountain spurs on the peaks of which snow lies nearly all the year. It is from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and in consequence, the river flowing through it westward to the Columbia are broken at frequent intervals by rugged descent and rendered unnavigable almost throughout the whole of their course. There are but few arable spots in this whole section of territory, its level plains, except narrow strips in the immediate vicinity of the rivers, being covered with sand or gravel and being also generally volcanic in their character. The distinguishing features of the territory are its extreme dryness and the difference of its temperature between the day and the night. It seldom rains except during a few days in the spring and no moisture is deposited in dews. In addition to these discouraging features, the climate, from its enclosure between these snowy barriers, is extremely variable, a difference of fifty and sixty degrees taking place between sunrise and midday. The soil is moreover much impregnated with salts, springs of which abound in many places. It will be seen by reference to the journal which forms the latter portion of this work that some of these possess highly medicinal qualities, and from the beauty of their situation will doubtless become, before time is done, the resort of the fashionable population of Western America.

Notwithstanding all these unfavorable qualities, there are many small prairies within its mountains which, from their production of a nutritious bunchgrass, are well adapted for grazing purposes, and in despite of its changeable climate, stock is found to thrive well and to endure the severity of the winter without protection.

The second or middle region of Oregon, between the Blue and the President Ranges, is less elevated than the third, and conse-

quently all the stern extremities of the latter's climate and soil are proportionately modified. Its mean height is about a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and much of its surface is a rolling prairie country, with the exception of the portion above latitude 48°, which is very much broken by rivers and traverse mountain chains. It is consequently adapted only in sections to farming purposes. Plenty of game, however, is found in the forests of the country to compensate for its unfitness for agriculture. Below this parallel, and in the middle of the section, are extensive plains, admirably adapted to stock raising, from the perpetual verdure always overspreading them and from the salubrious climate that prevails throughout their neighborhood. Cattle thrive even better here than in the low country and there is no necessity for housing them at any time; neither need provender be laid in, the natural hay found always in abundance on the prairies being preferred by them to the fresh grass upon the bottoms. It is in this region the Indians raise their immense herds of horses, and here, whenever the territory shall be numerously settled, may be bred clouds of horsemen, who would not be exceeded by any light cavalry in the world.

The southern portion of this region as it advances to the boundary line becomes less favorable to the purposes of man, and loses its fertility by rolling into swelling sand hills, producing nothing but the wild wormwood, mixed with prickly pear, and a sparse sprinkling of short bunchgrass.

The first of lower region of Oregon is that which lies along the coast and extends westward to the line of the President's Range of mountains. The portion of this, lying north of the Columbia and between it and the Straits of Fuca, is a heavily timbered country covered with forests of trees of extraordinary size. It has, however, its spaces of prairie on which good pasturage is found, and it has also some fine arable land. This section is watered by four rivers, of which the Chickelis, disembogueing into the Columbia, and the Cowelitz, emptying into the sea at Gray's Harbor, are the most important. The forests of this portion of the lower region are its great feature. They consist of pines, firs, spruce, red and white oak, ash, arbutus, arbor vitae, cedar, poplar, maple, willow, cherry and yew, with so close and matted an undergrowth of hazel and other brambles as to render them almost impenetrable to the front of man. Most of the trees are of an enormous bulk, and they are studded so thick that they rise before the beholder like a stupendous and impregnable solidity, which declares futile all ordinary attempts to penetrate it. This astonishing exuberance is not confined alone to the timber of the section north of the Columbia, for we have an account of a fir growing at Astoria, eight miles from the ocean, on the southern bank of the Columbia, which measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the ground, ascended one hundred and fifty-three feet before giving off a branch, and was three hundred feet in its whole height. Another tree of the same species is said to be standing on the Umpqua,

the trunk of which is fifty-seven feet in circumference and two hundred and sixteen feet in length below its branches. Prime sound pines from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height and from twenty to forty in circumference are by no means uncommon. The value of this spontaneous wealth has already been appreciated by the acute company who reign commercially predominant in this region, for already their untiring saw mills, plied by gangs of Sandwich Islanders and servile Iroquois, cut daily at Fort Vancouver alone thousands of feet of plank, which are transported regularly to the markets of the Pacific Islands.

But to return to that section of the lower region lying between the Columbia and the Straits of Fuca. The banks of the Cowe-litz are generally bare of timber, but the soil in their immediate vicinity is for the most part poor. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, have a fine farm of 600 acres in its western valley, which in 1841 produced 7,000 bushels of wheat. The average produce is twenty bushels to the acre. They have also a saw and grist mill now in operation there, both of which find a market for their products in the Sandwich and other islands of Polynesia. Live stock do not succeed well on these farms, and this is owing to the absence of low prairie grounds near the river, and also to the extensive depredations of the wolves. The hilly portion of the country immediately around, though its soil is very good, is too heavily timbered to be available for agricultural purposes, and this is also the case with many portions of the level lands. There are, however, large tracts of fine prairie at intervals between, suitable for cultivation, and ready for the plough.

Proceeding northward, we came to Fort Nasqually, a fine harbor at the southern point of Puget's Sound. Here the Hudson's Bay Company have another fine settlement, and raise wheat (15 bushels to the acre), oats, peas, potatoes and make butter for the Russian settlements. On the islands of the Sound and on the upper sections of Admiralty Inlet, the Indians cultivate potatoes in great abundance. These vegetables are extremely fine and constitute a large portion of their food.

Having disposed of this section, we come now to that portion of the lowest region lying south of the Columbia, between the President's Range and the coast. This by universal agreement is admitted to be the finest portion of all Oregon. It is entered by the Wallamette River, about five miles below Vancouver, which stream extends into its bosom over two hundred miles. This river is navigable for steamboats and vessels of light draught for nearly forty miles, when you come to a falls—the invariable feature of the rivers of this territory. Above the falls are the principal settlements of Oregon. Here the American adventurers have principally established themselves, and by the contributions of the emigrations from the States their number is rapidly increasing. As these settlements are described with some particularity in the journal which concludes this work, we will omit a particular account of them in this place.

The fertile portion of the valley of the Willamette is about two hundred and fifty miles long, and averages about seventy in width, making in all a surface of more than 17,000 square miles of rich arable land. The soil is an unctuous, heavy, black loam, which yields to the producer a ready and profuse return for the slightest outlay of his labor. The climate is mild throughout the year, but the summer is warm and very dry. From April to October, while the sea breezes prevail, rain seldom falls, in any part of Oregon. During the other months, and while the south winds blow, the rains are frequent and at times abundant.

In the valleys of the low country snow is seldom seen, and the ground is so rarely frozen that ploughing may generally be carried on the whole winter. In 1834 the Columbia was frozen over for thirteen days, but this was principally attributable to the accumulation of ice from above. "This country," says Wyeth, "is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, apples, potatoes and all the vegetables cultivated in the northern part of the Union. Indian corn does not succeed well, and is an unprofitable crop."

The following letter, recently received from Oregon, and giving an account of last year's crop, will serve to show the wonderful productiveness of this delightful region:*

"The harvest is just at hand, and such crops of wheat, barley, oats, peas and potatoes are seldom, if ever, to be seen in the States, that of wheat in particular—the stalks being in many instances as high as my head, the grains generally much larger—I would not much exaggerate to say they are as large again as those grown east of the mountains. The soil is good and the climate most superior, being mild the year round, and very healthy, more so than any country I have lived in the same length of time. Produce bears an excellent price—pork, 10 cents; beef, 6 cents; potatoes, 50 cents; wheat, \$1 per bushel. These articles are purchased at the above prices with great avidity by the merchants for shipment generally to the Sandwich Islands and Russian settlements on this continent, and are paid for mostly in stores and groceries, the latter of which is the product of these islands, particularly sugar and coffee, of which abundant supplies are furnished. Wages for laborers are high—common hands are getting from one to two dollars per day, and mechanics from two to four dollars per day. It is with difficulty men can be procured at these prices, so easily can they do better on their farms. The plains are a perpetual meadow, furnishing two complete new crops in a year, spring and fall, the latter remaining green through the winter. Beef is killed from the grass at any season of the year. If you have any enterprise left, or if your neighbors have any, here is the place for them."

Of this valley Lieutenant Wilkes says, "the wheat yields thirty-five or forty bushels for one bushel sown; or from twenty to thirty to the acre. Its quality is superior to that grown in the

*The above is an extract of a letter from General McCarver, who is at present the Speaker of the Lower House of Oregon.

United States, and its weight is nearly four pounds to the bushel heavier. The above is the yield of the new land; but it is believed will greatly exceed this after the third crop, when the land has been broken up and well tilled. In comparison to our own country, I would say that the labor necessary to acquire wealth or subsistence is in proportion of one to three; or, in other words, a man must work through the year three times as much in the United States to gain the same competency. The care of stock, which occupies so much time with us, requires no attention here, and on the increase alone a man might find support."

South of the valley of the Willamette we come to that of the Umpqua, in which is found large prairies of unsurpassable arable land, though the vicinage of the river is chiefly remarkable for its gigantic pine timber. Some idea of the extraordinary size of its forest trees may be obtained from the fact that their seed cones are sometimes more than a foot in length. Below the Umpqua we next arrive at the country watered by the Tootootutna, or Rogues River, and beyond that to the volumptuous valley of the Klamet. These lower portions of the first region are thought by many to be the paradise of the whole territory, excelling in richness of soil and voluptuousness of climate, even the celebrated valley of the Willamette. Of this opinion is Lieutenant Wilkes, to whose exertions and researches we are indebted for most of our accurate geographical knowledge of the western portion of Oregon. Indeed, probability seems to be in favor of regarding the valleys of the Klamet, Tootootutna and the Umpqua as the gardens of the West, and the cause of the preference of the northern portions is to be attributed mostly to the readier access afforded to them by the avenue of the Columbia. Population, however, is already gradually encroaching further and further south, and but few years will elapse before coasters will be running down to the mouths of these three rivers for their agricultural products.

The principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company is situated at Vancouver, on the Columbia; a point ninety miles from its mouth. At this station, the main branch of foreign commerce is carried on, and from it the chief exports in the way of pine plank, the grains, butter, etc., is made to the Russian settlements and to the islands of the ocean. They have another farm upon the Fallatry plains, west of the Willamette and about ten miles from Vancouver, which is also well stocked and in productive cultivation.

Before concluding our description of this portion of Oregon it may be well to state that the continual influx of emigrants from the States at the station of the Willamette, and the occasional confictions of interest, rendered it necessary, in the absence of protection from the laws of the Republic, that the American settlers should establish a territorial government for themselves. They have accordingly proceeded to constitute two

legislative bodies, to appoint a chief justice and make the necessary ministerial officers to enforce his decisions.

The two houses meet at stated periods in the year for the transaction of all the necessary business of the little body politic, and the degree of importance which the new Legislature has already obtained may be estimated by the fact that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have accorded their acknowledgment of its powers by applying through the chief governor of all the stations in the Territory, (Doctor McLaughlin) for a charter for a canal around the Willamette Falls. The exclusive right was granted to him for twenty years on the condition that he should, in two years, construct a canal around them sufficient for the passage of boats thirteen feet in width.

This recognition of the authority of the legislative confederacy would, however, be a politic course in the resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, even though he should be ever so averse to it; for such recognition would not affect the interest of his association in case it were overthrown by his own government, and it would afford him, meanwhile, an opportunity for the quiet pursuit of his plans. It is but just, however, to bear in mind that the jurisdiction exercised by the company over all the citizens in the territory previous to this legislative convention was not their own arrogation, but the investiture of the British government for its own special objects, and it is no less just to say that this power was exercised by the gentleman above-named, during his rule, with a temperance and fairness but seldom found in those who have no immediate superior to account to.

The letter that brings us this latter information also tells us the Doctor has already commenced his work with a large number of hands, and that there is no doubt of his perfect ability to complete it within the time named. He was likewise constructing at the date of this information (last August) a large flouring mill with four run of burs, which was to be ready for business last fall.

The Rivers.

Having completed a description of the general characteristics of the three regions of Oregon, there remains but one feature of its geography unfinished, and as that extends for the most part continuously from region to region, it could not be properly embraced in the particular account of any one. We allude to the course and characteristics of the Columbia River and its tributaries.

The northern branch of the Columbia River rises in latitude 50° north and 116' west (from Greenwich) thence it pursues a northern route to McGillivray's pass in the Rocky Mountains. There it meets the Canoe River and by that tributary ascends northwesterly for eighty miles more. At the boat encampment at the pass, another stream also joins it through the mountains, and here the Columbia is 3,600 feet above the level of the sea.

It now turns south, having some obstructions to its safe navigation in the way of rapids, receiving many tributaries in its course to Colville, among which the Beaver, Salmon, Flatbow and Clarke's rivers from the east, and the Colville and two smaller tributaries, higher up, from the west, are the chief.

This great river is bounded thus far on its course by a range of high, well-wooded mountains, and in places expands into a line of lakes before it reaches Colville, where it is 2,049 feet above the level of the sea, having a fall of 550 feet in 220 miles.

Fort Colville stands in a plain of 2,000 or 3,000 acres. There the Hudson's Bay Company have a considerable settlement and a farm under cultivation, producing from 3,000 to 4,000 bushels of different grains, with which many of their other forts are supplied. On Clarke's River the company have another post called Flathead House, situated in a rich and beautiful country spreading westward to the bases of the Rocky Mountains. On the Flatbow also the company have a post, named Fort Kootanie.

From Fort Colville the Columbia trends westward for about sixty miles and then receives the Spokane from the south. This river rises in the lake of the Pointed Heart, which lies in the bosom of extensive plains of the same name. It pursues a northwesterly course for about 200 miles, and then empties into the Columbia. Its valley, according to Mr. Spaulding, an American missionary, who surveyed it, may be extensively used as a grazing district; but its agricultural capabilities are limited. The chief features of its region are (like those of the upper country, through which we have already traced the Columbia and its tributaries,) extensive forests of timber and wide sandy plains intersected by bold and high mountains.

From the Spokane, the Columbia continues its westerly course for sixty miles, receiving several smaller streams, until it comes to the Okanagan, a river finding its source in a line of lakes to the north, and affording boat and canoe navigation to a considerable extent up its course. On the east side of this river, and near its junction with the Columbia, the company have another station called Fort Okanagan. Though the country bordering on the Okanagan is generally worthless this settlement is situated among a number of small but rich arable plains.

After passing the Okanagan, the Columbia takes a southward turn and runs in that direction for 160 miles to Walla Walla, receiving in its course the Pisco, the Ekama and Entyatecom from the west, and lastly the Saptin or Lewis River from the south. From this point the part of the Columbia which we have traced, though obstructed by rapids (is navigable for canoes to the **Boat Encampment**, a distance of 500 miles to the north. The Saptin takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains, passes through the Blue, and reaches the Columbia after having pursued a northwesterly direction for 520 miles. It brings a large volume of water to the latter stream, but in consequence of its extensive and numerous rapids it is not navigable even for canoes except

in reaches. This circumstance is to be deplored, as its course is the line of route for the emigration of the States. It receives a large number of tributaries, of which the Kooskooske and Salmon are the chief. Our previous account of the arid and volcanic character of this region obviates the necessity of a further description here. There is a trading station upon the Saptin near the southern boundary line, called Fort Hall, and one also near its junction with the Columbia, called Fort Walla Walla. The Columbia at Walla Walla is 1,284 feet above the level of the sea and about 3,500 feet wide. It now takes its last turn to the westward, pursuing a rapid course of eighty miles to the Cascades, and receiving the Umatilla, Quisnel's, John Day's and Chute Rivers from the south, and Cathlatate's from the north. At the Cascades the navigation of the river is interrupted by a series of falls and rapids, caused by the immense volume forcing its way through the gorge of the President's Range. From the Cascades there is still-water navigation for forty miles, when the river is again obstructed by rapids; after passing these it is navigable for 120 miles to the ocean. The only other great independent river in the territory is the Tacoutche or Fraser's River. It takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains near the source of Canoe River; thence it takes a north-westerly course for eighty miles, when it makes a turn southward, receiving Stuart's River, which brings down its waters from a chain of lakes extending to the 56th degree of latitude. Turning down from Stuart's River, the Tacoutche pursues a southerly course until it reaches latitude 49°, where it breaks through the Cascade Range in a succession of falls and rapids, then turns to the west, and after a course of seventy miles more, disembogues into the Gulf of Georgia, on the Straits of Fuca, in latitude 47° 07'. Its whole length is 350 miles, but it is only navigable for seventy miles from its mouth by vessels drawing twelve feet of water. It has three trading posts upon it belonging to the company: Fort Langley at its mouth, Fort Alexandria at the junction of a small stream a few miles south of Quisnell's River, and another at the junction of Stuart's River. The country drained by this river is poor and generally unfit for cultivation. The climate is extreme in its variations of heat and cold, and in the fall months, dense fogs prevail which bar every object from the eye beyond the distance of a hundred yards. The chief features of the section are extensive forests, transverse ranges of low countries and vast tracts of marshes and lakes formed by the streams descending from the surrounding heights.

"The character of the great river is peculiar—rapid and sunken much below the level of the country, with perpendicular banks they run as it were in trenches, which make it extremely difficult to get at the water in many places, owing to their steep basaltic walls. They are, at many points contracted by *dalles*, or narrows, which during the rise, back the water some dis-

tance, submerging islands and tracts of low prairie, and giving them the appearance of extensive lakes.

"The soil along the river bottoms is generally alluvial and would yield good crops were it not for the overflowing of the rivers, which check and kill the grain. Some of the finest portions of the land are thus unfitted for cultivation. They are generally covered with water before the banks are overflowed in consequence of the quicksands that exist in them and through which the water percolates."

"The rise of the streams flowing from the Cascade Mountains takes place twice a year, in February and November, and are produced by heavy and abundant rains. The rise of the Columbia takes place in May and June, and is attributable to the melting of the snows. Sometimes the swell of the latter is very sudden, if heavy rains should also happen at that period, but it is generally gradual and reaches its greatest height from the 6th to the 15th of June. Its perpendicular rise is from 18 to 20 feet at Vancouver, where a line of embankment has been thrown up to protect the lower prairie; but it has generally been flooded during these visitations and the crops often destroyed.

"The greatest rise of the Willamette takes place in February, and sometimes ascending to the height of 20 feet, does considerable damage. Both this river and the Cowelitz are much swollen by the backing of their waters during the height of the Columbia, all their lower grounds being at such times submerged. This puts an effectual bar to the border prairies being used for anything but pasturage. This happily is fine throughout the year, except in the season of floods, when the cattle must be driven to the high grounds."

The lakes of Oregon are numerous and well distributed in the different regions of the territory. In the northern section, the Okanogan (from which flows the river of that name), Stuart's and Fraser's, near the upper boundary; Quesnell's in 53° and Klamloop's in 51° are the largest. In the central section, we have the Flatbow, the Coeur d'Alene or "Pointed Heart" and the Kullespelm, and in the southern district are the Klamet, the Pit and an abundance of inferior lakes, as yet unnoticed on the maps, and for which geographers have not yet been able to discover names. Several of the latter are salt, and, at intervals, we find chains of hot springs bubbling in some places above the ground, like those of Iceland. The smaller lakes are said to add much to the picturesque beauty of the streams.

The whole territory is well watered in all directions, and from the peculiar character of its rivers, their descent, the rapidity of their currents and their frequent falls there is perhaps no country in the world which affords so many facilities for manufacturing purposes through the agency of water power. This is a peculiarly happy circumstance, when taken into consideration with the fact that the timber overspreading the west-

ern portion and clustering around its mill sites will, for a long time, form one of the principal exports in the markets of the Pacific. This will appear from the high prices which it now commands, and also from the fact that no other portion of the Northwest Coast produces it. Already trading vessels resort to the mouth of the Columbia to supply themselves with spars and other necessary materials, and the improving facilities of inland intercommunication has directed some of it from point to point within the territory.

Having now completed our account of the great physical characteristics of Oregon, our attention naturally turns to those portions of its natural history which are equally necessary to render a land serviceable to the wants of man. Of these the first and most important are the fisheries. "These," says Lieutenant Wilkes, "are so immense that the whole native population subsist on them." All the rivers, bays, harbors and shores of the coast and islands abound in salmon, sturgeon, cod, carp, sole, flounders, ray, perch, herring, lamprey eels and a kind of smelt or sardine, which is extremely abundant. The different kinds predominate alternately, according to the situations of the respective fisheries, but the salmon abound everywhere over all. This superior fish is found in the largest quantities in the Columbia and the finest of them are taken at the Dalles. They run twice a year, May and October, and appear inexhaustible. To so great an extent is traffic in them already advanced that the establishment at Vancouver alone exports ten thousand barrels of them annually. There are also large quantities of oysters, clams, crabs, mussels and other kinds of shell fish found in the different bays and creeks of the country, and to complete this piscatory feature, we are further told that whales are also found in numbers along the coast and at the mouth of the Strait of Fuca, where they are frequently captured by the **piscivorous** aborigines.

Of game, an equal abundance exists. In the spring and fall, the rivers literally swarm with geese, duck, cranes, swans and other species of water-fowl; and the elk, deer, antelope, bear, wolf, fox, martin, beaver, muskrat, grizzly bear and siffleur make, with them, the harvest of the hunter's rifle. In the middle section little or no game is to be found, but in the third region the buffalo are plenty and form an attraction to numerous hunting parties of the Blackfeet and Oregon Indians.

The population of Oregon Territory has been estimated by Lieutenant Wilkes to be about 20,000, of whom 19,200 or 300 are aborigines, and the remaining seven or eight hundred whites. This number and its proportions have, however, increased and varied considerably since the time of his estimate. The years succeeding his visit beheld large emigrations from the States, and the white population of Oregon may now be safely set down as being between two and three thousand, of whom the majority are from the States. The largest portion of these are

located in the valley of the Willamette, where, as we have already seen, they have adopted a government of their own. The other white inhabitants are sprinkled about in different portions of the Territory, at the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose officers and servants amount, in all, to between five and six hundred, but this number does not include their Iroquois and Sandwich Island serfs.

There are no means of ascertaining with accuracy the numbers of the aboriginal population, as many of them move from place to place in the fishing seasons; but, for the purpose of furnishing the reader with the nearest warrant for reliance, we will here insert a tabular statement, prepared by Mr. Crawford, of the Indian Department, for the use of last Congress:

**Indians West of the Rocky Mountains, in the Oregon
District, and Their Numbers.**

Nez Perces.....	.....	Chimnapuns	2,000
Ponderas .....	.....	Shallatlos,	200
Flatheads,	800	Speannaros	240
Cour D'Alene.....	.....	Saddals,	400
Shoshonies,	1,800	Wallawallahs	2,600
Callapooahs, .....	.....	Chopunnishees	3,000
Umbaquaahs, .....	.....	Catlashoots	430
Kiyuse .....	.....	Pohahs	1,000
Spokeus .....	.....	Willewahs	1,000
Oknanagans .....	.....	Sinacsops,	200
Cootomies .....	.....	Chillokittequaws	2,400
Chilts	800	Echebools	1,000
Chinookes	400	Wahupums	1,000
Snakes	1,000	Euesteurs,	1,200
Cathlamahs	200	Clackamurs	1,800
Wahkiakumes,	200	Chanwappans	400
Skillutes,	2,500		
Sokulks,	3,000		29,570

The most numerous and warlike of the Oregon Indians are in the islands to the north, but on the mainland they are generally friendly and well disposed. They are, however, rapidly passing away before the advancing destiny of a superior race, and with the wild game vanish gradually from the white man's tracks. Those remaining are a servile and degraded class, who perform the meanest offices of the settlements and readily consent to a mode of existence under the missionaries and other settlers but little short of vassalage. In the Wallamette Valley there are now left but a few remnants of the once numerous and powerful tribes that formerly inhabited it. At the mouth of the Columbia there are some few of the Chenooks still left, and about the Cascades and at The Dalles still linger considerable numbers of this ill-fated and fast fading people. There is no longer any spirit left in them; their hearts are broken,

PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL RAILROAD FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC.

For the Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to China.

Having ascertained what Oregon is, our next inquiry becomes in what view it is of the most importance to us, and how we may most readily and completely avail ourselves of its advantages.

As **an agricultural country** it is of no great importance to a nation having contiguous leagues on leagues of land yielding the same products nearer at home, the abundant fertility of which has never yet been challenged by the spade or plough;* but as a commercial avenue to the wealth of the Indies and the riches of the Pacific, its value is incalculable.

In any view, whether agricultural or commercial, the advantages and worth of this territory depend upon the easiness of its approach from the States, and any means that are adopted to facilitate this intercommunication will, according to their degree of efficiency, proportionately advance its destiny. Nature has already contributed to the object more liberally in the country under consideration than to the same extent of any other portion of the globe. From the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains spreads a plain scarcely broken by a hillock; through that stupendous ridge gapes a pass presenting no discouraging opposition to heavily laden wagons with single teams, and from its western side the banks of the Saptin lead the traveler safely through to the navigable waters of the Columbia.

The time required for the journey by the present mode of traveling is from three to four months; but though this might suffice for the gradual drain of a surplus population, it will not meet the new designs which the full possession of this land of promise opens to us.

These designs are legitimately the same which have agitated the commercial world since the discovery of this continent, and they are now happily within our reach and accomplishment by means of a **railroad**. As it is one of the main purposes of this work to urge this project upon the people of this country, and as it is filled with considerations of the weightiest moment, it will be necessary to treat it with that method and particularity which its merits demand, and which will adapt it to the ready and accurate comprehension of every understanding.

Our first purpose, therefore, will be to measure the value of the object we seek by philosophical inquiry, and by the estimation of its importance by other powers, and our second to glance at some of the results that will flow from it to our benefit as a nation.

The commerce of the East, in every age, has been the source of the opulence and power of every nation which has engrossed

*Our unoccupied public lands amount to 700,000,000 acres.

it. By a silent and almost imperceptible operation, India has been through centuries the secret but active cause of the advancement of mankind, and while lying apparently inert in her voluptuous clime, has changed the maritime balances of Europe with the visit of every new nation that has sought the riches of her shores. Her trade imparted the first great impulse to drowsy and timid navigation; it revealed in the direction to its coasts region after region before unknown; it found for the guidance of the mariner new planets in the sky, and its restless spirit has not even been content to make more than a temporary pause in the discovery of another world.* Like the Genii of the fable it still offers the casket and the sceptre to those who, unintimidated by the terrors which surround it, are bold enough to adventure to its embrace. In turn, Phœnicia, Israel,† Carthage, Greece, Rome, (through her vanquished tributaries) Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Portugal, Holland, and lastly England, have won and worn the ocean diadem. **Our** destiny now offers it to us!

To shorten, by a western passage, the route to the Indies, which now must be conducted circuitously around the fearful barriers of Cape Horn and Southern Africa, is a design that has long occupied the attention and aroused the exertions of all maritime nations. The first and most remarkable effort to effect it was made in the latter part of the fifteenth century, by Columbus, which resulted in the discovery of another world, and the search has been maintained with but little intermission by the intervening ages ever since. Exploring expeditions to both the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts have pryed in every sinuosity of shore from latitude 50° south to the border of the Frigid zone, and in the defeat of their exertions projects have been formed even to pierce the continent to accomplish the design. As early as the seventeenth century a company was formed in Scotland to improve the advantages offered by the Isthmus of Darien and Panama for trade in the Pacific;‡ but the project being discountenanced by England at the violent remonstrances of her powerful East India Company, the subscriptions were withdrawn and the enterprise temporarily dropped. It was revived soon after by its indefatigable projector, who, having raised £700,000 and 1,200 men, set sail in five ships to found a colony; but being denounced by the government and attacked by a Spanish force while its reduced numbers were suffering under disease and famine, they sunk under their accumulated misfortunes and abandoned the enterprise in despair.

From that time to this, the project of dividing the isthmus has been a favorite theme with European philosophers and states-

* The object of Columbus was not, as has been erroneously supposed, the discovery of a new continent, but a shorter route to Cathay.

† Envyng the success of the Phœnicians, David and Solomon, after having seized upon Idumea as a preparative, sent their fleets through the Arabian Gulf to Tarshish, Ophir, and other ports in Africa and India, and by this means diffused throughout the land of Israel "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." It is to this cause, doubtless, that the latter monarch specially owes his vast reputation for sagacity, as well as the splendor of his reign.

‡ This scheme was projected by William Patterson, who was supposed to have been originally a South American Buccaneer, cotemporary with Sir Henry Morgan.

men; but the subject appears never to have advanced beyond the bounds of mere speculation until later years." In 1814 it was revived by Spain, who this time seemed to be seriously in earnest in the matter. By a vote of her Cortes, dated April 30th, in the above year, the immediate commencement of the work was decreed, but the foreign domestic troubles into which she was plunged at this period rendered her incapable of carrying out the grand design.

The project found its next active and practical supporter in Bolivar, who in 1827 appointed a commissioner to ascertain, by actual survey, the **best** line, either by railroad or canal, between the two seas. The commissioner reported in favor of the latter, and an estimate was subsequently made by a French engineer that a canal, forty miles in length, might be constructed across it at an expense of less than three millions of dollars, but the untimely death of the illustrious patron of the scheme put an end to its further prosecution. The next movement in the measure took place in 1842, when the Mexican government, upon application, empowered Don Jose de Garay, one of its citizens, to effect a communication across its territories, between the oceans, and invested him with the most ample rights and immunities on condition of his completing the work. Don Jose, in pursuance of his grant, appointed a scientific commission that accomplished the survey in 1842 and 1843, the result of which established the perfect practicability of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Tehautepec. Upon these grounds and the security of his governmental grants and privileges, its projector is now in London soliciting the aid of British capital to carry out the scheme.

France, with the view of advancing the value of her oceanic possessions, is deeply alive to the importance of this measure. Under the special patronage of Guizot and Admiral Roussin, a private survey of the isthmus has recently been made, the importance attributed to which may be imagined by the careful suppression of its details from the public. Thus evidences multiply that the world will not much longer endure the petty obstacles which bar them from the long-desired western passage to the Indies. How important, therefore, that we, who have an engrossing interest in this subject, should protect ourselves from being outstripped by those whom our rapidly advancing destiny already promises to leave behind.

The English government, though the junction of the seas has been repeatedly and strenuously urged by the representatives of some of her most important mercantile interests, have betrayed an apathy upon the subject which, if not accounted for by the principles of her usually selfish policy, would appear inexplicable, but she doubtless reasons thus:

"'Let well alone.' By the present routes around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Isthmus of Suez, we have a fair start with the best, and a superior chance over most other nations for the Indies; and while our established power in that region

and our superior marine secures us a preponderance in her trade, it would be madness to contribute to afford superior facilities and advantages to others. Through her geographical position the United States, from whose wonderful energies and fearful strides toward maritime equality we have everything to fear, can more readily avail herself of the benefits of this passage than any other nation. Her fleets would stream in one unbroken line through the Gulf of Mexico, her naval power would overawe our settlements on the Northwest Coasts, and her impertinent enterprise, of which we have had a late evidence in China, would extend itself throughout our Indian possessions. The Marquesas Islands, which, in case this project be carried out, lie directly in the road of navigation, would at a step advance into one of the most important maritime posts in the world, while the Society Islands, also in the possession of France, would enhance immensely in their value. Worse than all, returning back, the vessels of all Europe would ere long procure their tropical products from the newly awakened islands of the ocean, and in just the degree that the value of Oceana would increase, our West India possessions would depreciate. By changing the route and extending it across the ocean instead of circuitously through it, we should voluntarily resign into other hands those commanding maritime and naval stations which we have won at the outlay of so much diplomacy and perseverance. The power and advantages of St. Helena, Mauritius, Capetown at the Cape of Good Hope, and the Falkland Islands commanding the passage around Cape Horn, will be transferred to New Orleans and other cities of the United States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, to Cuba, Chagres, Panama and the Marquesas Islands. Let us, therefore, 'let well alone,' and be content with our present supremacy upon its present basis; unless indeed we can gain a superior advantage through the Arctic Sea,* or monopolize a Mexican route to the shores of the Californias. The isthmus passage must, however, be discouraged, and if persevered in, Cuba must at all hazards be obtained to compensate in some degree for the losses we shall sustain on the African Coasts."

This supposition is by no means strained. It is but a fair inference from Britain well known selfish character and policy, and the United States would be justified in turning the proposition against her.

Having thus measured the importance attributed to the design of shortening the western passage to the Indies by the immense sums which have been lavished, and the hazards which have been braved upon the mere **hope** of its accomplishment,

* NEW VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.—It is in the contemplation of the British government to send out another expedition to the Arctic regions, with the view of discovering *the* or *a* Northwest passage between the Atlantic and Pacific; and the Council of the Royal Society, having been solicited to give their opinion as to the desirableness of such an expedition, have stated that, independent of the great object to be attained, the benefits that would accrue to the sciences of geography and terrestrial magnetism render such an expedition peculiarly desirable. The Erebus and Terror, which were recently employed at the South pole, under Sir J. Ross, have returned in such good order as to be ready to be made immediately available for employment on similar service.—*English Paper*.

is it not incumbent upon us to inquire if we have not within our own boundaries the means and facilities of effecting it, and if we have, is it not likewise incumbent on us to carry the long desired object to its fulfilment? We owe this to our own character, to our posterity, to the world—and we most specially owe to the genius of the fifteenth century (which in the prosecution of this very plan redeemed us from the ocean) the completion of the purpose which we barred.

The circumstance of England's opposition to the plan (or to a similar one) is alone an urgent motive to the undertaking; the revelations of each succeeding day strengthen the opinion that our interests and policy are founded upon antagonistic principles. We are her natural rival upon the ocean, and as we advance she retires. We are the only power that ever baffled her arms, and the course of things have marked us as the heir of her strength and the successor to her trident. Already the commerce of the globe, divided into eight parts, gives more than **five** between us two, and a sub-division affords but one part less to us than to her. Here, to use the expression of one of her own writers, is a "great fact;" a fact so pregnant that it turns Speculation into Prescience, and points to the decree of Fate in our future and speedy preponderance. France understands the relative positions and interests of this country and Great Britain as well as, if not better, than ourselves, and is perhaps actuated to the interest she takes in the opening of the isthmus by a more comprehensive policy than that which springs merely from the influences of an immediate self-interest. The spirit of her people is akin to ours, their natural bent of mind inclines them for democratic institutions, and their hearts beat towards us with sentiments of warm affection. To quote the language of one of their popular organs: She looks toward us as her natural ally and as the only power which can eventually release the ocean from the tyranny of Great Britain. If this hope live in France, how much stronger must its ray be cherished by those inferior powers who dare not aspire to rise above submission?

"There is a divinity that shapes the ends" of nations as of men, and we may discern the fulfilment of the maxim in the continual defeat of the most daring enterprise of man as applied to this design, through a period of four centuries. Not ripe for its great revolution, Providence has denied it to the world until the hour should arrive for the first great step toward perfecting the grand scheme of the creation. A thousand combining influences tell us that the time has come; the universal beams of knowledge have driven Superstition and Ignorance from the stage of action to mope in the dreary cells which imprisoned under them too long the genius of mankind. Science having stripped experiment of its terrors, measures with accuracy the results of every assay, and despising the obstacles of Nature, whose elements, nay, even the forked lightning itself, she has

fastened to her car, feels as capable of beating down the barriers of a continent as of measuring the distance to a planet. A new principle has been evoked which, though simple in its pretensions and matter-of-fact in its operations, will share in future times the honor of the mariner's compass and the printing press in civilizing and advancing man. The object of each is sympathetic with the other; the result of each must tend to the same end. Their principle is **intercourse** and their spirit **progress**. The first awoke our hemisphere from its sleep in the abyss; the second infused sentiments which turned the footsteps of our ancestors toward it, and we must now invoke the third for the final accomplishment of its destiny!

It is true there is much that is startling in the proposition of a **national railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans**, and much that will strike the hasty observer as chimerical; but when we have seen stupendous pyramids raised by human hands in the midst of a sterile and shifting desert; while we know that despite the obstacles of Nature and the rudeness of Art, a semi-barbarous people, many centuries before the Christian era, erected around their empire a solid barrier of wall, thirty feet in height, and so broad that six horsemen could ride on it abreast, carrying it over the most formidable mountains, across rivers on arches and through the declensions and sinuosities of valleys to the distance of **fifteen hundred miles**, let us not insult the enterprise of this enlightened age by denouncing the plan of a simple line of rails over a surface but a little greater in extent, without one half the natural obstacles to overcome, as visionary and impracticable.

Geographers variously estimate the greatest breadth of our country from ocean to ocean at 1,700 to 2,000 miles.* Taking the largest estimate and adding to it 500 miles to allow for occasional deviation of route, and we have a distance of 2,500 miles, which at the moderate rate of fifteen miles to the hour,† can be accomplished in **seven days**. We have already from New York a continuous line of railroad and steamboat communication laid out to Chicago, Illinois, proceeding from which point, directly along the 42d parallel, we find a smooth and gently rolling plain, without serious obstruction or obstacle in any part, until we strike the Great Southern Pass, through the Rocky Mountains, into Oregon. The following account of an expedition in wagons to this point, in 1829, will serve to show the nature of the facilities which offer themselves to the traveler through the region lying between the mountains and the States. It is an extract from a letter addressed by Messrs. Smith, Jackson and Soulette to the Secretary of War, in October, 1829, and published with President Jackson's message, January 25th, 1831:

*McCulloch, in his *Gazateer*, compiled from all the authorities, estimates the breadth at its widest stretch to be 1,700 miles—Professor Morse, in his *Geography* published in 1845, at 2,000.

†Our Boston railroad cars frequently travel at the rate of 22 miles to the hour, stoppage included.

"On the 10th of April last (1829) we set out from St. Louis with eighty-one men, all mounted on mules, ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two dearborns (lights carriages or carts), each drawn by one mule. Our route was nearly due west to the western limits of the State of Missouri, and thence along the Santa Fe trail, about forty miles from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas,† and up the Great Platte River to the Rocky Mountains and to the head of Wind River, where it issues from the mountains.

"This took us until the 16th of July and was as far as we wished the wagons to go, as the furs to be brought in were to be collected at this place, which is, or was, this year the great rendezvous of the persons engaged in that business. **Here the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the Southern Pass, had it been desirable for them to do so;** which it was not, for the reason stated. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle besides a milch cow. Eight of them only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes, the others went on to the head of Wind River. On the 4th of August the wagons, being in the meantime loaded with the furs which had been previously taken, we set out on the return to St. Louis. All the high points of the mountains then in view were white with snow, but the passes and valleys and all the level country were green with grass. Our route back was over the same ground nearly as in going out, and we arrived at St. Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons (the dearborns being left behind); four of the oxen and the milch cow were also brought back to the settlements of the Missouri, as we did not need them for provisions. The usual weight in the wagons was about one thousand eight hundred pounds. The usual progress of the wagons was from fifteen to twenty miles per day. **The country being almost all open, level and prairie,** the chief obstructions were ravines and creeks, the banks of which required cutting down, and for this purpose a few pioneers were generally kept ahead of the caravan. This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky Mountains, **and the ease and safety with which it was done, prove the facility of communicating overland with the Pacific Ocean, the route from the Southern Pass, where the wagons stopped, to the Great Falls of the Columbia, being easier and better than on this side of the mountains, with grass enough for horses and mules, but a scarcity of grain for the support of men.**"

In addition to this account, which so satisfactorily establishes the feasibility of the work in view, we have the corroborative relation, if corroboration lends any strength to indisputable

† It must be borne in mind that this departure from the direct line of route along the 42d parallel is pursued by travelers with a view of obtaining water, and also game, which are invariably to be found in the vicinity of great rivers.

testimony, of Thomas P. Farnham, who, in his journal of a journey made from the Mississippi to the mouth of the Columbia, in 1840, gives us the following statement:

"Among the curiosities of this place (Fort Boise, a trading post on the Saptin,) were the fore-wheels, axletree and thills of a one-horse wagon, run by American missionaries from the State of Connecticut thus far towards the mouth of the Columbia. It was left here under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains, but fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the continent, a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered, by which vehicles of this description may be drawn through to the Walla Walla." Here we have the testimony of an intelligent observer who has traveled over every inch of the route, as well as that on this side of the mountains as the portion unexplored by the former party, whose account we have previously given. This, with numerous similar accounts in existence, among which is the journal at the end of this volume, must convince the most skeptical that a railroad to and through this district of country is practicable beyond a doubt. There is reason to believe, however, that upon the careful preparatory survey which must be instituted, new notches through these formidable ridges may be found still better adapted to the work in view, and in a more direct line with Puget's Sound, in whose commodious harbors our commercial operations in the Pacific, from the absolute absence of the requisite facilities on any southern portion of the Oregon coast, must necessarily center.* Taking the practicability of the work therefore as established, it will not be improper to devote ourselves to a short inquiry as to the other modes and means of effecting the ultimate design.

In these, Nature herself volunteers her assistance to the enterprise. No ocean is so remarkably adapted to steam navigation as the Pacific. Its tranquil surface is scarcely ever agitated by a storm, and propitious winds and currents accelerate the course of the mariner across its bosom. The general motion of its waters is from west to east at the average velocity of twenty-eight miles a day. In consequence the sea appears on some portions of the coast to flow constantly from the land, and vessels sail with great celerity from Acapulco in Mexico to the Philippine Islands, on the coast of Asia. The N. E. trade winds blow almost uninterruptedly between latitudes 5° and 23° north, and with the assistance of the currents and the flow of the sea, enable vessels within this region to sail from America to Asia almost without changing their sails. Our course to the Indies from the mouth of the Columbia, or from the Straits of St. Jean de Fuca would be southwest to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, directly along the twentieth parallel, across. Returning by a more northwardly route, advantage would be taken

* By crossing the river at Wallawalla and proceeding in a direct line along the banks of the Eyakema river, the distance is shorter to the harbors of Puget Sound than to the shores of the ocean.

of the polar currents which set N. W. towards the Straits of Behring, and also of the variable winds prevailing in the higher latitudes. Having crossed our continent in seven days, we span the Pacific in twenty-five more, and thus in thirty-two reach the ports of China; by the same route back the products of the East may land upon the shores of Europe in forty-six days; a period of time but little more than one-third of that now taken to make the ordinary passages around the southern extremities of America and Africa.

The view that this opens to the mind, independent of its internal benefits, staggers speculation with its immensity and stretches beyond all ordinary rules of calculation. A moderate forecast may, however, foresee the following results: The riches of the most unlimited market in the world would be thrown open to our enterprise, and obeying the new impulse thus imparted to it, our commerce would increase till every ocean billow between us and the China Sea would twinkle with a sail. By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. "Britannia rules the waves" would dwindle to an empty boast, and England would have to descend from her arrogant assumption of empire o'er the sea to the level of a suppliant's tone, in common with the great and small of the European powers, for the benefits of this avenue of nations. The employment as common carrier could be secured to us by the imposition of a tonnage duty, heavy enough to amount to a prohibition, upon all foreign bottoms arriving at our Pacific Coast. There is nothing remarkably selfish, neither is there anything repugnant to fair dealing in this regulation; we are deserving of one special advantage as a premium for conferring this benefit upon all, and we have the example of Great Britain herself to justify us in the adoption of the rule. The rapid and excessive increase of our commercial marine would necessarily follow this result. Encouraged by the comparative ease and safety of its service, and enticed by the liberal wages which the demand for so many hands would ensure, thousands of our young men, whom the dangers and privations of a seafaring life have heretofore deterred from carrying out the natural desire of visiting foreign climes, would embrace the sailor's occupation, and a nursery would thus be established from whose exhaustless sources the demand of our increasing navy would always find a supply.

(Continued.)

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

CHINESE HISTORY.

It is natural that we should be especially interested in the history of our own intellectual ancestors, the people of Europe and Western Asia; and, as far as we can trace the origins of our Western civilization back Eastward into the great mysterious continent of Asia, our scholars are following with eagerness. But Western scholarship has not greatly interested itself in the records of the ancient Eastern civilization that has grown up on the other slope of the continent in the valleys of the Yellow, Yangtzu and Pearl Rivers. Until comparatively recent times China has been so separated from the rest of the world by the almost impassable high lands and the oceans that it might almost have been upon another planet. Because of this isolation, language and thought have developed in forms so strange that the intellectual isolation has continued long after the difficulties of physical geography have been overcome. The strong incentive that we have to delve into the ancient history of the Western Asiatic countries is lacking in the case of China and Japan, for, however deeply we go, we do not uncover the origins of our own institutions and ideals, but those of a civilization foreign to our thought and experience.

The independent development of language in the Chinese race creates great difficulty for the Western scholar. The monosyllabic structure puts a severe strain upon memories trained to the Indo-European polysyllabic forms, but the peculiarities of the Chinese writing make the greatest intellectual barrier between the East and the West. This is a barrier more formidable than the high lands of Thibet. Instead of making their written symbols stand for the spoken sounds by means of consonants and vowels, the Chinese polished up the early picture and arbitrary sign writing into a medium fit for literary expres-

sion. But the literature so formed is strange to the mental taste of the Western scholar. It appeals to the eye rather than to the ear. It has had its convenience among the diverse tribes of Eastern Asia, for it can be used and appreciated by tribes and nations who are unable to communicate with one another by the spoken word. So we have the spectacle of Japanese, Koreans and Chinese using different spoken languages, but all uniting in the use of one written language. The literature which is built up on the character writing has very great beauty and force to one whose proficiency has made him able to appreciate it, but it is almost impossible to represent adequately the merits of Chinese literature through translation into a European language. The structure of the language is too different.

The natural difficulties for the Western student of Chinese history and institutions have been needlessly increased since some interest began to be taken in the far East by the irritating perversity that has been shown by writers on Chinese geography, history and literature, in their manner of Romanizing the Chinese characters. If the official Chinese spoken language had been accepted by all translators as the standard, and if the sounds of that one dialect had been Romanized by the same system, so that the same letters might always stand for the same Chinese characters, the Western reader might soon become familiar with the important Chinese proper names, and be able to recognize them in the different works that are accessible to him. Unfortunately, up to the present time the writers on things Chinese have been so erratic or careless in this respect that they have seriously impeded the growth of knowledge of the Orient. It is with great difficulty that one familiar with the Chinese written and spoken languages can follow intelligently the average writer, owing to the very uncertain and irregular methods of representing the geographical and biographical names; while, to one who has not the advantage of previous knowledge of Chinese, the attempt to keep things straight often ends in complete failure. French and German writers generally use a system of their own, and English and American writers not only differ from the French and Germans, but differ among themselves in the most bewildering manner. The best service that could be rendered to the American student of Chinese history, if it were practicable, would be to revise and harmonize the books that have already been written, so that the reader might recognize the same names when referred to by different authors. The only hope that I see for an escape from the present confusion is

in the formal adoption by the Chinese Government of a standard and authorized system of Romanization for the Chinese characters. Until this is done, all writers ought to use the system employed by Giles in his Dictionary of the Mandarin Dialect, which is recognized now as the standard English-Chinese dictionary.

The time has now come when scholars who make any pretensions to broad learning must take seriously the study of Oriental affairs, and especially the history and literature of that great empire that has dominated the far East for ages. It may be that a more thorough study of Chinese antiquities than has yet been pursued may reveal more connection between East and West in ancient times than has yet been proven. But, however that may be, the world is now entering upon a new era, and in future the Eastern Hemisphere is not to be left out of our world politics. The trade that began in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the beginning of political and social relations, but it was a small beginning, and had little in common with what may be expected in the twentieth century. In the early days of trading with China, the foreign merchant lived on the outskirts of the great mysterious empire, and was satisfied to accumulate the fortune that would allow him to retire and forget the East, while the Chinese dealt with the outside foreigner through middlemen and pursued their own way, uninfluenced by the foreign science, customs and ideals. The greatest event of our generation, and that which will have the most far-reaching consequences, is the deliberate and formal adoption of the modern Western education, science and political ideas by the Asiatics. One-fourth of the human race, and that not the least intelligent and capable, has held aloof from the activity and competition of modern life through its conservative adherence to the ancient system of classical education; but now, by the establishment of schools of science, and by going abroad for study, these once conservative scholars are striving with feverish earnestness to assimilate the new learning that has transformed the West. Our domestic political questions look large to us because of their nearness, but if we could view the planet from a little distance off, the present political and social movements of the far East would dwarf all other current events as the Himalayas dwarf the New England hills. In olden times when swords and spears, backed by brawn and muscle, determined the fate of battles, the hordes of Central and Eastern Asia made Europe tremble several times. Now that the great

Yellow Race has elected to appropriate the science of the West, and to conform largely to the industrial, social and political methods of the West, the consequences must be far-reaching. We do not need to leap hastily to the conclusion that a Yellow Peril hangs over us, but we do need to study carefully the history, character and capabilities of this race that is suddenly forcing its way into the family of modern nations.

I can offer but a few observations in the time allotted to me to-day. The Chinese race has naturally a very high intellectual endowment. History shows this in the very early evolution of the Chinese from barbarism into civilization. It is a common idea among Western scholars that the Chinese showed early a fatal mental limitation in developing up to a certain point and sticking there. That may be a hasty or shallow conclusion. Progress or stagnation in race development is due always to complex causes, often quite outside the question of the natural ability of the individuals composing the race. Precocity in mental development may act as a handicap to after generations, and I think it has done so in the case of the Chinese. Abstract thought came so early among them that the machinery of recording thought had not been worked into a convenient form before it was seized upon and used for the expression of a literature so valuable that it held the written symbols to their rude forms and so arrested the natural development of written language. Looking at the matter from this standpoint, pictorial and sign writing was discarded in the West because, during the time when it was in vogue, there were no minds intelligent enough to use it in such a way as to cause any difficulty about displacing it by the more convenient phonetic writing, when that had been invented by the ingenuity of the trading class. In the far East, on the contrary, a noble and extensive literature made the character writing sacred, and so prevented change. The literary style of the character writing is so distinctive that no phonetic writing can ever adequately represent it. So the arrested development of language in China is not due to the stupidity of the people, but to the too early production of profound thinkers and elegant writers. These early thinkers of the Chinese race held up high ethical ideals. In fact, study in the line of ethics seems to have been, in their judgment, all that was worthy the attention of the scholar. As the Chinese primer puts it, "Jen pu hsueh, pu chih i." "If a man does not study he does not know his duty." The fact that literature and scholarship have been occupied too exclusively with ethics has no doubt

decreased the practical biting force of moral precepts in China, as has been the case in other nations when religion has dominated thought and literature to the exclusion of healthy mental exercise in other lines; but the high ideals of the Chinese have by no means completely lost their force, either upon individuals or upon collective national action. These ideals are the saving force of Chinese society. The more one comes to understand the people, the more he realizes this. The overpowering influence of the early writers has, up to recent times, succeeded in diverting the whole mentality of the nation into the realm of literature and abstract thought, and so has kept the mental energy of the race out of the channels of the material science which we have cultivated for a few generations only, but with such startling results to the conditions of living. It is interesting to observe throughout the whole course of Chinese history how the agnosticism of Confucian scholarship has operated to check the growth of superstition. Physical science is gradually freeing the Western world from the terrible bondage of superstition. The saneness of Confucius and the other ancient philosophers of China has served to safeguard the nation to a great extent throughout the long period that has preceded the epoch of material science. The fog of superstition is always rising in China as elsewhere, but the sun of clear thinking in the Chinese classics has always tended to scatter the paralyzing fog. A comparison of China and India shows this clearly enough. In the advantage of emancipation from superstition the scholar class of China will bear favorable comparison with the same class of any country or race which has not yet come into the heritage of the modern experimental science.

Chinese scholars have now at last definitely and finally decided to add the study of modern science to their curriculum, as Japan has already done. This means that in the near future the whole vast Mongolian race is destined to enter into all the activity and competition of modern life, whether it be intellectual, economic or military. There is, therefore, the most urgent need that we study earnestly and systematically the history, social conditions, and mental and moral qualities of these people who are coming forward as the great new factor in world politics. Blind conceit has brought much sorrow and misfortune to the Chinese in the past. When Europe first knocked at the door, the ancient civilization of China would not stoop to study carefully the antecedents and capabilities of the Western strangers. Loss and humiliation were the consequences. The West

now needs to be warned against the same fatal mistake. If we persist in treating the black-haired race east of the Himalayas as a joke, applying microscopic care to the history of one of our own villages while we grudge the time required to learn even the general outlines of Chinese and Japanese history, we shall have our day of reckoning.

When Western scholars do once turn their attention to the far East, they will be surprised to learn how much there is of real intellectual interest in the study of the working out among the Asiatics of the social and moral problems that are common to the human race. Temperance legislation, old age pensions, trade unionism and many other of our most modern problems you will find have been discussed ages before they were ever thought of on this side of the planet.

Twentieth century conditions call for a remodelling of our curriculum of study and the addition of the far Eastern history and institutions to the list. Only in this way can educators take the necessary lead in preparing our race for the readjustments that are before us in our international relationships.

CHARLES D. TENNEY.

A VISIT TO WEST POINT.

The name of West Point is dear to the heart of every patriotic American citizen. It is the only spot in America where the flag of the United States has floated continuously from the early days of the Revolution—or to be more precise, from the 20th day of January, 1778, down to the present hour. It was the most important post in all of the original thirteen colonies, chiefly because it controlled and protected the Hudson River, as well as the highway which crossed that river and formed the connecting link between the New England colonies and those of the South Atlantic Coast, stretching from New York to Georgia. It was the favorite fortress of General George Washington because of its military importance, and it gave him more trouble and anxiety than any other, knowing as he did that the British forces in the neighboring city of New York also realized its immense value for strategic purposes and made many attempts, though always unsuccessful, to effect its capture. The darkest hour in the whole seven years of the Revolutionary War was the one wherein Benedict Arnold, then in command of the post, so nearly succeeded, through his treasonable correspondence with Major Andre, in delivering it up to Sir Henry Clinton, then in command of the British troops in New York City. But the watchful care of that Divine Providence which so often comes to the assistance of short-sighted men, brought his plans to confusion, and rescued, apparently at the last moment, a bulwark so necessary to American freedom and independence. Nor should the toils and sufferings of the West Point troops through all those trying years be overlooked or forgotten. They were second only to those that were experienced at Valley Forge, and were not confined, like those of Valley Forge, to a single winter, but were continued with more or less severity from the beginning of 1778 to the close of the war in 1783. They suffered from cold and hunger, insufficient supplies of food and clothing, arrears of pay, the want of medical supplies, hospitals and hospital stores and accommodations, and the mouldering walls and ruined casements of Fort Putnam, on a peak overlooking the Hudson River which they guarded so well, are still mute witnesses of the effective work they accomplished under such extraordinary difficulties. But it was not so much because of the high regard in which West Point was justly held by the leading men of the Revolutionary times as a bulwark of the

American lines, nor because of its strength as a fortress never yet possessed by an enemy, that it has been held in such esteem by the American people; but rather because it has become a famous seat of learning, a military school of unsurpassed excellence, whose graduates have rendered their country most brilliant and distinguished services both in war and in peace. Education has always been recognized as a prime factor in the progress and development of our country, but our ancestors never did a wiser or more salutary thing in that line than they did when they built up from small and insignificant beginnings, through many years of doubt and discouragement, this magnificent institution of the present day. The result of the splendid education—physical, moral and intellectual—furnished to the young men sent there from every State in the Union, and taken from all classes and conditions of society, have been of incalculable value in the civil and political as well as the military life of our country. The public improvements of any considerable importance in the United States are few in number which have not been benefited more or less by the mathematical training, the engineering skill and the practical experience of West Point graduates. For example, the distinguished services rendered to the entire country by General Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory, as the constructor of fortifications on the Atlantic Coast, as a brave and gallant soldier in the Mexican War, in making the first surveys across the continent through a comparatively unknown country inhabited by wild, savage and hostile Indians when he practically located the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad as since established; his successful career as governor of Washington Territory, when the situation was surrounded with difficulties growing out of its recent organization, and the Indian wars in which many of its scattered inhabitants were then engaged; his subsequent labors in Congress as a delegate from the Territory, and his magnificent conduct as a general officer during the War of the Rebellion until his life finally came to a lamentable end on the 1st day of September, 1862, at the early age of forty-four years, all bear witness to the extraordinary amount of work which may be accomplished by one man in a comparatively brief period after graduation from West Point. His thorough and complete education at this Academy enabled him to use his large fund of knowledge, energy and ability to the best possible advantage, and his life from the time he was graduated in 1839 to its brilliant close on the battlefield of Chantilly was crowded with work

of local and national importance which would have taxed the industry of Michael Angelo, or the genius of the great Napoleon himself. Yet Governor Stevens is only one of the hundreds whose names might be mentioned, many of them more conspicuous, who have rendered services of inestimable value to our country, and whose honorable records have found prominent places in its history. Their names and deeds are household words throughout the civilized world. In all probability these men would have been good citizens, soldiers and patriots had they never seen West Point—but the training and discipline received there enabled them to comprehend clearly every situation, to act with promptness, celerity and decision in all emergencies, and to make the best possible use of all their opportunities—good, bad or indifferent. It was his experience with the graduates of West Point, who were under his command in the Mexican War, that led General Winfield Scott, the commanding general of the United States Army at that time, though himself not a graduate, to say: “I give it as my fixed opinion that, but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted four or five years with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share; whereas, in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace without the loss of a single battle or skirmish.” The remarkable success of the Union armies in our Civil War, and in the late Spanish War, have been sufficient to convince every thoughtful and intelligent mind of the immense value of that precise and thorough training along mathematical lines, which, here more than anywhere else, is instilled into the cadets who are graduated from this institution. The cost to the government of this Academy, from its earliest beginning down to the present time, and of the cadets who have been graduated therefrom, may be accurately estimated in dollars and cents, but there is no mathematician, however expert or able he may be, who can correctly calculate by any arithmetical system known to man the pecuniary or the financial or patriotic value of the services to the country and the world which have been rendered by the graduates of this now famous seat of military learning. In all the various walks of life—civil, political and military, in war and in peace, whether pursuing hostile Indians in the Everglades of Florida, or in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, with Custer on the plains of the Dakotas, or building lighthouses and fortifications on the shores of the Atlantic, the Pacific, or the Great Lakes; as engineers, explor-

ers, bridge, canal and railroad builders, or in the various wars in which our country has been engaged,—their skill, endurance, ability and patriotism have been of incalculable value, and have contributed immensely to the growth and development of the country whose unparalleled prosperity we now enjoy, and whose future possibilities we are now beginning to realize. Yet there is nothing new or even modern in the fundamental principles by which this school is governed, or in the objects sought to be attained here in the instruction given to its pupils. These principles are as old as education itself, except in so far as they are made to conform to modern conditions, discoveries and developments in the various fields of science, improvement and invention. If Cyrus the Great were permitted to revisit a world wherein he was once so prominent a figure, as the head of the Empire of the Medes and Persians, nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, he would no doubt be surprised as well as pleased to know that “to learn to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth” were the most important points in the instruction now given to the cadets at West Point, as they were the chief features in the education of the youth of the nobility of his own time and country. For, beyond question, a higher regard is paid here to the inculcation of the principles of honor, truthfulness, integrity and patriotism than in any other educational institution of our country—numerous and estimable as these institutions are in their rules and practice with reference to these invaluable features of training for an honorable, a useful and a successful manhood.

But in other respects also this Academy has justified its claim to leadership among the schools of the country. It has been the first to practice many details in its methods of instruction, which have been or are now being adopted and successfully followed in other seats of learning. It was at West Point that the black-board was first used in our country in the demonstration of a variety of problems. Now this useful adjunct of educational processes is to be found in every school house in the land. It is here that the practice is fully developed of dividing large classes into sections, each made up of eight to ten or twelve students, and each having a professor or instructor to hear recitations. By this method every cadet is called upon at each recitation to take part in the work of reciting, and there is no opportunity of escaping the study required or the demonstration expected of each individual. Equal thoroughness is thereby secured for the entire corps of cadets.

This method is now being introduced into many of the col-

leges and universities of the United States, and it is the only method by which uniform and satisfactory work can be secured by all members of the various classes therein. It was a very fortunate circumstance that French and other foreign officers, who had been educated in the best military schools of Europe, and who were distinguished for their skill and ability as engineers and mathematicians, assisted in the foundation of the course of studies at West Point which has proved so useful, so important and so successful in imparting that mental training so necessary to correct thinking and sound reasoning on all subjects. This, added to the drill and discipline enforced at the same time, inculcating a love of order and a devotion to duty, makes a training unsurpassed in excellence in bringing up men, not only of an exceptionally high standard in military matters, but a class of good citizens in any and every walk of life. Such men were the Chevelier Du Portail, Villefranche, L' Enfant, who laid out the present magnificent city of Washington, D. C., Col. Lewis Nicola, Kosciusko, Baron Steuben, and others who might be mentioned did space permit. These men knew the immense value of military training and discipline, and their services to our country in the early days of West Point were invaluable, and their beneficial effects have been indelibly impressed upon this institution. We have always appreciated the great services rendered our country in its War for Independence by the gallant Lafayette and his French compatriots, and by the French Navy for its assistance in a time of pressing need, but I am not sure that the French officers who assisted in organizing the West Point Academy did not render our country services equally great, lasting and important. At all events, we owe them an immense debt of gratitude, which should never be overlooked or forgotten. The officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary Army suffered greatly for the want of that military knowledge and training which are indispensable to success in the conduct of military operations, and after many sad experiences were very willing to avail themselves of the assistance which these French officers were able to render in the establishment of a military school, which would, in some degree at least, supply the deficiency. That their work at the time on this line was highly appreciated is demonstrated by the fact that they received the thanks of Congress for the zeal, energy and ability they had displayed in this matter and those who wished to return to France were sent home at the expense of the government in the good ship Washington. They left behind them,

however, several younger officers, who continued the good work they had so auspiciously begun, some of whom, indeed, spent their lives in this country. The first troops to be stationed at West Point were located there on the 20th of January, 1778. From that time until the close of the Revolutionary War a garrison was maintained at that place, which sometimes amounted to three thousand men. The work of fortifying the place was begun by General Israel Putnam under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel De la Radiere, an accomplished French engineer, whose delicate frame succumbed to the hardships which all endured at that time, and he died the following summer. He was succeeded by Thaddeus Kosciuszko, whose name is familiar to all readers of American history. The work of strengthening these fortifications went on steadily throughout the war, until a post, strong by nature and still further improved by all that art, skill, and the industry, patient labor and endurance of the patriots of that period, became almost impregnable. During the war the place was frequently visited by Washington and the leading military and civil officials of the Revolution, and its care and preservation were regarded as of the utmost importance. Its location is chiefly on a plateau of about two hundred acres overlooking the Hudson River, both above and below the point it occupies. It was then and is largely, even yet, surrounded by the primeval wilderness, rocky ridges and hills forming part of what is known as the Highlands of New York. Crow's Nest, a famous peak of the Highlands in the vicinity, on the west bank of the Hudson River and overlooking the river and surrounding country for many miles, rises to the height of 1,500 feet. The tract of land originally purchased by the United States government in 1780, which included West Point, contained 1,463 acres, but subsequently, in order to secure an adequate and suitable water supply and for other purposes, additional tracts were purchased from time to time, until the amount now owned by the government aggregates 2,556 acres. On the 6th of May, 1776, Colonel Henry Knox, then on the staff of General Washington, wrote a letter to John Adams suggesting the establishment of military academies for instruction of young men in all branches of the service. To this John Adams responded on June 2nd, saying, "I am fully of your sentiments." Later on, the same year, Knox wrote to Adams, "Military academies must be instituted at any price." September 27th, 1776, Knox wrote in his "Hints to Congressional Committee," then in camp at Harlem Heights: "Its officers can never act with confidence until they are masters of

their profession. An academy established on liberal plans would be of the utmost service to America, where the whole theory and practice of fortifications and gunnery should be taught." Another plan was also suggested, which was to educate young officers while serving with their regiments, but nothing ever came of it. On the 1st day of October, 1776, the Board of War, on the motion of John Adams, resolved that a committee of five be appointed to prepare and bring in a plan of a military academy at the army, but this resulted eventually in the organization of a Corps of Invalids, which was to contain forty officers and 920 enlisted men, and this corps was organized in Philadelphia, in July, 1777. It was to be employed in garrisons and for guards in cities and other places where magazines or arsenals were placed, as also to serve as a military school for young gentlemen, previous to their being appointed to marching regiments. Some members of this corps were, constituting until the close of the war in 1783, all there was of the military academy at that time. A certain amount of instruction was given by engineer officers, but it was limited in its scope and character. When a peace establishment was organized, the necessity of a military academy of a permanent and efficient character was urged by Knox, General Washington, Alexander Hamilton and other leading men of our country. Various efforts were made to establish a school and much correspondence took place, with debates in and out of Congress, as to the best method of carrying the universal wish into effect, but it was not until March 16, 1802, that the Organic Act of the United States Military Academy was passed substantially as it is today. This act authorized the President to appoint a corps of engineers, to consist of one major, two captains, two lieutenants and ten cadets, and limited the whole number to twenty officers and cadets. It provided that the said corps, when so organized, shall be stationed at West Point, in the State of New York, and shall constitute a military academy. This was practically the beginning of the institution, which has since grown to such magnificent proportions, and which has developed such a wide field of usefulness. Prior to this time the work was largely experimental. Washington, until the close of his life, continued to urge the necessity for such a school, and in his own words, "Ever considered the establishment of a military academy as of primary importance." Various acts of Congress since 1802 have increased the number of cadets and otherwise enlarged the work of the academy. In 1808, 156 additional cadets were authorized; in 1812 a further

addition of 104 was allowed, and by the act of March, 1843, the number of cadets was limited to the number of Representatives and Delegates in Congress and one from the District of Columbia. The number of cadets was still further increased by the act of June 6, 1900, which allowed two additional from each State and ten annually appointed by the President. The maximum allowed in 1902 was 492. In 1816 provision was made by Congress for the appointment of a Board of Visitors, and since that time such a board has annually visited the academy and reported the results of its observations to the Secretary of War. The act provides that this board shall be present at the June examinations of the cadets, and they are also required to investigate the manner in which the affairs of the academy are conducted. Strange as it may appear, no graduate of West Point ever attained the rank and discharged the duties of even brigadier-general prior to the Civil War in 1861. Political ambition and influence managed to secure or control appointments as brigadier or major-generals in the war of 1812, in the Mexican War and in the Indian wars which were constantly going on, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Military distinction was then looked upon as the surest passport and most direct road to the various grades of political preferment. The names and experiences of Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Zackery Taylor and many others of lesser note who might be mentioned and who became distinguished in the various walks, and enjoyed the emoluments of political life, and who had achieved military success on the battlefield, were always present in the minds of aspiring young men of that period. Opportunities for entering the military service were then sought for as eagerly as young men are now striving to secure large fortunes in banking, commercial, mining, transportation and other lines of business. The graduates of West Point were thus kept in the background, not because their skill, ability and usefulness were not recognized, but for lack of political influence. Their services were in great demand by brigadier and major-generals, like Winfield Scott and others, whose victories were in large measure, if not entirely, due to the skill displayed in the conduct of the military operations under their charge by the graduates of the West Point Military Academy. Testimony of the strongest character to this effect is to be found in the history of the country, during that period, or from the war of 1812 to 1861. Prior to the war of 1812 but sixty-five cadets had been graduated from West Point, but during that war these

graduates rendered invaluable services, chiefly as engineers in the construction of fortifications, roads, bridges and other works requiring engineering skill, but many also contributed to the success of American arms, and illustrated the bravery of American troops on many a field of battle. The report of the Board of Visitors to West Point in 1848 shows that of the whole number of graduates from 1802 to 1847, aggregating 1365, there were killed in the war with England, 10; in the Florida War, 12; in the Mexican War, 46. In the Mexican War ninety-two graduates were wounded, and in the same war 452 brevets were conferred upon graduates for gallant and meritorious conduct. But it was during the Civil War that the value and importance of the West Point education and training were amply demonstrated. This war furnished a test of the capacity of the men engaged in it, which was extraordinarily severe. All the qualifications of manhood possessed by both sides were fully brought out, whether of knowledge, skill, ability, courage or endurance. Here the West Point graduate clearly vindicated his claim to superiority in organizing men and leading them to victory. In its earlier stages political influences brought to the front and placed in important commands men without military education or experience, but the losses suffered in men and material, in esprit de corps, and in public esteem, resulted in their retirement, and at its close the list of generals in the regular army was entirely made up of graduates from West Point.

Of the graduates who were living when that war commenced 89 per cent. served actively in the Union or in the Confederate Army, and of those 73 per cent. were in the Union Army.

Of those in civil life when that war commenced 55 per cent. re-entered the army, about one-half on each side. Of these graduates in the Union Army, one (Grant) rose to the grade of Lieutenant-General, six became major-generals and one hundred and twelve to brigadier-generals of volunteers, or more than one-third of those engaged rose to the grade of general officers. Nine graduates received the thanks of Congress for gallant and meritorious service on the field of battle. In the Confederate Army eight graduates became full generals, fifteen lieutenant-generals, forty major-generals and eighty-eight brigadier-generals. Of the lieutenant-generals in the Confederate Army there were only two who were not graduates.

It very soon became apparent in the Civil War that the issues at stake were too far-reaching and momentous to be entrusted to political expediency, ignorance or incompetency. West Point

stood forth justified for all that it claimed and had cost the country, and thenceforth there was no question as to its support and maintenance as a national institution. Its cost was, and is, a mere bagatelle compared with its benefits to the country at large. It is not necessary to refer to similar experiences in the Spanish and Philippine Wars, the episode in China, and other recent developments. Some months ago I was appointed by the President a member of the Board of Visitors to West Point for the year 1905, and it became my pleasant duty to accept the proffered place and undertake the discharge of the duties connected therewith. In accordance with the acts of Congress relating thereto, as contained in sections 1327, 1328 and 1329 of the Revised Statutes, "It is made the duty of the Board of Visitors to inquire into the actual state of the discipline, instruction, police administration, fiscal affairs and other concerns of the institutions, and to report the same to the Secretary of War for the information of Congress." Few spots in America are more interesting to the student of history, topography or military affairs. It is not strange, therefore, that a man who so thoroughly represents American ideas, and who is in all respects so practical in his character as President Roosevelt, should make this military academy the object of his particular care and attention. It was no doubt very gratifying to him to be able to say, among other things, in his address at the Centennial Celebration held at West Point in June, 1902, that "this institution has completed its first hundred years of life. During that century no other educational institution in this land has contributed so many names as West Point to the honor roll of the nation's greatest citizens. The average graduate of West Point during these hundred years has given a greater sum of service to the country through his life than has the average graduate of any other institution in this broad land."

Every intelligent man familiar with the facts in the case will endorse these emphatic expressions. In the appointment or re-appointment of Brigadier-General A. L. Mills as superintendent of the academy, President Roosevelt would appear to have been unusually fortunate. General Mills is beyond doubt the right man in the right place to conduct an institution, so that the best practical results may be secured. He brings to the discharge of his trying and responsible duties not only the tact, knowledge and discrimination, but that enthusiasm which is necessary to secure success in any and every business, trade and occupation. On the battlefield of Sanitago, where he was supposed to have

been mortally wounded, he displayed in his own person and experience the qualities of a true soldier. The other members of the Board of Visitors appointed by the President for 1905 were Joseph C. Cannon, of Illinois; John Schroers, of Missouri; Charles F. Brooker, of Connecticut; Dudley Evans, of New York; Dr. George L. Magruder, of Washington, D. C., and ex-Governor Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey. Appointed by the United States Senate—Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, and Charles A. Culberson, of Texas. By the Speaker of the House of Representatives—Washington Gardner, of Michigan; John J. Esch, of Wisconsin, and James L. Slayden, of Texas.

The board met on the 1st day of June and organized, by the election of Franklin Murphy as president and John Schroers as secretary. The proper committees were appointed, which proceeded at once to take up the work assigned them. The various departments of the academy were visited, accompanied by the officers who had been detailed to assist the board in its investigations. The water supply and its sources were examined. The buildings were inspected and the barracks occupied by the cadets carefully gone over. The barracks were found to be old, out of date, without plumbing or conveniences of any modern character. Plans for new buildings throughout were prepared several years ago at any estimated cost of \$6,500,000, and an appropriation looking thereto of \$1,500,000 had already been made, and one of the most important duties of the board at this time was to examine and approve these plans, in whole or in part, as it might deem expedient. The necessity for new buildings was at once apparent. Not only are many of the present buildings antiquated and unsanitary, but they are altogether inadequate for the largely increased number of cadets, professors and instructors. The full complement of cadets at present is 520, which is increased whenever new states are admitted into the Union. The number of officers, professors and instructors now aggregates ninety-four, for all of whom quarters must be provided. The course of instruction, which lasts four years, is extremely strenuous. From 6 o'clock in the morning until 9:30 in the evening there is not a moment which is not fully occupied, either with recitations, drills on foot or on horseback, athletic exercises or other important requirements. A rigid system of markings is constantly kept up, no shortcomings in any particular are allowed to pass unnoticed, and any considerable number of demerits becomes a serious matter for the unfortunate cadet. The value of time is fully impressed upon all concerned, and

promptness in the performance of every duty and exercise becomes a positive necessity. One result of this admirable system is the enforcement and cultivation of a love of order, of neatness and preparation for future requirements or contingencies, which constitute an invaluable part of the training at West Point. After a careful investigation of the methods in practice here, the members of the board were fully convinced that as a military school, for all practical purposes, West Point has no equal in the world, and it is not strange that after such a training as is furnished here to the flower of American youth the results in the past should have been so magnificent, and they believe that its promise for the future justifies any reasonable expenditure of money for its proper maintenance. The board therefore approved, for the present, plans for new buildings required in the sum of \$5,500,000, believing that further appropriations will be made by Congress without any hesitation when the necessities of the academy are made fully known. The board also recommended an increase in the minimum of the standard of physical requirements; that the height of applicants for admission be increased above five feet and three inches, its present minimum, with corresponding increase of weight and other necessary conditions. It was believed that the very best only of the young men of the country, physically and in all other respects, should be admitted in order that a maximum of results might be achieved.

In view of the important events recently transpiring in the Orient, chiefly growing out of the war between Russia and Japan and possible complications hereafter involving our own country, I introduced a resolution suggesting that the curriculum should include instruction in the Japanese language and literature, but it was not favorably considered, partly because the time of the cadets was already fully occupied. A resolution to introduce the study of Latin by Senator Culberson was passed, asking the Academic Board in charge of the course of study to consider the possibility or the advisability of introducing the study of the Latin language. A noticeable feature of the administration at West Point is the absolutely impartial manner in which all cadets are treated, no matter what their origin or connections. The son of the general of the army has no more favors shown him than any other cadet, but implicit obedience to all rules and regulations is required in every instance. Another feature to be commended was the excellent horsemanship and the remarkable skill in athletics displayed by the upper classes. These exercises are calculated to bring to the highest degree of perfec-

tion attainable the physical qualities possessed by the cadets. In sword exercises, gymnastics and physical culture the academy is fortunate in having the services of Lieutenant Herman J. Koehler, who is probably without a rival in these branches of a military education.

After the experiences of more than one hundred years the Academy has been enabled to secure, it may be said, by a course of natural selection a most admirable corps of officers, professors and instructors, thoroughly equipped for the discharge of their various duties, so that never before in its history has the institution been so well prepared to carry out the purposes for which it was created as at the present day. This official corps is not only thoroughly qualified for its arduous duties, but it seems also to be fully impressed with the responsibility of the task committed to its charge. At the same time it may be said that never before has its work been so highly appreciated or the value and importance thereof been better understood by the people of the United States.

The yearly examinations and the work of the Board of Visitors for the year 1905 were concluded on the 13th of June by an address before the graduating class, one hundred and fourteen in number, and a large body of distinguished guests, by ex-Governor Murphy, the president of the board, and by the presentation to the graduates of their diplomas by the Secretary of War, Hon. William H. Taft. Addresses were also made by General Chaffee, the commanding general of the army, and by the French ambassador.

The time has not yet arrived when men with impunity everywhere can beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, but until it does come it is believed that this academy will continue to deserve the high place it has heretofore occupied in the confidence and esteem of our country and the world, and will discharge its useful and honorable functions

"Till the war-drums throbbed no longer,
And the battle-flags were furled;
In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the World."

WILLIAM F. PROSSER.

THE MILITARY ROADS OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Fifty years ago the War Department of the general government was deeply interested in roads to the newly-created Territory of Washington, from California through Oregon, and from Minnesota and other Eastern points by Fort Benton; also in a system of roads in the territory connecting the various military posts thereof. The principal one of these roads or routes was for a railroad from the sources of the Mississippi River to Puget Sound. This contemplated the survey of a route for a future railroad, the idea being to ascertain the feasibility and desirability of a line with a view to the construction not long after of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The rapid development of the Pacific Coast country was making imperative closer connection with the States of the Mississippi Valley and those of the Atlantic beyond. Congress directed the War Department to make the preliminary surveys, along different lines north, south and central, and in accordance therewith, early in 1853, the different enterprises were placed in the hands of military engineers—Captain Gunnison, Lieutenant Whipple, Lieutenant Williamson, Lieutenant Parke and Captain Pope. The greatest of these undertakings, perhaps, was the northern, which was entrusted to an ex-engineer, Major Isaac I. Stevens, who had just resigned his commission in the army to accept another commission from President Pierce as governor of Washington Territory. For the surveys under Stevens, Whipple and Gunnison one hundred and twenty thousand dollars was appropriated, in three equal parts of forty thousand each. For the other surveys the money allowances were smaller. Stevens not only had the surveys in hand, but as Governor had to organize and set in motion the Territorial government, and as Superintendent of Indian Affairs had to make himself acquainted with the Indians along the route, and enter into treaties with the various tribes of Blackfeet, Sioux, Flatheads, Nez Perces and others whom he might meet on the way.

To assist Governor Stevens in this undertaking, Captain George B. McClellan, Captain J. W. T. Gardiner, Captain Joseph Roberts, Lieutenant Johnson K. Duncan, Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, Lieutenant Cuvier Grover, Lieutenant John Mullan and Lieutenant A. J. Donelson were assigned to the service, all with

the main party except Captain McClellan, who was given a semi-independent assignment at the western end, and of which, by the way, he made almost complete failure. Several of these men subsequently rose to positions of great distinction in the military service, becoming generals, and noted throughout the length and breadth of the land. In addition to these military men Governor Stevens was given a strong escort party and a scientific corps, besides teamsters, laborers, cooks and others.

Stevens was directed to explore "the passes of the Cascade Range and of the Rocky Mountains from the forty-ninth parallel to the headwaters of the Missouri River, and to determine the capacity of the adjacent country to supply, and of the Columbia and Missouri Rivers to transport, materials for the construction of the road, great attention being given to the geography and meteorology, generally, of the whole intermediate region; the seasons and character of its freshets, the quantities and continuance of its rains and snows, especially in the mountain ranges; to its geology in arid regions, keeping particularly in view the bringing of water to the surface by means of artesian wells; its botany, natural history, agricultural and mineral resources; the location, numbers, history, traditions and customs of its Indian tribes, and such other facts as shall tend to develop the character of that portion of our national domain and supply all the facts which enter into the solution of the particular problem of a railroad." He was to begin at St. Paul, going by the way of the mouth of Yellowstone River. After completion of the field examinations, reports were to be prepared at some point in Washington Territory, and forwarded to Washington City for presentation to Congress and publication. The instructions were from Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War.

Governor Stevens gathered around him a company of clever young men separate from the military, who as civil engineers, scientists and clerks rendered first-class service during the expedition, and who enabled the Governor to prepare a report covering in excellent manner every desirable phase and feature of the tremendous task placed upon him. This report became historic, for a quarter of a century following being quoted and availed of in the railroad undertakings of the Northwest and North Pacific regions. It demonstrated the practicability of the proposed northern road, and made plain the great possibilities for traffic and for the sustenance of a great population of the country through which the northern line must and would pass.

Captain McClellan was given two undertakings in the road

enterprises of that year. He was directed to survey from the western end, exploring the Cascade Mountains, doing a work that it was supposed Stevens would be unable personally to do owing to lack of time. Ten officers and thirty soldiers were placed at his command, and in a general way it was ordered that every other assistance be given to him that he needed. In addition to this assignment, he was, on the 9th of May, 1853, directed to undertake the opening and construction of a military road from Walla Walla to Steilacoom, "under the general directions of Governor I. I. Stevens." Congress had made a generous appropriation for this road—\$20,000; I believe—the previous January. McClellan was ordered to survey and locate the proposed road, and to enter into contracts with responsible persons for the construction. He was urged to make haste, so that the road might be opened in season for the fall immigration. If unable to do this he was instructed "to fix the line of the road, especially through the Cascade Mountains, and to perform such work on the most difficult portions as will enable the immigrants to render the route practicable by their own exertions, detaching a suitable person as guide and director to meet them at Walla Walla." Further, he was told, if he deemed it advisable, "to let out different portions of the road, or different kinds of work, on separate contracts. On account of the peculiar nature of the work you may find it advisable, instead of contracting for the performance of a specified amount of work, to contract for the supply of the necessary laborers and tools, taking precautions to secure good ones. In any event, you will so arrange your operations as, first, to secure a practicable wagon road between the extremities of the road, devoting the remainder of the funds at your disposal to the improvement of the more important points, always endeavoring to make the whole road a good one."

Of this task McClellan also made an entire failure. He expended in unknown ways much of the money, but as far as the citizens and immigrants were aware not a dollar in actual road construction. Nor were the immigrants met at Walla Walla by a guide from him as so explicitly directed. The statement in his instructions, "It is important that this road should be opened in season for the fall immigration; you will, therefore, use every exertion to do so," meant to and with him absolutely nothing.

Knowing of this appropriation, knowing of the fostering care of the government in such matters, and knowing, too, of the immigration from the Mississippi Valley heading for Puget Sound, the people who had come before—in 1852 and previous years—

began to prepare for the making more easy the last hundred miles of the long and trying journey—the hundred miles in the Cascade Mountains. Money was given by the generous citizens, chiefly of Pierce and Thurston Counties, in amounts ranging from \$5 to \$100, and in the aggregate to about \$1,200. Others gave provisions, animals, tools and all employed gave time and labor. Edward J. Allen, of Olympia, still living, a respected citizen of Pittsburg, Pa., headed the party of road-makers, who went into the woods and with the limited means at their command endeavored to make a way by the Naches Pass that the worn-out men and teams from the East could use in the last days of their five months and two thousand miles of travel. They were so engaged during the month of September. Under the urgency impressed upon him, and the liberal instructions given him, by Secretary of War Davis, Captain McClellan would have been justified in freely co-operating with Allen and his associates, employing, paying and directing them, and making a road that would have been a credit to him and a blessing to the one hundred and sixty men, women and children who soon after struggled and suffered terribly in the final effort to get to the Western settlements and the end of their long and trying undertaking. But McClellan was slow; he did not come when wanted, and when he finally arrived on the scene he was too late to be of use. He took a look at the mountains, found snow on them, concluded they were too high for him to get over, and relinquished the task to Stevens. He made a trip into Yakima Valley, visited Fort Steilacoom, was paddled in an Indian canoe down the Sound, and went back East. He let no contract for the road, or any part of it, though he expended in unknown ways a considerable portion of the Congressional appropriation. His shortcomings and failure were a bitter disappointment to the people. The following year the work of road building that had been assigned to McClellan was intrusted to Lieutenant Richard Arnold, by the Secretary of War, under the especial direction of Governor Stevens. He left Steilacoom May 23rd, 1854, traveled over the road opened the previous season, and made a reconnaissance of the entire route to Walla Walla. He adopted as far as possible the route of Allen chosen the year before, beginning where Allen left off, and continuing to the east until the money at his command was exhausted. Arnold was not pleased with the route, and he recommended that another be chosen to the north in the event of further appropriations. He was also convinced that the course along the Naches

River had but few advantages, if any at all. When it is stated that the immigrants of 1853 crossed the Naches River sixty-eight times on their way up the valley and mountains, the reader will be impressed with the idea that Mr. Arnold's objection to that portion of the route was well founded. The Lieutenant reported the distance from Steilacoom to the summit of the mountains to be $79\frac{1}{4}$ miles; to Wenass, $137\frac{1}{4}$ miles; to Yakima River mouth, $217\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and to a point on Columbia River opposite Walla Walla, $234\frac{1}{2}$ miles. He concluded his official report with the paragraph following:

"Before closing this report, I would urgently recommend that an additional appropriation of ten thousand dollars be made. This amount properly applied, in connection with what has already been expended, will give to the work a permanence and stability that it justly demands, even at the present time, as the only military and commercial thoroughfare into this portion of the Territory from the East over which the overland immigration must pass; and more particularly when the valleys of the numerous tributaries of the Columbia are settled, and when towns on Puget Sound, now in their infancy, shall be classed among the first in importance on the Pacific. On my first reconnaissance I was fully convinced that the unexpended balance of the appropriation was totally inadequate to construct a military road; and I had, consequently, directed my attention to the most important points, and so distributed the work throughout the route that an additional appropriation could be applied in the best manner possible. The parts requiring particular attention have been previously mentioned. I would also recommend that the amount expended by the citizens of the Territory in 1853 be refunded. The greater part of the road cut by them from Steilacoom to the mountains has been adopted. But for this I do not believe the work could have been carried forward so satisfactorily."

The general government never afterwards did anything for the Naches road. Later surveys, and public sentiment, perhaps, caused a transference of official favor to the Snoqualmie Pass and route, for which recommendation of appropriation of \$100,000 was made by military officers in 1859-60-61 for a road from Seattle to connect with the Fort Benton and Walla Walla road. No money was ever given, however, in accordance with this suggestion. This road, via Snoqualmie, it was said, "would open direct communication between Puget Sound and the headwaters of the Missouri River, it would likewise afford a good wagon road connection with Fort Colville, on the upper Columbia River." The estimated length of this proposed road was 250

miles, and the cost of the recommended improvement \$400 per mile.

In 1856-57 the government opened a road from Columbia Barracks, as Fort Vancouver then was sometimes called, to Fort Dalles, in Oregon. The work was done chiefly under the direction of Lieutenant George H. Derby. It was a wagon road, and in summer was quite good. In places it was planked, and in other wet places corduroyed and graveled. As a support against the river there was some cribwork. It was said, officially, that a six-mule team could haul two tons over it, "and as the rate of transportation of the private company over the portage was \$15 per ton, and a team can easily make two trips per day, it will readily be seen that the public interests are much advanced by the construction of this road." A couple of years later \$76,000 was asked for the further improvement of this road, at the rate of \$800 per mile.

From Columbia Barracks (or Vancouver) to Fort Steilacoom was another road enterprise of the government's in the early days. There never was a good wagon road from Puget Sound to Columbia River. The trials and troubles of those who crossed the country were never forgotten by them. The first road there of which we have record was that cut by Michael T. Simmons, W. O. Bush and others, in 1845, when they came to settle—the first American citizens—on Puget Sound. They were enabled to get over it, and that was about all. Its condition was not materially changed or improved for more than ten years, and then but slightly by the opening of the military road. In 1856, under Lieutenant George H. Mendell, contracts were let to L. J. Tower and L. H. Davis for a piece of road from Cowlitz Landing to Ford's Prairie, about twenty-five miles, and for another piece, eight miles long, from Henness to Yelm Prairie. These works were finished in 1857, \$40,000 being expended, and the line or road opened to Fort Steilacoom in 1857. In dry weather, with careful driving, there was then a passable way from Cowlitz Plains to Puget Sound. Henry Winsor was soon carrying mail and passengers, and after him L. A. Davis, M. R. Tilley, Charles Coggan and others. Traffic slowly and continually increased, four and six-horse stages being run. The common passage rate was \$20, and it was hardly possible to go from Olympia to Portland for less than \$30, three days being the usual time, and sometimes four or five. Baggage was taken for seven cents a pound, and freight for five—for the stage trip only. Occasionally there were opposition wagons, when rates would

temporarily fall. There was constant demand for improvement of the service. Fault-finding was loud and unceasing. In fact, old settlers heard so much of it, particularly from the new comers, that the unpleasant noise has hardly yet stopped buzzing in their ears and annoying them. From Cowlitz Landing to Monticello transportation was by canoe, and for freight there was a charge of \$40 per ton for thirty miles of service. From Portland to Monticello steamboats were employed. Between steamboats, canoes and wagons the costs were numerous and onerous enough, farmers being severely taxed by them, while travelers always supposed they were robbed and knew that they had been half killed in transit. In 1858 seventeen miles of road were built on the west bank of the Cowlitz. At that time Congress was petitioned for \$10,000 more to complete the road to Monticello, and \$40,000 for continuance of the road to Vancouver. The smaller request was granted, and the money expended in 1860-61 on the way from Monticello north. At the best the way was little more than a trail, and in fact was often so called. Until the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1871-72 the travel conditions were anything but pleasant between Puget Sound and the Columbia River.

In 1859 the idea of another wagon road was evolved by the military authorities. It was described as "from the mouth of Columbia River, via head of Puget Sound, to Fort Townsend, at the head of Straits of Juan de Fuca." The projected road was one hundred and seventy five miles long, and it was supposed that it could be built for \$500 per mile, or \$87,500. This suggestion was renewed the following year, but the coming on of the War of Rebellion, and the more urgent necessity for money expenditures elsewhere, prevented the opening of roads in the Territory thereafter by the federal government. Such undertakings were left wholly to the people in the country concerned from that time on.

Congress, by act of March 3rd, 1857, provided for a road from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Bellingham. Lieutenant Mendell had charge of this work. He employed a well-known local engineer, W. W. Delacy, and started him on the work in August. The country then was so densely timbered that pack animals could not be used, and Delacy engaged Indians instead, arrangements also being made for other Indians and canoes on the Snohomish and Skagit Rivers. The surveys were prosecuted to a finish and contracts let for construction. In 1859 a trail was well under way, from Seattle to Bellingham, the estimated cost

being \$42,500, \$5,000 for bridges and work south of Seattle. and \$2,500 for engineering and incidental expenses. To make a good road of it \$50,000 more was asked in 1860. There are yet traces of the road then built in the limits of the City of Seattle. Locally it was known as "the military road" for a generation; in fact, it is even yet occasionally so designated. In 1859, when the military were active on Puget Sound, and war with Great Britain seemed imminent over the disputed ownership of San Juan Island, Colonel J. J. Abert, the topographical engineer in charge, reported to Secretary Floyd that "this road is a military necessity; its completion would also induce settlement along the shore of Puget Sound."

The greatest of all the road projects in Washington Territory, however, was the one that included the line from Fort Benton, on the Missouri River, to Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia. This was entrusted to Lieutenant John Mullan, who had it in hand for a number of years. He was making his start upon it in 1858, when the Indians of Eastern Washington became hostile, and vigorous war was made upon them by Colonel George Wright, Mullan changed his field, and participated in the campaign as topographical officer. The Indians being beaten and peace restored, Mullan made a beginning on the road in the summer and fall of 1859. He cut his way through the timber, blasted obstructing rocks, bridged the streams, and moved on to the north and east quite rapidly. In 1860 he was still engaged in the work, though then on the eastern section. During the two seasons he completed the surveys and construction for the entire 633 miles, Walla Walla and Benton were selected as the terminal points because they were both on navigable rivers, with steamboat service. Much was hoped from this road in aiding movements of soldiers and immigrants, as well as in the control of the Indians; but, as in the case of the military highways generally, disappointment in these respects was the result. The War of the Rebellion, the gold mines of Idaho and Montana, the sudden opening and development of the country, the coming not long after of railroads, the overpowering and speedy subjugation of the Indians, these and other things so changed the conditions that the military roads lost their relative importance, and the anticipated results of their building were not realized. It is well, however, to give full credit to the army officers for their good intentions. If they had had their way the Pacific Coast country would have been supplied with a system of wagon roads of the best character, permeating it in all directions, and

rendering travel through it by carriage easy and comfortable in the extreme. That their efforts were not more successful was due to causes they could not control, and was a loss to the people of Washington Territory well understood and deeply regretted by them at the time.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

WHY AND HOW JAPANESE HISTORY MAY BE STUDIED WITH PROFIT IN AMERICA.

History of Japan is so little known abroad that one is obliged to argue for its more extensive study. It has been said that, had the Russians possessed an insight into the national life of Japan, the recent war would probably have never taken place. However that may be, that here in America the general understanding of the history and the character of the Japanese people is too inadequate for the increasing importance of the relations of the two nations, has been growing painfully evident in recent years. A better knowledge is imperative, for the welfare of the nations.

Aside from this practical need, however, the student of historical science will find in Japan's history many points of general and abiding interest. Institutionally, for example, Japan began her national career as a patriarchal state, with the emperor at the apex of the organization. Internal and external circumstances conspired to make this system untenable in the seventh century, when the State was reorganized after the model of the centralized bureaucracy of the T'ang Empire of China. This artificial reform was followed by five centuries of a gradual unforeseen transformation of society, in which a process similar to the feudalization of Western Europe in the early middle ages took place under similar circumstances and upon similar principles. Finally, in 1185, feudal institutions were recognized by the emperor as the ruling machinery of the State. For the next four hundred years the system continued to develop, and in 1600 culminated in the elaborate feudal polity of the Tokugawa shogun. After seven centuries of well-nigh unbroken rule, feudalism, too, proved untenable, in the nineteenth century, under foreign pressure and internal unrest. It was overthrown, in 1868, by the united force of the imperial force from above and of discontented feudal elements from within, and was succeeded by a period of an active adaptation of European institutions. It is unnecessary to say that the transition from the patriarchal to the bureaucratic, from the latter to the feudal, and thence again to the constitutional form of government, has been attended by corresponding social and economic changes. At every step the student meets lessons of universal import, some of which may even serve to elucidate, either by similarity or by contrast, certain great features of occidental history.

To some persons, the moral and spiritual growth of Japan may seem even more interesting than the institutional. Here again are seen alternate periods of eager receptivity, assimilation and original expression. Japan's national cult, later called shinto, took its form before the coming of the continental civilization of Asia, and, together with the emperorship, with which the cult was closely bound, became a permanent heritage of the nation. Indian thought and Chinese culture, which began to pour in from the sixth century, elevated the tone of the ruling classes, and inspired the vigorous artistic activity of the eighth and ninth centuries. This was followed by several hundred years of practical isolation from the continent, in which the refinement introduced in the previous age was gradually assimilated to the life of the higher society. By the eleventh century, even Buddhism had become largely Japanese in its doctrine and ritual, and the Buddhist church had grown to be a commanding economic and political force of the Empire. Then came a tremendous reaction from the feudal classes, which had been forming themselves in the country at large and became the controlling power of the nation at the end of the twelfth century. The rise of these classes coincided with the coming from China of a new form of Buddhism and Buddhist art, the simplicity and vigor of which responded to the robust spirit of the warriors. These men of arms, with their rough but keen sense of honor, fashioned the moral tone of the new age. From 1600, the feudal rulers for the first time found in Confucianism, which had come to Japan more than ten centuries before, the best exponent of the actual ethical relations of the feudal society, and utilized its precepts for the purpose of formulating the warrior's code of morals. From this time, also, during a new period of foreign exclusion, the general culture and arts of life were greatly diversified and were widely diffused among all classes of people. Unity of culture was again broken when, in the middle of the last century, Japan was forcibly brought under the influence of European science and Christianity. These new elements she has as yet hardly had time to digest. One who follows these successive periods of Japanese culture will find forms of art and modes of life that typify each epoch and are never successfully reproduced in another age. Every period also presents innumerable problems for fruitful study.

If one tried to study these or any other aspects of Japanese history from literature written in European languages, he would be disappointed to find, among the great mass of works that

have been produced, that only half a dozen important sources have been translated. It is not impracticable for him, however, to acquire some degree of knowledge by selected readings from the vast literature. For general history, for example, he may read Brinkley¹ or Mazeliere,² with the aid of the indispensable *Dictionnaire* by Papinot.³ After this preliminary work, he may limit his attention to some special topic, and acquaint himself with works in that field which are mentioned in Wenckstern's *Bibliography*.⁴ Whatever his subject may be, however, he may do well to consult publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan,⁵ of the Japan Society at London,⁶ and of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*.⁷ As to the monographs on special topics, there are few that are not mentioned in Wenckstern, while their relative value will readily be judged by any trained student. It would be impossible here to enumerate even the best works on all the larger phases of history.

The historical sources in the original language are at present the only reliable material for a satisfactory investigation in any important field. To those who can use them I am happy to say that they will find in the Library of Congress and Yale University Library larger and better selected collections of Japanese historical material than at any other place out of Japan. The nature of the more than nine thousand works kept at the Library of Congress has been briefly described by me in the Librarian's annual report for 1907, and it is only necessary here to point out that they are particularly strong in the historical geography, and in the history of the religions and of the general culture of Japan. The Yale collection, which consists of about an equal number of works, is specially rich in original sources, and also

¹Captain F. Brinkley, *Oriental Series: Japan, Its History, Art and Literature*. In 12 vols. See vols. 1-4. Boston, 1901-2.

²Marquis de la Mazeliere: *Le Japon; Histoire et Civilisation*. In 5 vols. Vols. 1-3 already published. Paris, 1907.

³E. Papinot: *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon*. 2d Edition. Tokyo, etc., 1907. The author writes me that an English edition of this work is forthcoming.

⁴Fr. von Wenckstern: *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*. 2 vols. Vol. 1, Leiden, etc., 1895, and vol. 2, Tokyo, etc., 1907.

⁵*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*; published irregularly since 1872. Tokyo.

⁶*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*; published irregularly since 1893. London.

⁷*Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, since 1873. Tokyo.

Also see the *Revue Française du Japon*, monthly, since 1892, Tokyo; and articles on Japan in the *Comptes-rendus* of the *Congrès International des Études d'Extrême Orient*, since 1873; the *T'oung Pao*, since 1890, Leiden; and the *Ostasiens*, monthly, since 1898, Berlin.

in material on two branches of history, namely, institutions and art. The sources may be divided into four classes. Under the first may be mentioned inscriptions of monuments in stone and metal, including a few rubbings from the original.¹ The second class comprises original documents. They cover all the period since the early eighth century, including, besides a large number of transcriptions² and fac similes, not a few actual documents.³ Under the third class comes an unusually large number of annals, memoirs and diaries, of all historic ages,⁴ all of which are among the fundamental sources of history. While these are mainly of political nature, a few relate to religious institutions⁴ and to foreign relations.⁵ The last class is quite a com-

¹These inscriptions, together with seals and signatures, fac-similes of many of which are among the collection at the Library of Congress, form an important class of sources. While the contents of the inscriptions are in many cases too favorable to their subjects to be trustworthy, they often throw important sidelight upon history, and otherwise are valuable sources for social, literary and artistic history.

²Among these is the most valuable selection, entitled *Ko-bun rei-shu*, made from a vast number of documents (mostly relating to land property) kept at the Buddhist temple *To-zhi*, by (and probably in the autograph of) the historian *Ban Nobutomo*. The *Dai Nihon ko-mon-zho*, edited by the Historiographic Institute, Imperial University of Tokyo, which is expected to be completed in two hundred volumes, is regularly coming to Yale.

³Among these may be mentioned a Buddhist scroll, copied in the eighth century [the Library of Congress owning four scrolls of this period]; an almanac, with diary, of 1423-24: twenty documents of the latter part of the fifteenth century; many documents relating to the municipal government of Kyoto from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, etc.

⁴The records of this class may be divided as follows: (1) Diaries of civil nobles of Kyoto. Owing to the important fact that the central institution of the Japanese State, namely, the Emperorship, has been constant and immovable throughout the ages, there has clustered around that institution a permanent class of civil nobility. The nobles possessed a degree of culture and refinement, and many of them methodically kept diaries. As may be expected, some of these diaries, depicting, as they do, men and things at the center of culture and power, are among the best-prized sources of political and social history. During the feudal ages, when political powers descended to feudal classes, the nobles' records sometimes reveal the relation between the Emperor and the feudal suzerain. (2) Records of the feudal classes before 1600 are fewer in number, but are not less important, than the diaries of Kyoto nobles. Feudal records multiply rapidly after 1600. (3) Diaries of some great Buddhist priests during the feudal ages, who were on intimate terms with feudal authorities, are highly valuable. (4) Japan is exceptionally rich in that class of literature which is known in that country under the name "*zui-hitsu*." It consists of notes on all sorts of miscellaneous subjects, very often written down with little apparent order in arrangement. There are an endless number of these scrappy works, sometimes extended over hundreds of chapters, and often containing exceedingly valuable first-hand information.

⁵Such as the *Soku-kyo hen*, relating to the suppression of Catholicism, in 22 vols., and the *Otani Hon-gwan-zhi tsu-ki*, a history of the Buddhist temple West Hongwan-zhi, 7 vols. The latter has been copied from the original at the temple, and at the time of copying there was no other copy extant. [The Library of Congress has the *Ko-ya-san fu-do-ki*, a history of the Buddhist monastery on Mt. Koya, in about one hundred volumes, specially copied from the original at the monastery.] These Buddhist institutions were great historical factors.

⁵E. g., the *Cho-sen tsu-ko tai-ki*, Korean Relations, 10 vols. Specially copied.

prehensive set of illustrated books⁶ and scrolls,⁷ from which such aspects of social life as can hardly be studied from verbal descriptions may be gathered. Although works of historical geography are not so numerous as at the Library of Congress, the more than a thousand topographical maps which were presented to Yale by the Japanese Army and Navy Departments and Geological Bureau will be found to be highly valuable in the study of old history. Works on law and institutions are specially numerous, the collector having made a particular effort in this field, as in the field of art. Another department, history of commerce, though incompletely, is better represented than in any Japanese library that I have seen. It is needless to say that such helpmates of history as archeology, numismatics, religion, literature, customs and manners, etiquettes and rites, weapons and arts of war, heraldry, genealogy, etc., as well as works of reference, are also represented. It should be understood that many of the works already described are not on the market, and the majority are in manuscript, not a few, perhaps not less than sixty works in 1000 fascicules, including the best works, having been specially copied in different parts of the country from the original and otherwise good copies. Special effort was made to secure a fair collection of photographs and other forms of reproduction of art, for the reason that these objects seem in many cases to represent, not only in their subject-matters, but also in the detail of their execution, the spirit of the periods in which they were produced. The earlier specimens have the additional interest that they prove the existence of an indirect Greek and Western Asiatic influence upon Japanese culture. The present collection has been made with these ideas in view. It consists of hundreds of photographs, rubbings, fac simile reproductions and technical studies of details, many of these being specially made by experts.

After this brief description of the Yale and still briefer reference to the Library of Congress collection, it is fair to say that each of the collections is far from being complete. Yet the student might spend some of his time to great advantage and, as regards certain subjects, to much satisfaction, with the Japanese material at Washington and New Haven.

K. ASAKAWA, Ph. D.

⁶E. g., the *Zhin-rin kin-mo dzu-i*, 6 vols., showing different occupations of the people during the flourishing period of the Tokugawa rule. [The Library of Congress has a large number of works of this kind.]

⁷These scrolls are hand written, and some of them are among the most highly valued sources of history. [The Library of Congress possesses many scrolls not duplicated at Yale.]

HEROES AND HEROINES OF THE LONG AGO.*

"I came to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the Good Land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people of the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my poor, blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States.

Seventy-five years ago four Nez Percés Indians made a horse-back journey of 2,000 miles to St. Louis to learn of the white man's God and the Book of Heaven. During the winter which they spent there, two of them died, and the remaining two were preparing to return the following spring, when one of them was reported to have made the foregoing speech. This is said to have been taken down at the time by one of the clerks in the Indian office and was sent East and published in the religious papers of the Atlantic Coast with ringing editorials. It so fired the hearts of a few devoted, earnest Christian men and women that they answered the call and came West.

The authenticity of this incident has been questioned, but General Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and George

*Address at ceremonies before the Whitman grave, Nov. 29, 1907.

Catlin, the famous painter of Indian portraits, and who painted the likeness of the two surviving Indians, which are now in the Museum of Indian Portraits in Washington City, are authority for the truth of the statement that this was the object of their visit. It is possible that this may have been a free translation of what he said, and slightly embellished, although it bears the marks of true Indian eloquence. Of the substantial fact, however, that the four Indians went East for that purpose, that one of them made it known in this way, and that it influenced the early missionaries to come to Oregon, there is little reason to doubt.

Early in 1834 Reverends Jason and Daniel Lee, accompanied by two laymen, one named Cyrus Shepard and the other P. L. Edwards, started West and made the journey overland across the continent to bring to these hungry souls the Bread of Life. Two months after they left the Missouri River, another man, Rev. Samuel Parker, arrived there, intending to make the same journey,* for the same purpose, but was too late, the caravan having already been gone some weeks, and he was obliged to return home. The following year, however, he having secured Dr. Marcus Whitman as his companion, came West on an exploring tour. When they reached the heart of the Rocky Mountains they met a band of the Nez Percés tribe, and were so impressed with the practicability and importance of establishing a mission among them that Dr. Whitman returned East, the same year, taking with him two Nez Percés Indian boys. Dr. Parker continued his journey toward the setting sun to complete the exploration. In the spring of 1836 the Doctor, having meantime married, he persuaded Rev. and Mrs. Spaulding to accompany them, they started West to obey the call. They were joined by a young man by the name of William H. Gray. And here was another turning point in American destiny. These two young women, with hearts brave and true, one of them a bride, were the advance guard of American civilization in the Northwest. Their presence here was a power the agents of the British government could not resist. In 1837 a ship sailed round the Horn and came to the Columbia River by way of the Sandwich Islands, arriving in May of that year, bringing wives and companions to the Lees, who, having missed the Nez Percés tribe, had by the advice of Dr. John McLoughlin, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, settled in the Willamette Valley, about ten miles from where Salem now stands. Another reinforcement followed Whitman and Spaulding in 1838, composed of

Reverends Cushing Eells, A. B. Smith and Elknah Walker, with their brides, also Mr. Gray and his bride, he having gone back the previous year and married. These all settled east of the Cascade Mountains. In 1839 a shipload of more than fifty persons left Boston to strengthen the Methodist mission in the Willamette Valley, sailed round to the Columbia River, arriving in June, 1840, and thus between thirty-five and forty families of American blood, parentage and affiliation came and settled in Old Oregon as the direct result of that one speech, and the ultimate fate of British supremacy on the Northwest Coast was sealed.

Man proposes but God disposes. These people came to Christianize the Indians. In this they failed, but saved the country. Less than ten years from the arrival of the Lees in this country, one had died and the other had left the country, never to return, and the mission work was abandoned. As on the New England Coast two centuries before, a fatal malady swept the Indians of the lower Columbia and the Willamette Valley from the face of the earth. The opportunity of the missionaries was gone, and the mission was broken up. Not, however, until from its ruins the foundation upon which Willamette University has since been reared was laid. That institution, the outgrowth of the devotion and sacrifice of those early pioneers, has fitted and sent out thousands of young men and women for the important duties of life and it stands today as a monument to the piety and heroism of those early Christians. And the words of the Indian started them West.

Beside the missionaries sent out by the two denominations heretofore named, there were others who came to the Coast in those early days inspired by the same words and actuated by the same purpose to do good to the Indians. Rev. J. S. Griffin, Rev. Harvey Clarke and Mr. A. T. Smith came in 1840 as independent missionaries. Finding their occupation gone and their intentions thwarted they, too, turned their attention to educational matters. These settled in Tualatin Plains and took donation claims. Messrs. Clarke and Smith in West Tualatin. The gold craze of 1848 almost depopulated the Willamette Valley of men, and many orphans and half orphan children were left in a sad plight. It was then that old Grandma Bown found her mission. She opened her arms and the doors of her log cabins to the fatherless and motherless ones. While she fed and clothed them Mr. Clarke taught them. The orphan school became Tualatin Academy. The missionaries who had been driven out of the country east of the Cascade Mountains set-

tled near there and gave it their moral and financial support. Mr. Clarke gave half of his 640-acre donation claim to help found it, and Pacific University was the outgrowth of the devotion and sacrifice of those early pioneers. Its influence has been felt far and wide and it, too, stands today as a monument to the piety and heroism of those early Christians. And the words of the Indian started them West.

Not content with a single institution of learning in Oregon, those early Methodist missionaries felt that the promising City of Portland must be supplied. Father Wilbur was one of the early ones, though not the first, and was largely instrumental in putting Portland Academy on its feet, and although a lesser light, not less brilliant has been its rays, or less intense its influence for good. And the Indian's speech sent the founder of that school out West.

In 1859 Cushing Eells, who had taught in both of the embryo Universities of Oregon, and was much interested in educational matters, visited the site of the Whitman mission in this valley and became profoundly impressed with the importance of founding an institution of learning in this section, and the suitableness of locating it on the spot where the blood of the martyrs was shed. It was afterward located in this city, and Whitman College is the fourth institution of learning established by those who were inspired to come West by the plaintive appeal of the Indian. What a record!

But to return now to 1836. When those two lovely, charming, refined young women, the brides of Messrs. Whitman and Spaulding, nearly seventy-two years ago determined to leave their homes, friends, comforts and everything that life holds most dear, to come to the wilds of Oregon, they little knew what would be required of them, or what important services they were to perform. They thought they were answering the call of the Master. Many thought they were fanatics. They were imbued with a spirit of devotion that enabled them to overcome appalling obstacles. From every quarter hands were stretched out to hold them back. "It is certain death to go." "You can not live through it." "The Indians will surely kill you." "The wild beasts will devour you." "You will starve to death," etc., etc. When they arrived at St. Louis they were not welcomed by the officers of the American Fur Company, who were to be their escorts. They tried to get rid of them. Other means failing, they were sent up the river to Liberty Landing as a suitable place to procure horses and an outfit. An agree-

ment was made by the company that the steamer, which would start in a few days, laden with their equipments, for Council Bluffs, should call for them. In due time the steamer left St. Louis as agreed upon, but when opposite Liberty Landing it sailed right by, purposely leaving them behind. "We'll not be bothered with those petticoats now," said they. But they reckoned without their host. With all possible haste Dr. Whitman and the ladies (Mr. Spaulding had gone on ahead with their animals and wagons) secured conveyances and proceeded on to Council Bluffs, only to find that the caravan had left five or six days ahead of them. Nothing daunted, they started on a three hundred mile race to catch up. They were inexperienced, everything was new and strange, the ladies were unaccustomed to this kind of travel, with unbroken horses; they had all kinds of exasperating delays. But they won. Early in June the captain of the caravan looked back, saw the dust, and later, after dark, they came into camp, hale and hearty. The captain was beat—he acknowledged defeat. Those women were plucky—they would do—and the innate gallantry of the true gentleman asserted itself toward the ladies of the party, and they were thereafter treated with the kindest consideration, which they requited by making themselves the center of its social life. Dangers they had in abundance. One day a whole herd of buffaloes came dashing at the center of the column and was turned aside from trampling them all to death only by the most strenuous efforts of the hunters, and it was after a score of their number had bitten the dust that they shifted their course enough to dash alongside in countless thousands with eyes gleaming fire and uttering unearthly groans and making the earth tremble with their tread. Rivers had to be crossed where the water came within a few inches of the tops of the horses backs on which they rode, or they were towed over while lying on rafts of willows by Indians on horses swimming under the riders. Food gave out—nothing but green Buffalo meat for days and weeks together. No beds but the bare ground, under the glaring heat of the pitiless sun or suffering from the biting storms, exhausted and hungry, faint and weary, they still journeyed on, and on, and on.

One of them has reported that on the Fourth of July they, though but few in number, remembered the day. The good minister, with the Bible in one hand and the American flag in the other, gave thanks for the protection of the past and prayed for blessings for the future, while symbolically they took

possession of the unbounded West as what it afterwards became the home of American mothers.

In the heart of the Rocky Mountains they met large numbers of wild Indians who had never seen a white woman, and wilder white men who had nearly forgotten the sight. They also there meet a strong delegation of the Nez Percés Indians whom they were coming to teach, who gave them a most hearty welcome. Mrs. Whitman writes: "When I alighted from my horse I was met by a company of matronly-looking Indian women, each one of whom gave me a most hearty kiss, which affected me very much." The farther west they came, the rougher was the road, the steeper were the hills and the more severe the strain on their exhausted bodies.

When after four months of travel they emerged on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, what a sight met their gaze! The beautiful valley of the Columbia was before them, with the hoary heads of Mount Hood and Mount St. Helens looming up in the distance, and the setting sun just peeping out behind one of them. Two days later, after partaking of a hasty breakfast at daybreak, on fresh horses the Doctor and his wife galloped eight miles to Fort Old Walla Walla. Their long, tedious, dangerous land journey was over. They were met by the gentlemen of the fort, who gave them a most cordial welcome. After the usual introductions and salutations, they entered the fort and were comfortably seated in cushioned armchairs. Breakfast was being served as they rode up, and all were soon seated at the table, and treated to food such as they had not tasted for many months. Says Mrs. Whitman: "While at breakfast a young rooster placed himself on the sill of the door and crowed a joyful welcome to the first American white woman who came to this State," which she fully appreciated and fully enjoyed. A day or two later Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding arrived.

They were now in the lap of civilization. Their long, toilsome, dangerous land journey was done. White women had traveled overland from the Atlantic shores to where the breezes from the Pacific fanned their cheeks. They had done the impossible. Notwithstanding the scores of warnings they had received they were now here. Rev. Jason Lee, who had crossed the plains two years before, had written back that it was impossible for a white woman to endure its hardships and dangers. Mr. Spaulding wrote to the Home Board: "Never send another white woman over those mountains if you have any regard for human life." But they did, for two years later four white American

women of similar calibre, two of whom have sons on this platform tonight, one of whom is the speaker, made the same journey in the same way, under similar circumstances and with similar experiences. Afterwards others followed. Seven years later the first train of wagons, under the guidance of the husband of one of those two brave women, rolled across the plains and closed up the connection between the two oceans by a wagon road. But these two women were the first—the advance guard. They blazed the trail which others followed. Their coming was the entering wedge of civilization, and to them more than to any other is due the credit, the honor, the glory of saving the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States. All hail to womanhood—not a whit behind man in heroism, fortitude and patriotism—and in what she has done for her country and her race!

But what of the gallants who brought them. This from Mrs. Whitman: "Tell mother that if I had looked the world over I could not have found a husband more careful and better qualified to transport a female such a distance." What could they have done without their squires? The greatest men are the most tender of women.

In reviewing the past and ascribing due credit to each for what he or she did for our country, it is important to consider the situation of affairs at that time. As is well known, two governments were vying with each other for the supremacy of the Pacific Northwest. It was tacitly understood that the nationality of those who should settle here would have much to do in the ultimate settlement of this question. There were three natural divisions of the country in dispute. The country south of the Columbia River, which now includes the State of Oregon and a part of Idaho, was the southern division. That north of the same river up to the forty-ninth parallel, and which now includes the State of Washington and the northern part of Idaho, was the middle section, and from that line to $54^{\circ} 40'$, now a part of British Columbia, was the northern division. Each government had special claims for each. The claim of the British government for the southern division was comparatively weak—that of the United States government for the northern division was also not strong. The middle division (our own State) was the real battleground of the controversy. Here was located the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's operations, most of their important trading posts, and property claimed by them, a few years later, to be worth two million dollars. At the same

time, there were complications that made the whole section likely to go together. There were, too, questions of state that had most important bearing, independent of the circumstances and particular value of either division or the whole of it. All these had to be considered. No one overtopped all the others. In the work that the early pioneers did for the ascending of our own government, the importance of what they did should be gauged to some extent by the danger of losing the particular section affected by their individual work.

The first Americans who came to the Coast were the members of the Methodist mission. Failing to meet the tribe of Indians who had sent their messengers East, they very naturally came to Vancouver, where Dr. McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay Governor of the West, had his headquarters. He shrewdly advised them to settle in the Willamette Valley, south of the Columbia, and in the southern division. The first settlements were made in the rich agricultural lands of that section. The first organized effort to form a provincial government was made there, and ably assisted, if not led, by the members of this mission. The first memorials to Congress, taken there by Rev. Jason Lee, were prepared and signed there. The first strong appeal to members of Congress, giving information of the importance and nature of that region, was made by Mr. Lee. All this had a strong influence with our statesmen, and had an important bearing on the final settlement of the question. But all of this referred to that division of the country that the Hudson's Bay Company prized the least. They were in the fur business and had but little trade in that section. The natural effect of this awakening of interest in the question among our own statesmen was to stir up the English government to make efforts to hold on to the prize that seemed to be slipping from their grasp. The inaccessibility of this distant region and the sterility of the soil of the other sections was enlarged upon, and special efforts were made to impress our statesmen with its worthlessness, especially that of these two northern divisions. They were extremely anxious to hold on to this part if they could not secure possession of the whole. The knowledge of its mineral resources was carefully concealed. It was about this time that the question began to be pressed to final settlement. But the strongest adverse argument was its utter inaccessibility by land. While these questions were pending the emigration of 1842 arrived in this valley. The means of communication were scarce then—certain information, whether cor-

rect or not, we can not now say; but which he regarded as of great importance, was imparted to Dr. Whitman. He was profoundly stirred. At the same time the affairs of his mission were not satisfactory. From his standpoint, and with his prejudices and feelings, it appeared to him that the antagonism of the adherents of another faith were supported by the officers of a foreign government, and were crippling his work more than anything else. For his mission to succeed there must be a free government, and he was intensely patriotic. He was roused to action and made that wonderful ride across the continent in the fall and winter of that year, accompanied by A. L. Lovejoy, who had brought him the news. He did not live to publish the story of his experiences. That was gleaned from his traveling companion. No one can read that simple tale without being profoundly impressed with his iron will, his indomitable energy and his great endurance.

Early in 1843 he was in Washington City. The Secretary of War was his old classmate. Of his interviews with the President, Secretary of State and members of Congress there is no record written down at the time except some correspondence between Dr. Whitman and the Secretary of War, his personal friend. Like Lee, his predecessor, he no doubt mingled freely with men of influence, gave them information and used arguments to convince them of the importance and value of Oregon. His verbal reports to his co-laborers on his return, as remembered by them and published many years afterwards, are to the effect that the impossibility of a wagon road across the Rocky or Stony Mountains was freely discussed. He, asserting its practicability (he had brought one wagon through already), others its impossibility. He was given time to make the trial, and further negotiations were suspended. This is the testimony of those to whom he told his experiences after his return.

Whether or not he had much to do with organizing that emigration is not essential; it is certain that he encouraged many. He probably did not advise anyone to stay at home. It is also certain that he accompanied them, that he rendered most important and valuable services on the way, and the testimony is convincing that at the critical period of its success or failure when at Fort Hall, his influence turned the scale, saved the emigration from being turned again south, as it had been done the year before, and made the wagon road from ocean to ocean an accomplished fact. The importance of this can hardly be overestimated. Like a fairy tale, the incredulous were loath to be-

lieve it at first, but each succeeding year confirmed its practicability until our Government fully realized it, and the treaty was finally made giving to us the country we could reach with wagons.

Having done what he could, he again returned to his duties and his special work. His motto seemed to be "ever ready to help." The testimony is strong and unanimous that of those who passed his door, the hungry were never turned empty away. His steadfastness and zeal were apparent in his work at home as well as in his journey East, until death overtook him while at his post of duty.

The importance of the work of Dr. Whitman and his co-laborers as missionaries has not, I think, been fully realized. As said before, through no fault of theirs, disease and death extinguished the work of the Methodist missionaries in the Willamette Valley. They still did most important work in Americanizing the provincial government of Oregon. They helped to give it a high moral tone. The first prohibition laws in the United States were enacted there, and by their assistance in conjunction with Dr. McLoughlin. But the work for the Indians had no lasting effect. This condition did not obtain among the Indians east of the Cascade Mountains. The impression prevails among many that, as the Indians killed Dr. Whitman, therefore no religious influence had been felt among them. This is a mistake. The contrary is the fact. The unfortunate murder of the whites living in this valley was followed by the abandonment of the other two stations and the departure of their missionaries. But the results of their work was not lost. The Cayuse war practically extinguished the Cayuse tribe. Most of what were left joined other tribes. One band, however, numbering about forty-five persons, remained true to their religious faith. During the existence of the mission a printing press had been received from the Sandwich Islands and used quite extensively at the station among the Nez Perces Indians. Numbers of books were printed containing parts of the Gospels, and many songs. Some of the Indians learned to use them. After their teachers left they continued the worship of the true God, and I wish to say in passing that the work that Mrs. Spaulding did to bring this to pass was most effective. The Spokane Indians also continued steadfast in their religious services. When, ten years later, Gov. Stevens met the Indians to make treaties with them, it was reported that one-third of the Nez Perces tribe were nominally Christian. It was largely due to the influence of these

Christian Indians that bloodshed was averted and Gov. Stevens made what progress he did in his treaty work, and, at a later time, got away with his life. It was the friendly Christian Indians who caught and delivered up the murderers of Dr. Whitman and his companions. The band of the Spokane Indians among whom Messrs. Walker and Eells lived and labored never joined the hostiles. At the time of our general Indian wars, in 1855-6, the influence of the Christian Indians living east of the Cascade Mountains was very important in preserving the lives of the whites and ultimately securing the supremacy of our arms. And twenty-five years later, when the peace policy adopted by General Grant, at that time President of the United States, made it practicable for religious work to be resumed among them, it was found that more than five hundred Indians who had previously been under the influence of Dr. Whitman and his co-laborers were consistent Christians, and immediately became communicants in Congregational or Presbyterian churches. Since that time a Bible school has been established among the Nez Perces Indians, and scores of young men have been educated and sent out as preachers and religious teachers to the members of their own and other neighboring tribes. These fruits of the work of this little band of those early missionaries among the Indians living east of the Cascade Mountains testify to the high character, the devotion and true piety of Dr. Whitman and his associates. They were true, devoted and faithful, and, as far as circumstances beyond their control would permit, successful. They did their work, both as citizens and Christians, well! That a small band of renegade Indians of a proud and arrogant tribe, under adverse influences, rose up and murdered all the white Americans in this part of the country, under the mistaken idea that they (the Americans) were coming to deprive them of their country, and that Dr. Whitman, having been active in assisting them to come here, was their worst enemy, does not militate against his character as a devoted Christian missionary.

I would not wish to give him undue praise. He was mortal, like all of us. He had his faults and his failings. It was, I think, President Jackson who said: "Save me from my friends." A wiser than he has said: "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him." Between the hero-worshippers on the one side, and the historical iconoclasts on the other, the true name and fame of Dr. Whitman have been unfortunately misrepresented. But he was a good man and did his work well. So did others.

I have said that the speech of the Indian saved Oregon. I have also said that the credit, the glory and the honor of saving Oregon is due more to Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding than to any other. Others have proclaimed far and wide that Whitman saved Oregon, while still others deny this and ascribe great credit to Rev. Lee. They all saved Oregon. Each in his own place did what he or she could, and each was most important. Like the stones in an arch, each was necessary to support the structure and was dependent upon the others. Jason Lee was the first American citizen to come to Oregon and make it his bachelor home. He was the first to bring to the attention of the authorities at Washington the value and importance of the Willamette Valley and that part of Oregon. He and his associates did much to inaugurate the provincial government, give it a high moral tone and Americanize it. He did his work well.

The two women of whom I have spoken were the first white American women to come to Oregon to make this their home. They endured much, were brave and true. Their coming produced the first tremor of real fear in the breasts of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company of the danger of losing supremacy in the Northwest. They did their work well.

But it was Whitman who brought the first white American woman to this State. Mrs. Spaulding being ill, had to travel more slowly, and did not arrive until a day or two later. It was Whitman who brought the first wagon across the plains to this State, and, if he did not personally drive it all the way himself, he directed its progress over the most difficult parts and caused it to be brought the rest.

It was Whitman who took his life in his hands and crossed the great and terrible wilderness in the dead of winter, going direct to Washington City. He used his influence and information at a most important time, as Lee had done five years before him, for the saving of Oregon. It was Whitman who as a guide, as physician to the sick, and as friend to everyone, did so much to bring the first train of emigrant wagons across the plains to Oregon, and who, at the most critical juncture, saved it from being abandoned or turned aside to the sunny climes of the South. And it was Whitman who, having done what he could for his country and the existence of his mission, settled down faithfully and earnestly to do good to the souls and bodies of the lowly, and, when the spirit of revenge was abroad in the land, was made the victim of the hate of a few unreasoning, renegade savages, who slew their best friend. A martyr to his coun-

try, he gave his life. Who did more? Lee and Whitman were warm personal friends.

It was among her Methodist sisters of the lower country that Mrs. Whitman made her home while her husband was threading those wilds and defiles of the great desert in the dead of winter. Uncertain of his return, or even of his life, she sought solace and comfort with the ladies of his mission. It were base to disparage one for the glorification of the other. But with such a record, who will deny that the name of Dr. Marcus Whitman deserves a high place in the arch of fame, if his be not, indeed, the honor of the keystone? Were **he** alive to-day, who would be more ready to place a diadem on the brows of the first Christian martyrs of the Northwest Coast, Dr. Marcus and Mrs. Narcissa Whitman, than their fellow-laborer and fellow-citizen, the self-sacrificing, devoted pioneer missionary, Rev. Jason Lee! Brothers they were, both gave their services, one his life.

But while we meet here to-day to pay our tributes to the memories of the sainted dead of our own race, let us not forget that somewhere—like Moses of old, “No one knows of his sepulchre until this day”—but somewhere, perchance on a lonely peak of his mountain home, overlooking the vast domain lying to the north, the south, and the distant west, peopled by hundreds of thousands of thriving citizens, whose prosperity he had much to do in securing to them—somewhere, in an unknown and unmarked grave, lie the bones of one who, moved upon by the Great Spirit of all good to seek in his blind way for more light, touched a spring which set in motion influences that produced such marvelous results. A noble scion of the most superior tribe of Indians in the Pacific Northwest, he did his part, and did it well.

This narrative of the past to which you have listened is not merely an interesting story. It is more than that—it is a challenge. A challenge to us, who enjoy the fruits of what our forefathers have done for the land in which we dwell—a challenge that we, too, do our part in the battle of life as they did their.

What are the needs of the hour? What are we called upon to do? If you will pardon the suggestion, I would like to say in this line of what has been done, that when those public-spirited men founded institutions of learning, they not only provided for the then present needs of the country, but also laid foundations for the future. The Oregon Institute, Tualatin Academy, and Whitman Seminary were sufficient for the time, and were also foundations upon which have grown the institu-

tions of to-day. Our forefathers saw the future and provided for it. From our vantage ground we, too, can see down the vista of the future and with considerable certainty realize its needs. Where now there are thousands there will be millions of people leading busy, active, responsible lives. When the Willamette Valley, the garden spot of the State of Oregon, shall be thickly dotted over with happy homes, when upon the finest sheet of water in the world shall ride thousands of vessels carrying the produce of this vast Inland Empire, as well as the manufactures of the magnificent forests in the western part of the State to the ends of the earth, when industries and commerce shall be so developed that the Northwest Pacific Coast shall have a commanding influence, not only over the United States but over the world, then there will be great demands for men—real men, men of brain, well trained—but above all men of sterling worth and character. Where shall they be found? They naturally must be born, bred and trained in what was Old Oregon. The mission of the Christian college and university is as necessary to-day as it was one hundred years ago. It fills a place as much needed as ever and of importance that will be increased in the same ratio as will be the growth of business and population on this Coast. The religious schools of the West have hard struggles to compete with the State schools, with their generous financial support. They sorely need and must have, if they are to do the work so greatly needed, large endowment, the income of which will enable them to command the best talent and to secure ample equipment, that they may thoroughly train young men and young women for the arduous, responsible, and most important duties of the future. Let us rally to the support of the institutions planted by our fathers. With Willamette University, the outgrowth of the work of the noble Lee and his associates, and Whitman College, erected in memory of the martyred Whitman—one for Oregon and one for Washington—amply endowed, what power for needed good they would become! One in the garden spot of the Northwest—the other in this most highly favored valley, with its mountain breezes, giving health and mental energy to the students within its walls, what better locations could be found and upon what better foundations could they be built? May not the favored recipients of what has been done for us inspire us to emulate and imitate the virtues and characters of these noble heroes and heroines of the long ago?

EDWIN EELLS.

EXPANSION OF THE DEWEY DECIMAL SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.

The following expansion of the Dewey Classification has been prepared to meet the needs of the University of Washington Library in classifying its books and pamphlets upon the history of the Pacific Northwest. At the request of neighboring librarians, its publication is permitted with the thought that it may prove helpful. It is not expected that its field of usefulness will extend outside of the region of Old Oregon.

The University of Washington Library employs the Dewey Decimal Classification, a system now in general use in the Northwest, as well as elsewhere throughout the United States and abroad. One of the most admirable features of this well-known system is its expansiveness by use of further decimals, permitting subdivision and growth. It has thus been possible, without the change of any numbers now in use, to add such extensions to the Dewey numbers as provide for the special topics and regions of the Pacific Northwest.

Hoping to make clear the scope and purpose of this classification, a few words of explanation are offered:

1. This is an expansion only; not an entire system. It is not to be used independently, but strictly as a supplement to Dewey. While no Dewey numbers are used with changed meanings, it should be noted that the Dewey 979.5, Oregon, is taken to mean Oregon in its early significance, covering the entire region between the parallels of 42 degrees and 54 degrees, 40 minutes, north latitude, and extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. It thus becomes the number for general Pacific Northwest History, and the State of Oregon is limited to 979.53.

2. In subdividing, the attempt has been made to follow as closely as possible the spirit of the Dewey system. County subdivisions have been worked out for the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana, and the general scheme of grouping by counties has been followed. Where possible, unassigned places are provided for future division of large counties into smaller ones.

3. In providing for special topics, only the broadest and most obviously necessary subjects have been given numbers.

For the ordinary library, a too minute classification is to be discouraged. Broader heads give fewer alphabets through which a patron must look for a given book upon the shelf. A careful use of book numbers tends to bring together nearly related books, and thus answers many of the purposes of classification. For those who wish, however, to classify more closely, further subdivision can be made.

4. Many books of interest in connection with the history of the Northwest are most serviceable when classified with the subject to which they chiefly contribute. No provision is here made for such books, it being expected that the Dewey system will be followed without change and that the library catalog will bring the history student's attention to such resources. When for any reason such books are attracted to a Northwest History collection, they are to be given the General Northwest History number, 979.5, unless other provision has been made.

5. In the University of Washington Library, description and travel are placed with the history of the Pacific Northwest. Libraries wishing to separate travel from history have only to follow the Dewey plan of inserting 1 after the initial 9, at the same time removing the decimal point one place to the left. Explanation of this plan is given in Dewey's *Decimal Classification* in a note opposite 914-919.

6. Special topics and special regions have been assigned for the State of Washington. For special topics and localities of other States, unassigned numbers are provided. In libraries making a specialty of their own State history, these numbers can be used according to their own peculiar needs. Knowledge of local affairs and of the literature to be classified will determine what is needed. It is not expected that any library will care to use such special topics for States other than its own.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Expansion of the Dewey Decimal Classification for the History of the Pacific Northwest.

978.6 MONTANA.

.605 Periodicals.

.606 Societies.

.61 SPECIAL TOPICS. To be assigned when needed.

.611

.612

.613

.614

.615

- .616
- .617
- .618
- .619
- .62 SPECIAL LOCALITIES. To be assigned when needed and
- .621 to cover the literature relating to areas whose boundaries are
- .622 not coincident with county lines.
- .623
- .624
- .625
- .626
- .627
- .628
- .629
- .63 CENTRAL WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN COUN-
- TIES.
- 978.631 Flathead. Kalispell.
- .632 Missoula. Missoula (City).
- .634 Lewis and Clark.
- .635 Helena.
- .636 Powell.
- .637 Granite.
- .638 Ravalli. Hamilton.
- .64 SOUTHWESTERN COUNTIES.
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DOCUMENTS.

The Hudson Bay Company documents collected by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye in the preparation of her book on McDonald of Oregon are continued in this department.

Fear of Losing British America.

Archibald McDonald is evidently writing to his friend John McLeod in this letter. Readers will notice how he hints at the possibility of His Majesty's losing his possessions on this side of the Atlantic:

Fort Langley, 20th Feb'y, 1833.

My dear Friend,

Without going into a long preface about it, let me inform you that your kind letter of March last came duly to hand, and much gratified was I to learn that you and your were safely landed in one of His Britannic Majesty's Canadian Domains. That wing of the country however being rather new to us all in this part of the world you might have said a little more about it,—Chicoutimy—where is Chicoutimy? why, you tell me tis near the seat of Government, but more out of the way of news than even Kamloops—if this be the case tis what classical characters would call a great anomaly. But Master John if the truth were known you have the Quebec Mercury & Montreal Herald wet from the press the 2'd & 3'd morning after their publication and of course have become brimfull with Canadian polotics—by the by to all appearance a most fertile subject of discussion in these days, so much so, that, if he does not look sharp His Majesty will ere long be apt to loose his valuable domains on this side of the Atlantic.

As the Kings posts—the Seignories and all that is great and good along that side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is now ours I hope we shall soon have a flaming account of your profits in order to make up the full extent of first expectations on our side. Do not however imagine that I insinuate by this that we ourselves are making a loosing business of it—on the contrary west side the mountains last year cleared 20,000£ and this, I expect it will do just as good. Still I would not be sorry that all the Factors who have heretofore in snug corners distinguished themselves for having made good and profitable returns, were sent to the N W Coast or Gulf of St. Lawrence, and then they would see the difference of making out a shining bill-sheet. Here, this year, in the face of 3 American vessels we collected 2,000 skins. Nass in opposition to no less than 7 got as much besides 1,000 picked up by each of our own vessels—but then they cost dear,

near 2 dollars for made Beaver. Will you trade be much cheaper? I presume not, for I understand your Micmacs from the opposite shore knew how to value their Beaver & to teach the natives of the district a good lesson also. Mr. Connolly does not write me, but I believe so far from his being in a dying state last Spring, he was about taking to himself a better half, and thereby contemplating, health—wealth and happiness at Tadousac. I suppose I shall next hear from you from Lake St. John as I understand you are to move up that way. The same source of information hints to me that Jerimy is the post intended for me when I return from my rotation. Of course, unless you meet him about Quebec or Montreal you see nothing of our old English River Bourgeois. is he not down near Anticosti? He writes no one in the north now a days. With respect to my self I at the request of our great folk took passage in the Eagle last fall from here—spent a month with them in the Columbia and found my way back to the family a few days before Christmas after spending some time in Puget sound looking out for a place fit for an establishment more suited for our purpose than Fort Vancouver, which, you must understand, is in this case to be abandoned. The Doctor and Mr. Ogden I believe got out this spring—at all events I am directed to be at Vancouver early next month with bag and baggage and whatever becomes of the Baggage—goods and chattels, poor things, tis more than probable I myself shall be sent to fill up a hole on the coast. They say I cannot be off with less than 15 years of the Columbia. You would have understood from Mr. Herriott that he was not to come across last fall, neither did Kitson;—Mr. Heron as usual stuck at Colville with Frank and Annance his aids. Black is at our old place Pamburn at Walla Walla. Work continues to follow the Freeman in one direction and Michel la Frambois in another. Manson and Doctor Kennedy compose Ogdens staff. Exclusive of all these in Columbia proper there sat at table when I was at Vancouver last fall—Factor McL. and Finlayson—Trader Cowie,—Mr. David Douglas, just returned from California via Sandwich Islands—Messrs James Douglas of the Vancouver and Capt. McNeill of the brig Laima (Lately bought at Waohoo by Mr. Finlayson) & two or three mates besides these were a Captain Wyeith and a Mr. (obliterated) both from Boston with a party of settlers to form a colony on the Willamette. Of a great many that started in the expedition only 9 arrived at the place of destination. The plans intended for the establishing of this colony you will see at full length described in all the American papers. To complete the catalogue of our Gentl'n in this quarter I should say that Capt. Kipling with the brig Dyrad & 2 mates, & Capt. Sinclair with the schooner Cadboro and 1 mate were then to the northward Yale is with me here and takes charge when I leave the place—he will have 12 men and 1 cooper as assistant—force in my opinion adequate to the security of the place as another Establishment is to be formed in the

Sound. In one respect I regret leaving Ft. Langley—it is a snug comfortable place—but when I find it is high time for me to see and get my little Boys to school—God bless them I have now no less than five of them, all in a promising way. Jennie is glad to hear of Charlotte's welfare and begs to be most kindly remembered to her. I hear poor Mr. Prudent is not too well in health—he wrote me himself but did not say so. If I succeed with my six men in reaching the Columbia safely I shall endeavour to write you a few lines on the envelope to say how I am likely to be disposed of &c. &c. &c. Meantime believe me my Dear friend

Most sincerely yours

(Sgd) ARCH'D McDONALD.

Appalled by Fever.

John Work prefers all other savage dangers to that of leading a fever-stricken party through hostile lands:

Fort Vancouver, 24th Feby. 1834.

My Dear Edward

After an expedition of 16 months I arrived here on the 29th of October when I had the particular pleasure of receiving your, your very kind and highly valued letter of the 3rd Feby. last and was extremely happy to hear of your health and welfare and that you are getting on so well and the fair prospects before you. Accept my best thanks for the fund of interesting information which your letter contains. I can scarcely help envying you the contentment and happiness you enjoy. Let not the trouble you have buying selling and bartering discourage you but go on vigorously, your perseverance and prudence will insure success and in a short time your business will be on a more extensive scale and much more satisfactory to yourself. Keep in remembrance that many of the principal merchants in Canada who be persevering industry realized handsome fortunes, and though with no very extraordinary talents commenced business on a far lesser scale than you have done. God prosper you and may you succeed to the full extent of your wishes My dear Ned as I have frequently told you I have been long heartily tired of this Indian country and the wretched life which it has been often my lot to lead in it, and would be happy to leave it immediately, but as affairs stand at present I can perhaps save more here than in business, with the small sum I could begin upon, besides it is more certain, at least for some time, I therefore deem it best to endeavor with strict economy to save a little more so that I might be likely to have better success. I am also afraid of my own want of experience. My last expedition was the most unpleasant one I have yet had. I was to the Southward to California we had a good deal of trouble and some skirmishes with

hostile tribes of savages who are there very numerous, some parts of the country are very rugged and difficult to pass, but what was worst of all the fever broke out among my people, (near 100 in number) and spread so rapidly among them that in a short time more than three fourths of the party, myself, the three little ones & their mother among the number, were attacked by it. A number of us were soon reduced to a most helpless state, indeed wretched, without medicines, (for my stock had been all expended,) or any kind of necessaries for people in such a condition, having to pass through hostile tribes of treacherous savage Indians, and a month & a half's march to get here where alone I could expect to obtain assistance, we were in a most deplorable condition I am unable to describe it, at length by persevering and with much difficulty we got this length. Two men and Indian & two children belonging to the party died on the way, I was so much exhausted by this debilitating disease that I was reduced to a perfect skeleton and could scarcely walk, but by medical aid and enjoying the comforts of the establishment, comforts which I had been long a stranger to, I am now, thank God recovered and in pretty good health. Ah! Ned, the dangers among the Blackfeet are bad enough God knows, but them and all the other troubles in my most troublesome part of this savage country are not to be compared to the calamity of a whole party being thus attacked with sickness in a wilderness far from any aid or means of procuring remedies. God keep me from ever experiencing the like again. I had a letter from Frank not long since he is passing the winter at Colville with Mr. McDonald and was then well, he was in the plains last summer and is to return again, it is a dangerous situation I have cautioned him to be particularly on his guard. Here affairs go on much in the old way, The Doctor's perseverance has made a great change you would scarcely know the place every bit of cleared ground and a great deal more which has been cleared is under cultivation and the quantity of grain produced is immense. A thrashing mill which he has had built this winter has been some time at work and distilling whiskey has been going on all winter, a hundred head of swine have been killed to make pork for the Naval Department. There are four vessels constantly in the country. Our friend J. Tod now winters in the neighborhood of Ye and always passes the summer there, & I am happy to hear he has got quite well. I may be so situated that I cannot be punctual in writing but be assured I shall miss no opportunity, and I trust you will do the same and continue to give me the news and prospects in your quarter.

God bless you Yours ever affectionately

Edwd. Ermatinger Esq.

JOHN WORK.

More About Fever.

Dr. McLoughlin encourages McLeod and shows how they all planned for future independent lives.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1834.

John McLeod, Esq.
Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of yours of 20th March, 1833, by which I am sorry to learn that your poor wife is again unwell, but I hope she is recovered and is in the enjoyment of sound Health as without Health Life is I would almost say a Burden—I cannot give an opinion at least any way correct in regard to the Kings Posts as I have no document to go By—But as a matter of opinion I must say I think I will never pay the money given for them—though they may perhaps pay by the Economy it will enable the Company to carry on Business in the neighbouring places as to us here we are going on in the usual way we have an additional post at Mill Bank Sound—and Expect to be able to Establish another at the River in Latitude 59 and which will enable us to extend our trade in the country north of New Caledonia. But this year we have no party in the Snake country as Work arrived so late last fall it was impossible for him to get Back this season—he was so late in coming in in consequence of him and his party being afflicted with the Intermittent in the plains of which five of his people died and the mortality among the natives has been Immense. At this place we were also afflicted with it but not so violently as usual. I remark what you say about the River St. Maurice, it certainly is a most disagreeable place where you are constantly annoyed by opposition—and never will shew on the credit side of the account but to you it has the Advantage of being nigh the Civilized World which enables you to place your money out to more advantage than 2-¾ p Cent and more than this you are nigh to where your children are educated.

I am,
Yours truly,

(Sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Arrival of the Missionaries.

In this gossipy letter Dr. McLoughlin tells about the arrival of Jason Lee's party, and also of Doctor Parker, who looked out the way for the Whitman mission.

Fort Vancouver, 1st Febry, 1836.

My dear Sir,

I have not the pleasure to receive any letter from you but I am aware that your epistle must be detained on the way.

I will still do myself the pleasure to address you. As to us here thanks be to the Almighty for His mercies—the fever has not been so Bad as usual—and in every other respect our Business goes on as well as usual—and our farm supplies us with plenty to eat. I think I wrote you that last year two missionaries Methodist preachers were settled in Willamette—they have begun a farm on a large scale and have collected a few Indians around them whom they are instructing in religion this year another Missionary is come across land from Boston—he is come to select stations for missionaries. He goes back this Spring by the Route he come and Missionaries will be sent here this Spring—their plan is to reside among the Indians in the way the preceding have. By this you must see that Before long this will be a settled country and if it was not very difficult to get here as it is I am certain settlers would flock here instead of remaining in Upper and Lower Canada. The Willamette Free-men have begun farms and have amongst them about 3,000 Bushels of wheat, Thomas McKay has begun a farm Nigh Casineaus old village and has about 800 Bushels—Wheat—Margaret and Eloisa request to be remembered to you and Believe

me to be

Yours truly

(Sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

Mixed Bloods.

Those “forelopers,” as Kipling calls them, had sincere affection for their mixed blood progeny, which fact is shown by this letter from Finlayson to McLeod:

John McLeod, Esquire.

Fort Vancouver, 25th Feb’y, 1833.

Private.

My dear Sir,

Your very kind favour of the 29th. February came duly to hand per Mr. Cowie on the 4th November last, and was glad to learn that you & your family got in safety to your destination, but was on the other hand sorry to hear that Flora suffered so much from that kind of sickness, which invariably the introduction of the natives of this country into the civilized world, and from which, of once recovered, there can be little danger apprehended for the future. Your little Girl and the rest of your family, having therefore passed this ordeal, may be considered, if the expression is allowable as acclimated in the civilized world—and you have the advantage over your neighbours that your family are getting accustomed to and becoming acquainted with the usages of civilized society; while you are looking out at leisure, for a spot where to sit down for the remainder of your days. Matters in this quarter are going on in the usual way.

Returns are still good, but the strong opposition on the N W Coast for the last outfit, rendered it absolutely necessary to take some steps for the protection of the trade at that place, or abandon it altogether; I therefore, sailed in July last, for the Sandwich Islands, where I purchased a fine new copper brig of 150 tons for the sum of £1250 paid from the proceeds of the salmon & timber sent to that market. I also engaged her Captain (McNeill) to continue in the command of her who from his long experience on the N W Coast, will I think give affairs in that quarter a favourable turn. This step, together with the report of Mr. Ogden's liberality toward the natives, have been productive of some good results—insomuch, as it has acted as a damper upon our opponents; consequently the Coast at least for this winter, is clear of opposition and in this state will be turned to great advantage. It cleared for the last outfit £1613—the first gains ever realized from it, and I shall answer for its gains, ensuing one to treble that sum. I have written to Dr. Harkness, who is very old friend and acquaintance of mine, and who I will be most happy to see. I was not aware of his being at Quebec. In the Postscript to your letter of 12th March you speak of retiring. If your means are sufficient for that purpose, I would certainly do so, but I would recommend to you, not to take a step rashly, of which you might hereafter have cause to repent. You have two melancholy instances in your neighbourhood of the folly of such measures. I mean Messrs. McVicar & Spencer, both of whom if my information is correct, would gladly now grasp at what they have so foolishly spurned from them. I am just about starting on a cruise to the North West Coast and will perhaps peep in at the Russian Settlement at Sitka, you will therefore forgive the brevity of this, and with best wishes for the health and happiness and prosperity of yourself and family,

I am, My dear Sir

Most sincerely yours,

(Sgd) D'N FINLAYSON.

McLoughlin Mentions Wyeth.

In this interesting letter of friendly gossip the "Father of Oregon" reveals his heart about a number of things, and without mentioning the name tells of the arrival there of Nathaniel J. Wyeth.

Fort Vancouver, 1st March, 1833.

My dear Sir,

I have now before me your kind letter of 10 March 1832, and am happy to see that you and yours are enjoying that greatest of Terrestrial Blessings Good Health—and My Sister writes me that there are two Miss McLeods from the upper country at the Convent—did you know that the Mere Superior is my Sister—

if so why did you not tell her that you knew me & I am certain she would have been pleased to see an acquaintance of her Brothers. I am sorry to see you seem to consider your present situation will lead to Incur Expense. It is true it may do a little but you have the advantage by being close to the Civilized World, that you can place your money where you can get better interest than we get in England and the far greater advantage of being at hand to superintend the Education of your children—but of course every man is Best able to judge for himself and although I differ with your view of your situation still on your account I am sorry since all happiness only lays in the mind that you are not placed in a place more constant to your wishes. I have no data to enable me to give an opinion of the Kings Posts but if they are no Better than when the North West Company had them I think they will never pay the price paid for them, but still it may have been good Polocy to buy them as I am informed the Company was getting as notorious as the N. W. and H. B. were formerly in Canada.

But it is galling to think that a Bankrupt Yankee unacquainted with the Business should have been able to oblige us to pay so dear—in this quarter we go on in the usual way. Last year we had five opponents on the coast but still we procured furs to the amount of four thousand five hundred pounds. But this year we expect to have the Trade to ourselves and to do Better—we are also going to Establish another Post on the coast at Mill Bank Sound—and in 1834 another Post on a river in Latitude 56 North. Snake County is Ruined and there are at present 400 Americans in it and I see nothing that they can do to live but go in a body to the Pie-gan Lands which will be a Death blow to the Saskatchewan. A party of Americans made their way to this place they intended to Establish a Salmon fishery, but their plan has failed for the present in consequence of the vessel being wrecked, with their supplies being wrecked on their way there—and though he is off to Boston his people are here and he says he will be Back. Gervais (two names illegible) and a few others have begun farms in the Willamette and though I have been here since 1824 still I never could find time to visit it till last year and certainly it is deserving all the praises Bestowed on it as it is the finest country I have seen & certainly a far finer country than Red River for Indian traders to retire to—and before long you may depend it will be settled as there is now a plan on foot to colonize it from Boston. Margaret and Maria desire to (be) remembered to you and Charlotte and believe me to be

Yours truly

(sgd) JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

N. B. Our crop is 3,500 Bushels Wheat, 3,000 Do. of Pease 3,000 Do Barley, 2,000 Do. Oats and 15,000 do Potatoes. I believe we would bear to be compared with any farm—our stock of cattle between 400 and 450 exclusive of what we supplied other places and you know in 1824 we had only 17 cows.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California. By William Elsey Connelley. (Topeka, Kansas: Published by the author, 1907, pp. X. 670.)

The student of Western history will find in this volume an interesting story of pioneer achievements. The bulk of the volume consists of a reprint of Doniphan's Expedition, etc., as published by Jno. T. Hughes in 1847. Mr. Connelley's work is that of editor and publisher mainly, though he has made some valuable additions.

Jno. Taylor Hughes, born in Kentucky, July 25, 1817, was a descendant of Stephen Hughes, who early came to Maryland from Wales. Members of the Hughes family later moved to Virginia. Each generation followed the receding frontier westward into Kentucky and then into Missouri, where the author of Doniphan's Expedition grew to manhood. In 1840 he graduated from Bonne Femme College and was teaching school at Liberty, Mo., when war with Mexico was declared. He enlisted as a private and his company was part of Doniphan's regiment. He early made known his intention of becoming the historian of the expedition if he survived, and was given every opportunity to secure material for his contemplated work.

Doniphan's force, the First Regiment Missouri Mounted Volunteers, made up about half the army under the command of Colonel (later Brigadier-General) Stephen W. Kearny, the whole being known as the Army of the West. Kearny conducted the expedition to Santa Fe, where he left the bulk of his army under Doniphan while he pushed on with a few men to California. Doniphan in turn left Colonel Sterling Price in charge of Santa Fe and pushed on to Chihuahua. Two brilliant and decisive battles were fought at Brazito and Sacramento and Chihuahua was conquered.

From Chihuahua Doniphan marched his forces to Saltillo, from whence, as their period of enlistment would soon expire, they were ordered home. The march was continued to Matamoras, and from there they took ships to New Orleans, where they were mustered out of the service. This march from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Saltillo and Matamoras—about 3,600 miles—is called Doniphan's Expedition.

Hughes' narrative is extremely interesting. It is written from the standpoint of the man in the ranks and has a wealth of interest and detail pertaining to the actual difficulties of the march that is rarely obtainable for such a movement. Hughes was a keen observer and interestingly describes the country, its people, the army and its maneuvers. Few travelers have written with a readier pen.

Mr. Connelley has added fuller information in a multitude of foot notes, as well as full and interesting sketches of Doniphan, Hughes, Sterling Price, a part of the hitherto unprinted diary of Hughes, the official rosters of the companies and eleven appendices, all of which enhance the value of the original work.

The whole volume shows careful editing and it will take first rank as a personal narrative dealing with the Mexican War. The whole story is so well told that it is hard to put it aside until it has been read through.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Robert Lucas. By John C. Parish [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambough]. (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. XI. 356.)

This study of Robert Lucas is a valuable volume dealing with a Western pioneer's activities as a soldier in the War of 1812, as a politician, legislator and Governor of Ohio, and as Territorial Governor of Iowa. The study is valuable not because Lucas was a great actor in any of these capacities, but rather because he was such a good type of the men that have filled and are still filling these positions in the newer Western States. Lucas was essentially a Western pioneer, self-made, partially educated, independent, somewhat dogmatic, set in his opinions even to the point of being stubborn, but, notwithstanding, possessed of a good fund of common sense and practical ability. In addition to the clear delineation of Lucas' character, the book contains a wealth of material setting forth the life of a pioneer State and its problems. With but slight modifications, similar characters can be found working out similar problems in State government in many States of the far West to-day.

Robert Lucas' paternal ancestors were Quakers who came from England in the days of William Penn. When Buck County ceased to be a pioneer county the family moved across the mountains into Western Virginia, where Robert Lucas was born. By 1800 the Lucas family had settled in the Scioto river valley,

Ohio, and still later Robert Lucas moved westward to Iowa. Prospective troubles over the transfer of the Louisiana Purchase led to a call for troops in Ohio, and Lucas raised a company. During the trouble with England over the Chesapeake he was again active in raising militia and later took an active and important part in the War of 1812.

As a legislator and Governor of Ohio Lucas does not take rank as a statesman, but he seems to have fulfilled the needs of the situation in a creditable manner. There were no particularly difficult problems of statecraft to solve, hence no statesman was needed. As Governor he warmly advocated a free public school system, favored an efficient militia as a protection against foreign invasion and Indian outbreaks, urged the building of roads, bridges and canals, and later, when Governor of Iowa, added railroads to his list of necessary improvements.

"The disputes over the interior division lines of the country have sometimes developed into open conflicts. Here the local feelings rise to the highest pitch. With angry squatters shaking their fists at each other across the line that separates their claims, and two equally angry Governors, forgetting their dignity and challenging each other in responsive proclamations, the scene often presents a ludicrous as well as serious aspect." (227.) It was Governor Lucas' misfortune to become involved in two of these disputes, the first with Michigan while he was Governor of Ohio, the second with Missouri while he was Governor of Iowa Territory.

To enter into the many political campaigns in which Lucas took a part, or to attempt to sketch pioneer life in Ohio or Iowa in Robert Lucas' time would carry us too far afield. It is sufficient to say that it is well done in this volume.

Mr. Parish has made a diligent search for material bearing on Lucas' career and presents his story clearly and convincingly. Barring an occasional slip, the work is very well written. Abundant notes point to the authorities consulted, and there is a good index.

EDWARD McMAHON.

Samuel Freeman Miller. By Charles Noble Gregory, A. M., LL. D. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. IX. 217.)

The activities of a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States removed from the stirring activities of practical politics

and administration do not furnish a great abundance of material for a popular biography. Judge Miller served twenty-eight years on the supreme bench, and, aside from his judicial decisions, has left little material upon which to base a biographical sketch. In all he wrote seven hundred eighty-three opinions, of which one hundred forty-seven deal with constitutional questions, but Dean Gregory has not attempted to set forth an exhaustive estimate of them.

Judge Miller's father was a farmer of German ancestry who emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, where Judge Miller was born in 1816. Young Miller graduated from Transylvania University and began the practice of medicine in his native State. Life as a country doctor afforded him little satisfaction and he soon began secretly to study the law books of a friend whose office he shared, and in 1847 was admitted to the bar. Immediately he began an active participation in political affairs. He was strongly opposed to slavery and allied himself to the Whig party as a follower and lieutenant of Cassius M. Clay. In the struggle to amend the Kentucky constitution so as to do away with slavery, Miller took a leading part, and when that movement failed he moved with his slaves to Iowa, where he set them free. In Iowa he rose rapidly to a prominent place at the local bar, and continued his political activities as a Whig until the birth of the Republican party, of which he became a local leader. In 1862 Lincoln appointed him justice of the Supreme Court, and he held the distinction of being the first justice of the Supreme Court appointed from the States west of the Mississippi river.

It is to be regretted that the plan of the series has not been set aside in the case of Judge Miller to allow a more exhaustive characterization of his judicial opinions. Dean Gregory was apparently competent to do this for us, and the value of the book would have been increased manyfold thereby. As it is, we find a very brief chapter on Judge Miller as an associate justice. Miller's part in interpreting the constitution during the Rebellion and Reconstruction is estimated by Dean Gregory as second only to that of John Marshall in an earlier period. He writes: "Without the rank or distinction which belongs to the Chief Justiceship, the controlling mind in the solution of the momentous questions of constitutional construction during the Rebellion and the period of Reconstruction, involving the scope and meaning of the great amendments, was Samuel Freeman Miller, of Iowa. * * *" (2).

Perhaps the most widely known decision of Judge Miller is that rendered in the case, *Loan Association v. Topeka*, 20 Wallace 655, in which he used this language: "To lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprise and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms. Nor is it taxation. * * * Taxes are burdens or charges imposed by the legislature upon persons or property to raise money for public purposes" (24). Judge Miller, it will be remembered, was one of the members of the electoral commission selected to untangle the Hayes-Tilden election difficulty. Of his acts in this connection Dean Gregory says: "From the first, Justice Miller, as was inevitable from the type of his mind, took an active and imperious part with the Republican majority, pressing for expedition and exclusion of testimony and acting throughout with the eight commissioners who outvoted the seven. It need not be alluded to as a judicial service, but it was a political service for which his undoubting and resolute disposition especially fitted him" (32).

On the personal side the book leaves us to form our estimate mainly from extracts of eulogies delivered by judges and members of the bar, and it seems unnecessary to insist that eulogies, especially of intimate associates, are of doubtful value in forming estimates of character. Here and there phrases and sentences seem to warn us that another side of the eminent judge has not been fully revealed. We are told that Judge Miller's interpretations of counsel "were apt to be pertinent and sometimes disastrous to the speaker, carrying the assurance that the court 'was not with him and never would be'" (59); that "the scant ceremony with which he dealt with tediousness or delay left many wounds among the bar of his circuit" (59); that a young lawyer who had submitted a motion "met with the usual humiliating treatment" (60); and, finally, we are told the story of the young lawyer who expressed his views of the judge's methods by saying: "I'm going up to be stamped all over by that damned old hippopotamus" (60). These little hints leave us unsatisfied, and we long to see the judge as he was seen through the eyes of the members of his bar.

Four appendices make up one hundred forty-three pages of the book. Three of these are addresses delivered by Judge

Miller, and the fourth is a complete calendar of his opinions. The first address, on "The Formation of the Constitution," and the second, on "The Value of Authorities," are good pieces of work. The third address, "Socialism and Society," is of no value except as it throws light on the working of Judge Miller's mind. Socialists, anarchists, nihilists, communists and single-taxers are grouped together and their declared object "avowedly in some cases, in most of them apparently, is the destruction of organized society" (154). Their doctrines, declared the eminent jurist, imply that the man who has made a fortune is a robber and an oppressor of the poor "because he does not divide these things equally among all his neighbors, among his enemies and his friends alike, among the good as well as the evil, among the industrious and the lazy, and among the criminal and the pious" (157).

The books are well indexed and carefully edited, and the State Historical Society of Iowa is to be commended for beginning the series and setting a worthy example for the other State Historical Societies. We need more biographies of the men who lived their lives and played their part in the affairs of our States.

EDWARD McMAHON.

The Great Plains; the Romance of Western American Exploration, Warfare, and Settlement, 1527-1870. By Randall Parrish. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1907. \$1.75.)

The task which Mr. Parrish sets for himself in his latest book is nothing less than to condense within the limits of a single volume the romantic history of "The Great Plains." Geographically, his subject covers that vast area of the United States extending from the Mississippi river to the Rocky mountains and from Texas to North Dakota; chronologically, it subtends the period from 1527 to 1870.

To successfully outline, even in briefest form, the history of this broad field and period, to trace from cause to effect the various movements, and to give to each event its own proper niche and proportion, is assuredly no mean undertaking. Mr. Parrish does not attempt so much, but limits himself to writing what he terms "romantic history." He has not attempted a scholarly work, but frankly states the purpose of the book in the closing sentence of the preface: "It is written largely for those to whom history has been heretofore dry and unpalatable, and my sole

desire is that it may awaken within their hearts a fresh interest in those who were the pioneers in the redemption of the great plains."

An examination of the book shows that the author has consistently adhered to his purpose. He has narrated events and incidents of a romantic character without stopping to consider them in their economic or political aspects. His book will have small interest to the careful student of history, but to the average reader, for whom the work is written, it should prove highly useful and entertaining. Instead of a dry lecture, to which a popular audience objects, here is a veritable moving-picture performance. First upon the screen comes the flora and the fauna of the region upon which are shown the aboriginal tribes of Indians, as it were, upon their native heath. Next in order are shown the first Spaniards and the French explorers, followed by glimpses of the fur traders and the first emigrants. Succeeding pictures illustrate the reign of the prairie schooner, the overland stage, the pony express, army life on the plains, incidents of the Indian wars, the beginnings of settlements, the days of the cattle kings, the building of the first railroad, and the rise of the border towns. The author furnishes running commentary upon the scenes portrayed, and somehow succeeds in reproducing the very atmosphere and spirit of the plains.

A matter for regret is the seemingly small use of source material in the preparation of the book. Quotations scattered here and there throughout the book, as well as the author's note of acknowledgment immediately following the preface, would indicate a too-ready dependence upon the accounts of secondary authorities. To the acceptance of secondary authority may be attributed such a statement as that made upon page 143 as to the purpose of Dr. Whitman's famous ride of 1842-43.

The volume forms, upon the whole, a welcome addition to the literature of the westward movement, if, indeed, that subject can be said to have a literature of its own. During the last few years several historical writers have given attention to the development of Western America, but it still remains a practically untilled field. So recently as the year 1905 the historian, McMaster, in his presidential address before the American Historical Association, refers as follows to this gap in the published records of American history:

"No feature of national existence is more fascinating than the westward movement of population, the great march across

the continent. Yet we have no history of this migration—no account of the causes which led to it; of the founding of great States; of the paths along which the people moved; of the economic conditions which now accelerated, now retarded it; of the ever-changing life on the frontier as the frontier was pushed steadily westward over the Alleghenies, across the valley of the Mississippi and over the plains, to disappear in our own day at the foot of the Rocky mountains." (Annual report of the American Historical Association, 1905, vol. 1, p. 57.)

The growth of Western United States to economic and political importance will draw increasing attention to its history, and the appearance of Mr. Parrish's book at this time is noteworthy. Mechanically, the book is attractively gotten up. The paper and type are good, and the illustrations are excellent. The title page bears the imprint of A. C. McClurg & Co. of Chicago. Western readers are glad to note that this firm, long established in the book-selling, importing and stationery business, has gradually developed a publishing department and is now making a specialty of books on Western history.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

NEWS DEPARTMENT

American Historical Association.

The Quarterly presents two important articles in this issue which were read at the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association, these two papers being read in one of the five special conferences. For that reason they will not appear in the regular publication of the proceedings. Historians and other students on the Pacific Coast are deeply interested in Oriental problems, and it is therefore a pleasure to lay before them the papers by President Charles D. Tenney of Pei Yang College and Professor K. Asakawa of Yale University.

The meeting was a brilliant success and Madison, "the city of laws and education," certainly showed herself a cordial and appreciative host of more than a thousand scholarly men and women. The proceedings will be published in full in the annual report published by the United States Government, and the papers will appear in the American Historical Review.

Professor George B. Adams of Yale was elected President and Professor Frederick J. Turner of Wisconsin, Vice-President, for the ensuing year. These honors are among the greatest to be achieved by historians in America. Next year the First Vice-President, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, will be promoted to the presidency.

Tribute to the Pioneers.

Henry E. Reed, Director of Exploitation of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, has written from Washington City to Director General Nadeau that on February 3 Senator Samuel H. Piles received such an ovation as has been seldom, if ever, given to a young Senator. The galleries were packed to hear the Senator's great speech on the Exposition and the West. The address was a masterly effort and deserved the showers of compliments from his fellow senators and the prominent men assembled in the audience. Every pioneer and every one of the newcomers who are interested in the history of the Old Oregon country should secure from the Senator a copy of the complete address. Space is taken here for the concluding sentences, giving, in part, the Senator's glowing tribute to the pioneer:

"And, sir, who peopled that region and founded those cities? It was the pioneer and his children, who fought, with a desperation surpassing the heroic, the most effective battle of all—the battle of the supremacy of the white man over the aborigines and the elements, coupled with isolation and want, that that immense stretch of country might not fall into alien hands. That they prevailed, sir, history records.

"But, Mr. President, had the pioneer been as timorous or as indifferent as were some of the statesmen of their age, their efforts would have been but 'a twice-told tale,' remembered only as are 'the footprints of the traveler over the sand,' and that land, formerly known as the 'Oregon Country,' instead of being, as it now is, the common heritage of all our people, would be to-day one of the possessions of the British Empire.

"It is therefore fitting, in view of their achievements, that Congress should aid the people of the Pacific Northwest in their desire to exhibit to an astonished world the progress that in so brief a space of time, and under such trying and difficult conditions, has been made in the arts, in science, in commerce, in agriculture, in mining, and in manufacturing, and in all, sir, that goes to make a great and glorious land."

The Oregon Trail.

Ezra Meeker, the venerable pioneer, has returned to his Puget Sound home after his remarkable and arduous undertaking of retracing the famous Oregon Trail with an ox-team. A number of his friends and of historians gathered at the home of his son-in-law, Eben S. Osborne, in Seattle, to receive Mr. Meeker's report and suggestions about permanently marking the trail. He said Congressman Will E. Humphrey had introduced a bill to accomplish that desired end, and before the meeting adjourned it resolved to recommend to President Roosevelt that, in case the Humphrey bill is enacted, Mr. Meeker, George H. Himes, of Portland, Oregon, and Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, be chosen as a commission to carry out its provisions. Mr. Meeker's hardihood in carrying on the work up to this point is meeting with deserved praise and approval on every side.

Honoring Whitman's Memory.

Walla Walla was the scene of interesting exercises on November 29, 1907. It was the sixtieth anniversary of the martyr-

dom of Marcus Whitman and his wife during the terrible Indian massacre at the old Whitman mission.

Governor Mead and his staff, troops of the United States cavalry, with the band, students of Whitman College, survivors of the massacre, pioneers and many citizens, made a pilgrimage to the grave and listened to part of the programme, which was concluded in the evening. Addresses were made by Governor Mead, President Penrose of Whitman College, and others. The address by Edwin Eells, whose father was a colleague of Whitman, is reproduced in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

One announcement, that brought forth applause, was made by Rev. J. C. Reid, to the effect that the debt that had hung over the Whitman monument for ten years had at last been cancelled.

Bibliography of Pacific Northwest History.

Mr. Charles W. Smith, of the University of Washington Library, whose expansion of the Dewey Decimal Classification appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*, has initiated a movement toward the preparation of a co-operative bibliography of Northwest history. His plan is for each important library in the region of Old Oregon to prepare a slip list of the books and pamphlets in its possession relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest. These slips are then to be incorporated into one straight alphabetical list, representing the resources of the libraries co-operating. By means of an initial letter or abbreviation placed after each item, will be indicated the libraries in which each book or pamphlet can be found. The list when printed will thus become a catalogue of each individual collection, as well as a combined check list of the whole.

Such a check list has long been needed, but its preparation has seemed too laborious for one person to attempt. The present co-operative plan seems to be a feasible one, and we believe that its success is assured.

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

The fourth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on November 29 and 30, 1907. The programme was as follows:

(1) A general session on Friday afternoon, beginning at 2:30 o'clock, with papers by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on "The State of Chile in the Last Decades

of the Eighteenth Century;" by Professor H. L. Cannon, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "Some Inherent Difficulties in the Study of History;" by Mr. John Jewett Earle, of Oakland, on "The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War;" by Professor C. A. Duniway, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "Political and Civil Disabilities of the Negro in California, 1849-1861."

(2) The annual banquet at the Hotel Jefferson, corner of Turk and Gough streets, facing Jefferson Square, at six o'clock Friday evening, open to invited guests as well as members. The price per plate was \$2.00.

(3) An evening session, with the annual address by President W. D. Fenton of Portland, on "Edward Dickenson Baker;" a paper by Professor Max Farrand, of Leland Stanford Junior University, on "The West and the Declaration of Independence;" an account of the resources of the Bancroft Library, by Professor H. Morse Stephens and others, of the University of California.

(4) A session on the teaching of history and government on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock. Mr. Anderson, of the San Francisco State Normal School, led a discussion on the California State text-book history, and Dr. Roberts, of the University of California, presented the subject of local government.

(5) A business session, for the consideration of reports of committees and the election of officers.

Teachers Interested in Local History.

Teachers in other parts of the State of Washington, as well as general readers, will be interested in the announcement of a programme of a teachers' meeting recently held in Wilbur, Lincoln County. It was devoted wholly to the history of the Pacific Northwest, and besides several appropriate musical numbers consisted of the following:

The Discovery of Puget Sound.....	Miss Phelps
The Romance of Astoria.....	Miss Dalton
Dr. John McLoughlin.....	Miss Lyons
The Log School House on the Columbia.....	Miss Fox
The Oregon Pioneer.....	Mr. Matthews
The Two Islands.....	Miss Phillips
Our Western Poets.....	Miss Wilson
The Bridge of the Gods.....	Miss Chandler
Was Marcus Whitman the Savior of Oregon?.....	Mr. Kohlstaedt

Oregon Missionary Honored.

The well-known pioneer clergyman and missionary of Oregon—Rev. A. L. Lindsley, D. D., LL. D.—was beautifully re-

membered in South Salem, New York, last December. A memorial tablet in the Presbyterian church of that city was unveiled. During the exercises the following poem was read. It was written by Marion P. Lindsley, the wife of A. A. Lindsley, of Portland, Oregon:

A MEMORIAL.

Give me a mind, Oh Lord, like his, most just
To choose between the right, the true and wrong,
With mercy generous, and in action strong.

Give me a heart like his, steadfast and deep
To see temptation and forgive the fall,
As Christ, Thy Son, forgave the sins of all.

Give me a soul like his, with wings to soar,
Uplifting on its pinions to the skies
The souls of others that else could not rise

Revolutionary Letter by Baron de Kalb.

The study of history constantly reveals unexpected sources in out of the way places. The Library of the State of Washington has an old letter written by Baron de Kalb. The story of how it came there is itself interesting history.

On August 9, 1898, Herbert Bashford, then Librarian, received a letter from Jesse Baker, Assessor of Wahkiakum County, which contained the following information:

"I don't remember whether I told you how I came in possession of the letter I am sending. I will do so now. I was a member of Co. H., 34th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and in March, 1862, several companies of my regiment, mine among the number, captured Columbia, Tenn., and occupied the court house for quarters. Previously several companies of a Confederate regiment had occupied the same building, and in the building was a room occupied by an antiquarian society. Before the Confederates left they had scattered the property of said society all over the floor. In looking over the letters on the floor, I found the one enclosed, and also one from Gen. Nathaniel Green to Gen. Washington, and also a twenty-pound colonial bill. These three I sent back to Polo, Ogle County, Illinois. Baron de Kalb's letter I recovered while back in Illinois last summer, but the last two seem to be lost entirely.

"The two holes in the letter I think were caused by being torn from some kind of clasp in which the letters were confined; but the general meaning of the letter can readily be determined so one can get the sense of the whole. In looking over the history of the United States, I should judge that Baron de Kalb

was killed a short time after writing the letter, in fact, I should think in the next fight he had with the British, of whom he is trying to get intelligence as to strength and position."

Mr. Baker's conjecture about the Baron's death following close upon the writing of this letter is well borne out by the brief sketch in the Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography. The letter was written on July 7, 1780, and the Battle of Camden took place on August 13. Says the above book: "Neither party was aware of the close proximity of its opponent until the advanced guards met, about two o'clock in the morning. In the battle that ensued soon after sunrise, Kalb commanded on the American right and was driving his adversary, Lord Rawdon, before him, when the defeat of our left wing exposed his flank and rear to the assaults of Webster and Tarleton. Kalb was thus attacked on all sides, but remained during the whole encounter, fighting bravely to the last. Bareheaded and dismounted, with sword in hand, he engaged in one personal encounter after another, encouraging his men with his voice as well as his example, till he had received eleven wounds. His lieutenant, Du Buysson, saved him from instant death. He died three days afterward and was buried at Camden. A marble monument was erected to his memory by the citizens of that town, the corner stone being laid by General Lafayette in 1825."

The letter, as near as can be made out, is as follows:

Camp on Deep river near Wilcoxes.
July 7th, 1780.

Sir:

The provisions I expected not only for four or five days march but also.....all magazin of some days.....here to have.....to in case of necess.....coming in.....that it will be imposs.....or me to move.....several days; as soon.....it will be possible,.....will do myself the honor to acquaint you therewith if you will please to inform me of your direction and march. The troops here are greatly distressed for want of meat, the men of our party that are sent out to drive them are not at all proper for that business—the more as they have no horses: they have much to do to get cattle and lose them again in the woods.

If you could favor me with a party of your light horse-men to be employed in, and provide for the purpose, I should be highly obliged to you.

As we act with great caution when once at Cole's bridge, the the enemy's reinforcing at Cheraws, it would be very necessary to have the best intelligence of their forces, situation, and design. If you had two or more proper officers or other persons to go among them, and get the best information, it might be of great service to us all.

It is possible the enemy's informed of our march and perhaps of our forces, to collect all theirs to march against us, being much superior to us in horse, and for what I know in infantry too, it would be unfortunate to go beyond Cole's, especially if we were not assured of the enemy's position, and of having laid in a certain quantity of flour in our rear on Deep river—(And indeed it would be necessary to have magazins in several other parts of this State)

I have sent on to-day to post at Cole's bridge, the South Carolina Volunteers about fifty in number, and to employ themselves in collecting flour, cattle &c towards our arrival.

With great.....and esteem, I the honor to be
Dea.....

Your very hu..... nd most
Obedient Servant

THE BARON DE KALB.

The Hon'ble

M. G. Caswell.

On the back was written: Express. Public Service. The
Hon. Maj. General Caswell, Head Quarters.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical
Quarterly.]

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon
Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish
Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the
United States Title.

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

In these, Nature herself volunteers her assistance to the enterprise. No ocean is so remarkably adapted to steam navigation as the Pacific. Its tranquil surface is scarcely ever agitated by a storm, and propitious winds and currents accelerate the course of the mariner across its bosom. The general motion of its waters is from west to east, at the average velocity of twenty-eight miles a day. In consequence, the sea appears on some portions of the coast to flow constantly from the land, and vessels sail with great celerity from Acapulco in Mexico to the Philippine Islands, on the coast of Asia. The N. E. trade winds blow almost uninterruptedly between latitudes 5° and 23° north, and with the assistance of the currents and the flow of the sea, enable vessels within this region to sail from America to Asia, almost without changing their sails. Our course to the Indies from the mouth of the Columbia, or from the Straits of San Juan de Fuca, would be Southwest to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, directly along the twentieth parallel, across. Returning by a more northwardly route, advantage would be taken of the polar currents, which set N. W. towards the Straits of Behring, and also of the variable winds prevailing in the higher latitudes. Having crossed our continent in seven days, we span the Pacific in twenty-five more, and thus, in thirty-two, reach the ports of China; by the same route, back, the products of the East may land upon the shores of Europe in forty-six days; a period of time but little more than one-third of that now taken to make the ordinary passages around the southern extremities of America and Africa.

The view that this opens to the mind, independent of its internal benefits, staggers speculation with its immensity, and stretches beyond all ordinary rules of calculation. A moderate forecast may, however, foresee the following results: The riches of the most unlimited market in the world would be thrown open to our enterprise, and, obeying the new impulse thus imparted to it, our commerce would increase till every ocean billow between us and the China sea would twinkle with a sail. By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. "Britannia rules the waves" would dwindle to an empty boast, and England would have to descend from her arrogant assumption of empire o'er the sea to the level of a suppliant's tone, in common with the great and small of the European powers, for the benefits of this avenue of nations. The employment as common carrier could be secured to us by the imposition of a tonnage duty, heavy enough to amount to a prohibition, upon all foreign bottoms arriving at our Pacific Coast. There is nothing remarkably selfish, neither is there anything repugnant to fair dealing in this regulation; we are deserving of one special advantage as a premium for conferring this benefit upon all, and we have the example of Great Britain herself to justify us in the adoption of the rule. The rapid and excessive increase of our commercial marine would necessarily follow this result. Encouraged by the comparative ease and safety of its service, and enticed by the liberal wages which the demand for so many hands would ensure, thousands of our young men, whom the dangers and privations of a seafaring life have heretofore deterred from carrying out the natural desire of visiting foreign climes, would embrace the sailor's occupation, and a nursery would thus be established, from whose exhaustless sources the demand of our increasing navy would always find a supply.

Our contiguity and other peculiar advantages would ensure us the pre-emption of all the markets of the Pacific. Our rapidly increasing cotton and other factories, under this impulse, would increase anew; our extending agricultural operations would widen till they waved their golden harvest o'er and o'er the land, and together they would distribute their products along the western coasts and diffuse them among the islands of the ocean. In return, Oceana, whose trade and consumption both would greatly multiply by the same imparted motive, would pour her treasures into the bosom of our country, and render us, by her liberal supply of tropical productions, independent of the West Indies. Our exportations of flour, at the exorbitant rates which it commands in the markets of these regions, would alone be a source of immense wealth, and, on the other hand, the profits of a new article of import from the Coast of Peru, can scarcely be regarded as of less importance. Guano, but little known in 1840,

is now exciting the deep attention of the cultivators of the soil of all nations, and to such an extent has its trade increased, that from the importation of but a few tons five years ago, six hundred vessels of a large class are now employed in supplying the wants of Great Britain and Ireland alone. It is already beginning to be introduced into this country, and ere long we may expect to see its supply increase in a corresponding ratio with the European demand. Now, it comes to us surcharged with the expenses of a long and dangerous voyage; then, it would be obtained at one-half its present charges, and we should be furnished with the most valuable fertilizer known to man, for the benefit of the impoverished portions of our Oregon soil. The chief obstacle to the dense population of that territory is, therefore, providentially obviated.*

Our Whale fishery and other branches of commerce in the Pacific, would be better protected, and the prosecutors of the former would have convenient ports to refit in; to seek a hasty refuge in case of war, and to obtain the speedy means of redress from, should they be made the victims of the outrage of any foreign naval power. An additional proof of the necessity of increasing our naval power in this quarter is furnished in the late account of the ravages of the Pirates of the Asiatic Isles, upon European vessels.

Our relations with China would be guarded and strengthened, and in case a necessity should arise to redress a wrong, resent an insult, or resist an aggression, we should be able, helped by the speed of our advices, to throw a preponderating military force there three months previous to any European power.

There are other views which open at this stage of the analysis, upon which it will not be improper to bestow a share of our consideration.

The vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean has been as yet but imperfectly explored, and there is reason to believe there are many islands reposing on its bosom whose fertile shores have never met the eye of man. Some of these ocean gems lie directly in our eastward or westward track, and their value to us as resting places and points of supply, as well as posts for the erection of our fortifications, would be inestimable. This brings to mind the fact that there is one important branch of commercial policy, hitherto overlooked and neglected by us, which the course of things now call upon us to adopt; and that is the securing under our own flag and rule of maritime posts in the different fields of our commercial enterprise. We may be told that this is an infraction of our constitutional economy, a violation of the spirit of our institutions, and that it springs from a wild and disordered lust for power which will eventuate in our dissolution; in short, every argument will be brought forward by philosophers learned in mill-stones, to oppose the aggrandisement of the country on the principle of **aggregation**. These sachems have been told in

* "There will be no difficulty," says a work written in Liverpool on the above subject, "in obtaining from the coast of Peru for the next 1,000 years a supply of guano adequate to the wants of the British farmer."

their primary classes at school, that Greece and Rome fell by their unbounded ambition, and it would take little short of a defeat of Nature to dispossess them of the idea. They therefore make it a **primary** object to denounce every extension of territory as demoralising and destructive, and point triumphantly to History to establish the assertion. Admitting this to be the case, though it applied to the Greeks and Romans, in an early age, and might apply to any other nation in the same cycle, it does not apply to us in the present time. We are a new people, in a new era, acting on new principles, and working out a new and grand problem for the benefit of mankind. "History," to make a grotesque application of a common term—"is behind the age." But aside from our exception from their rule, their proposition is false as to its facts, and carries absurdity in its very face.

How did Greece become great enough to **decline**—and how did Rome from a speck upon a hill-top win the Imperial diadem that marked the mastery of a world? Surely not by building fences around their original limits, and vowing never to go beyond. Such a resolution would share credit for sagacity with the refusal of a handsome fortune by a needy man, because at some day he must die and leave it, and might also be compared with that stretch of forecast which would induce a statesman to refuse all worldly power and honours, because forsooth, they must descend to a successor. Nations do not perish in a moment; they are neither swallowed up in the earth like Korah and his company, nor do they go out like the snuff of a candle; they have degrees to their decline, and while it is perfectly easy to detect all the natural causes of their decrease, we have no excuse in closing our eyes upon a fanciful hypothesis, which finds its basis only in the imagination.

How did Greece and Rome fall? Not by the extension of territory as a cause, (though to maintain its extreme points weakened her in her decline,) but by the vices which crept into her constitution; from the progress of those corruptions which are inseparable from aristocratical systems; from ignorance of the true principles of government, and consequently from the effect of unequal laws and unequal representation. The distant tributary, suffering under the exactions of a subaltern despot and his military bands, being too far removed from the parent government to represent its grievances within a period to give redress a value, and at the same time, too far removed to dread its enervated power, threw off the allegiance which only imposed onerous conditions and conferred no benefits but a humiliating peace. The example of defection thus safely set, was followed by another and another, and attacked at the same time by a new, vigorous and innumerable enemy, Rome fell. She fell through her own debasement, and her genius retired before the superior vigor and energy of an uncorrupted race. The extreme extension of territory in an age when travelling could only be accomplished with insuperable difficulty would doubtless rather weaken than strengthen a nation's power, from the difficulty, of striking rap-

idly at rebellion, but where the communications are as speedy and complete as they are in the present day, the comparison will not apply. Rail Roads, Steam Engines, and the Magnet, have "annihilated space, and exploded all theories which rested on the accidents of time and distance;" an expanded order of intelligence has shown the benefits of union in a common system, and though our dominion stretched throughout the boundaries of this hemisphere, with the elements for our agents, and the lightning of heaven for our slave, we could bind its extremities together in a moment, and throw the impulses of our power from end to end, with the rapidity of thought.

By overlooking the means of protecting our marine by the discovery or purchase of those island stations, we are behind every nation in the world in commercial sagacity. France rears her fortifications on the coasts of Morocco, in the islands of the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian oceans, and by a late arrangement, even plants her standard in the very mouth of Canton. The Dutch own the richest of the Asiatic isles, and Spain rules absolute in the Philippines. Russia, not content with over 7,000,000 square miles, extending from central Europe to the extremity of eastern Asia, has made a lodgment on our continent, and marks the line of her possessions to the North, as a bar to our farther advance; and even Portugal and Denmark, hold their warlike posts in many parts of the Atlantic ocean. The acquisitions of England are so well known they hardly need recapitulation. It has been well said, that the Sun never sets upon her dominions, and that the thunder of her morning gun from post to post around the world, falls into the measure of a continuous salute.

Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Isles, give her the control of the entire Mediterranean; St. Helena, Ascension Island, Cape Town and Mauritius, keep watch along the coasts of Africa; she has settlements, fortifications and territorial governments over all the shores of Hindostan, and her power extends throughout the whole of the Eastern region. Further south, her empire spreads over the whole of Australasia;—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, the Bahamas and her West India Islands, command the entire stretch of our Atlantic coast and the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, while Canada environs us upon our Northern border; yet probably England would be the first to assure us, in connection with some of our own good advisers, that extension of territory is the sure cause of a nation's eventual destruction. She, however, pursues this policy herself, with the knowledge that it adds to her aggrandisement and power at every new stage of its consumption. With a view of aiding her steam navigation across the Pacific, she has lately purchased a little island in it, on which two coal mines have been discovered; she has not even thought a miserable patch of ground on the Mosquito shore,* too insignificant to seize, and she is now, doubtless, intriguing for the prize of Cuba and the Californias. Russia is ready to devour Turkey or engulf another Poland. Aus-

* This was seized on pretence of it being a bequest from an African chief.

tria has long looked with a greedy eye upon the plains of Italy; and every power on the face of the earth, seek new acquisitions with the utmost avidity; while the United States, as if she had not recovered from the astonishment of falling suddenly into the possession of 2,000,000 square miles 68 years ago, folds her unassuming hands, and with an amiable bow which betrays the modesty of her character, exclaims, "thank you, Gentlemen Powers, not a bit more if you please!"

The opposers of the course of policy we advocate, if not able to defeat it on the grounds of reason or precedent, will find their last resource in the tyranny of prejudice, and the opinion of Washington, will doubtless be appealed to, as a settler of the proposition out of hand. The age, however, has outgrown this species of control. Our notions of liberty have become extended to the degree that embraces the right of judging for ourselves; and we feel no fear of startling the horror of our readers by the assertion that there are at least half a million of people in the United States who, from the new principles which science has evoked in the present generation, are better judges of the effects of the adoption of this policy, now, than Washington, or any other man, who died forty-five years ago, could possibly have been. There is too much of this knuckling to precedent and old opinion. We can benefit by the experience of a past age, without becoming the hereditary bondsmen of their ideas; we can treat its wisdom with all the consideration it deserves without presenting the absurd spectacle of a people claiming to be free, who have absolutely signed away freedom's main component in the **liberty of mind**.

Again, vast countries still lie in the fairy regions of the East, the productions and resources of which are scarcely known to us, and that only await the civilising influence of such a scheme as this to throw down their barriers of prejudice and superstition, and embrace, with the rest of mankind, the social blessings of the world. Of this nature and character is the opulent empire of Japan. Though second but to China itself, it holds no intercourse with foreigners, and only permits one nation (the Dutch) to land upon its dominions. Ought it to be too much for American diplomacy to effect its commercial and social redemption and throw its rich markets open to our enterprise.

The Oregon route, should this project be carried through, would, for its shortness, for its safety, for its comparative comfort and the accuracy with which the duration of its travel could be calculated, be selected in preference to any other by all travellers to the East, or the regions of the Pacific. These would comprise among their number ambassadors and their suites; consuls and other government officers to China and the Indies, to New Holland, to the ports of the western coast, and the islands of Polynesia, and enticed by the facilities afforded to them, many who otherwise would never have attempted the perils and discomforts of the old voyage, would make a trip to the Indies or some island paradise in the Pacific, leaving us as they passed leisurely through our territory, a portion of their

wealth. Add to this source of profit, the toll of the enormous amount of foreign merchandize which must seek this avenue, or be shut out from a market altogether, and the postages which the great number of letters pouring in from every part of Europe would afford, and its revenues would be immense indeed. Yet the sources of all this vast income would be surplus profit, for a short experience would prove that our internal trade, communications and postages, would not only pay the current expenses of the road of themselves, but would afford a liberal per centage on the amount of capital invested.

Experience has proved that no direction which can be given to human enterprise, is so active and effectual in developing the resources of a country as that involved in rail-roads; and without any regard to its stupendous national advantages, both external and domestic, immediate and ultimate, it would be found that the result of this project would justify the undertaking merely as a measure of internal improvement.

The navigable distance to the mouth of the Columbia is now, by the route around Cape Horn, about 19,000 miles from the port of New York; by the proposed route it would be less than 3,000; which affords the enormous saving of 16,000 miles. The natural effect of such a communication across the continent would be the rapid settlement of Oregon, the sudden growth of a great commercial and manufacturing city at its Pacific terminus, and the establishment of a naval station on Puget's Sound. For both of these latter objects, every facility is providentially afforded. Fine building stone abounds in every direction, the best timber in the world stud its forests, the country in the neighborhood of the ocean abounds in favorable sites for water power, and for the sustenance of steam navigation, large mines of coal are to be found in different parts of the country. For the establishment of a naval station, the harbors of St. Jean de Fuca and Puget's Sound, offer, as we have already seen, peculiar facilities for the erection of the works of a great maritime nation.

The cost of the work is the next branch of inquiry that demands our attention. For a guide to an estimate of this we have the tabular statements of the American Rail-road Journal, (a reliable authority), which by a late computation, sets the aggregate number of miles of rail-way in this country at 5,000; the cost of which has been \$125,000,000, or \$25,000 per mile.

As a portion of this expense is occasioned by land damages, or land for the track, most of which lies in thickly settled, and, consequently, valuable sections of the country, we are entitled to a deduction in favor of the work under consideration. The rate of this may be obtained from the example of the Boston and Lowell Rail-road, the land damages on which amounted to \$2,842.47 per mile. We will apply this subtraction to but 1500 miles of the proposed work, and also strike the amount down to \$2,500 a mile, to make a smoother computation. Thus we have

2,500 miles of road at the rate of \$25,000 per mile.....	\$62,000,000
A deduction of \$2,500 per mile from 1,500 miles.....	3,750,000

\$58,250,000

Making an aggregate of fifty-eight millions and a quarter for the completion of a design which will render every nation on the globe our commercial tributaries. This, however, is a most extravagant estimate, and the cost will probably not amount to within several millions of that sum. The distance is very roughly calculated from the absence of accurate information on the subject, and the cost is purposely amplified to secure being on the safe side of the calculation. We are justified in the opinion that it will be much less, by the fact that there is at present a private project before Congress which proposes to perform the work at a cost of \$25,000,000, on the somewhat modest condition, by the way, of receiving a grant of public lands **sixty miles in width** along the track, from Illinois to the Pacific ocean.

The cost of the work, therefore, even though it should amount to a **hundred** or a hundred and fifty millions, is no argument to urge against the undertaking, for it would be disgraceful to our national character to impute to government an inability to carry out a design which is within the scope and means of a company of private individuals. The resources of our country are fully equal to the enterprise. No patriot believes, no statesman dare affirm, that we are unable to sustain the expenses of a three years' war with the most powerful nation of Europe; yet this undertaking, at its utmost estimate, will not cost as much as a three years' war, and instead of leaving us, as a war would do, enfeebled, exhausted, and depressed, its completion would find us regenerated with new life, with our impulses awakened, our energies strengthened, and advancing forward with a rapidity and vigor that would astonish even Destiny itself. Let us deprecate, therefore, from the consideration of this work, that fatal spirit of Economy which has been the Evil Genius to so many a great design.

Economy is the besetting sin of Representative governments. Deceived by its plausible exterior, and tickled with the notion that it is an essential element of primitive simplicity, philosophers, whose mental scope reaches no further than the piling up of particles on the simplest rule of simple addition, oppose its blighting influence to every noble scheme, and advocate it on all occasions and with the utmost vehemence as a cardinal principle. They do not see, or they do not care to see, that the thrift which hoards the seed to defeat us of the harvest, is the grossest form of waste; that it amuses the present with a straw, to cheat the future of its golden fields. They proceed upon the false idea, that the multitude more readily appreciate the rule that saves a penny now, than the design which subtracts one on the hazard of the return of a pound hereafter; and it is through this corrupt and contemptible consideration, this pin-hook angling in the muddy waters after popularity, that we find a prevailing meanness in all our measures of expenditure. A meanness that runs from the remuneration of the chief magistrate of the Union to the purchase of a territory, from the starva-

tion of an African lion,* to the presentation to an Imaun of a piece of lacquered plate;† till at length it degenerates into injustice and dishonesty in its disregard of the rights of revolutionary claimants, and in the non redemption of the continental paper which gave its illusory consideration for the blood of thousands of patriotic hearts.

A sufficient amount of funds can be obtained for the commencement, nay, the entire completion of the whole work, from the sales of the public lands alone. As soon as the survey is made and the route laid out, the land in the immediate line of the track will be sought with the utmost eagerness by speculators, for investments of their capital. It will rise at once to an immense value, and it would not be extravagant to expect that in less than one year from the marking out of the line, more than thirty million of dollars would pour into the treasury of the Receiver of Sales. Additional sales could then be made as the road progressed, to a still better advantage, and before the completion of the work, the Government would find its waste domain of unavailable prairie turned as if by magic into marketable acres.

The road, as it progressed, would be employed up to the point of its completion, by our merchants, our traders, and our emigrants. The great amount of trade and travel, which sets out from this point, (New York,) through the western states to the Mississippi, and returns the same way back, would enable it to go very far toward sustaining its own existence.

It may strike some as superogatory in the Government to undertake this work when it is offered to be accomplished, and all its consequent advantages secured to our hand, by private enterprise; but there are many, and insurmountable reasons why it should be a national undertaking, and not left at the mercy of a band of speculators, whose narrow objects would be private gain.

It should be national, because its objects and purposes are national; and because its accomplishment will advance the glory as well as ensure the safety of our country, and beneficially affect the interests of all its citizens.

Because being the high road for all nations, its transactions will have an important bearing upon our foreign relations, and its regulations will consequently be governmental in their nature and policy.

Because the undertaking is too gigantic for the successful enterprise of individuals, who, if ever able to accomplish it at all, will not be able to do so with that despatch, which the general interests of the country, our views in relation to Oregon, and the ardent wishes of our people demand.

[To be continued.]

* The Emperor of Morocco sent us the present of a lion of the desert, which, after its arrival, barely escaped starvation through the humanity of a showman, who subsequently purchased it for his menagerie.

† The Imaun of Muscat, as an overture for a commercial arrangement, sent us two superb milk white Arabian coursers, with a slave accompanying each. We returned, among other things, a row boat with silver plated rowlocks. The pure ore would not have cost a hundred dollars more.

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

THE EVOLUTION OF A LAMENT.

About the middle of the month of September, 1831, there was erected one day on the first bench or level of the bank of the Mississippi river near the northerly limits of the city of St. Louis, an Indian lodge of skins spread over poles—a large lodge, according to one who saw it and has written about it—by at least four Indians who had journeyed upon their Indian horses and with their pack animals from the rendezvous at Green River, in company with a returning trader, probably assisting in bringing in his furs. It was a very common thing for Indians to visit St. Louis in those days, for various reasons, one of which was that General William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the West, had his headquarters and resided there. These particular Indians, however, had not come from any usual cause, nor were they from any of the prairie tribes. They were from beyond the summit of the Rocky Mountains, where General Clark had traveled twenty-five years before, and they came by reason of religious impulse, having been sent to ascertain how the white people communed with the Great Spirit, and whether religious teachers could not be sent to live in their country and instruct them. Very naturally they were at once taken by the trader to General Clark, who became very much interested in them, and did all that he could to ascertain their wishes and to assist them; but their language was such that they could not be well understood. They seem to have indicated a preference for the Roman Catholic form of worship; two of them died and were buried by the priests in the cemetery of the Cathedral of St. Louis. Soon after this the remaining two, with the assurance of General Clark and others that teachers would be sent to their tribe, seem to have left St. Louis and to have spent the winter at some other place; for in the spring they joined the party ascending the Missouri River

by steamboat, George Catlin, the painter of Indian portraits, being in the same company. One of them died on the way home, the other lived to reach his tribe in safety. The authorities for these statements and further details are to follow. That the publication in 1833 of the fact that such a deputation had visited St. Louis and for such a purpose started the missionary movement toward the Oregon country several years earlier than otherwise would have taken place is quite certain. But so much historic achievement has been claimed as resulting from this incident, and so much of glamor gathered about it, that a brief examination of it *ad seriatim* will be of interest. For the present purpose it will be assumed that the deputation arrived at St. Louis in the early fall of 1831, though later verification may establish the year 1830 as the correct one.

We will first get a glimpse of conditions in 1831 at St. Louis, the chief city west of the Mississippi at that time. No census is available for that year, but in 1828 there had been a census showing a population of a trifle over five thousand; and the next census following, that of 1836, showed more than double that number. From this and other sources of information we may reasonably state that there were at least six thousand people in the city in 1831. It was the headquarters of the fur trade and the trade center of the whole Southwest and Western country beyond the Mississippi River. Of Protestant churches the Presbyterian was organized in 1817 by Rev. Samuel Giddings, the Baptist in 1818, the Episcopal (Christ Church) in 1819 and the Methodist Episcopal in 1820. General Clark was one of the organizers of and a pew holder in Christ Church. Clergymen prominent in the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church resided in St. Louis, and the annual conference meeting of that denomination was held in that city in September of the year 1830 and perhaps also in 1831. So that while it may be said—speaking of sects—that St. Louis had been from the first a Catholic city in point of numbers, in 1831 there were at least four Protestant denominations active there as organizations, and the Methodist Episcopal Church especially so as regards work throughout the State of Missouri.

General Clark was at that time over sixty years of age, a man of strict integrity and untarnished morals, and held in high respect in the city. He was a man of family; his wife died in December of that year. He was a charter member of the St. Louis Lodge No. 3, A. F. & A. M., and afterward of Missouri Lodge No. 12, and hence could not have been a Roman Catholic.

(For the most of the above facts the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. W. B. Douglas, of the Missouri Historical Society.)

Let us now take up the contemporaneous written accounts of the visit of this deputation of Indians commonly designated as Flatheads, but really from both the Nez Perces (Choppunish) and Flathead (Salishan) tribes. In 1841 there were published the two volumes entitled "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians, Written During Eight Years' Travel Among the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America in 1832, '33, '34, '35, '36, '37, '38 and '39," containing numbered letters and illustrative plates, by George Catlin. Letter No. 48, in volume II., refers to these Indians, and from that we will copy and designate the quotation as

Catlin's Account.

Mr. Catlin refers to two **young** men "who were part of a delegation that came across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis a few years since to inquire for the truth of a representation which they said some white men had made amongst them 'that our religion was better than theirs, and that they would all be lost if they did not embrace it.' Two old and venerable men of this party died in St. Louis, and I traveled 2,000 miles (companion of these two young fellows) toward their own country, and became much pleased with their manners and dispositions. The last mentioned of the two died near the mouth of the Yellowstone River on his way home, with disease which he had contracted in the civilized district, and the other one I have since learned arrived safely among his friends, conveying to them the melancholy intelligence of the deaths of all the rest of the party; but assurances at the same time from General Clark and many reverend gentlemen that the report which they had heard was well founded; and that missionaries—good and religious men—would soon come amongst them to teach this religion, so that they could all understand and have the benefits of it. When I first heard the report of the object of this extraordinary mission across the mountains I could scarcely believe it, but on conversing with General Clark on a future occasion I was fully convinced of the fact." This letter, from internal evidence, was written some time after the year 1837. A portion of it is quoted in Rev. William Barrows' "Oregon: The Struggle for Possession," and in several later books that were evidently based on Barrows, but only so much as suited the purpose of

those authors. By many others who refer to George Catlin as authority this letter is not quoted at all. It is from these "Letters" that we know the year of the first journey of Catlin up the Missouri by steamboat, namely, 1832, which date many writers have misstated, carelessly or to conform to the balance of their story.

Some years ago the writer first found an extended account of all the four deputations sent by the Flathead tribe to St. Louis in the '30s in a book written by L. B. Palladino, S. J., entitled "Indian and White in the Northwest," etc., (pp. 11 and 12) and published in 1894, including the earliest contemporary account of this first deputation of 1831. Father Palladino is, we are told, still living in Spokane, Washington; he was one of the early Catholic missionaries in what is now Montana. But recently there has been afforded an opportunity to read the later book of the late William I. Marshall, of Chicago, that untiring digger after facts, and this same account is given at page 5 et seq. of part II. of his "Acquisition of Oregon," etc., and from that, with permission, we will quote what for convenience we will designate

The Catholic Account.

"The first mention that has ever been found of these four Flatheads is in a letter dated Dec. 31, 1831, from Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, to the editor of the 'Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi,' of Lyons, France, and printed in that publication in 1832 (V. 599, 600). A translation of so much of it as concerns this subject is on pp. 188-9 of Vol. II., of 'Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Society,' of Philadelphia, in an article on 'The Origin of the Flathead Mission,' by Major Edmond Mallet, LL. B., as follows: 'Some three months ago four Indians, who live at the other side of the Rocky Mountains, near the Columbia River, arrived in St. Louis. After visiting General Clark who, in his celebrated travels, had seen the nation to which they belong, and had been well received by them, they came to see our church, and appeared to be exceedingly well pleased with it. Unfortunately there was no one who understood their language. Sometime afterward two of them fell dangerously ill. I was then absent from St. Louis. Two of our priests visited them, and the poor Indians seemed delighted with their visit. They made signs of the Cross and other signs which appeared to have some relation to baptism. This sacrament was administered to them; they gave expression of their satisfaction. A little cross was presented to them; they took it with eagerness, kissed it repeatedly, and it could be taken from them only after their death. It was truly distressing that they could not be spoken to. Their remains were

carried to the church for the funeral, which was conducted with all the Catholic ceremonies. The other two attended and acted with great propriety. They have returned to their country.

"We have since learned from a Canadian, who has crossed the country which they inhabit, that they belong to the nation of Tetes-Plates (Flatheads), which, as with another called the Pieds-Noirs (or Blackfeet) have received some notions of the Catholic religion from two Indians who had been to Canada, and who had related what they had seen, giving a striking description of the beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic worship, and telling them that it was also the religion of the whites; they have retained what they could of it, and they have learned to make the sign of the Cross and to pray. These nations have not yet been corrupted by intercourse with others; their manners and customs are simple and they are very numerous. We have conceived the liveliest desire to not let pass such a good occasion. Mr. Condamine has offered himself to go to them next spring with another. In the meantime, we shall obtain information on what we have been told, and on the means of travel.' * * *

"The register of burials of the cathedral at St. Louis states that one of these Indians—Narcisse—was buried Oct. 31st, 1831, Rev. Edmond Saulnier officiating, and the second—Paul—was buried on Nov. 17th, 1831, Rev. Benedict Roux officiating. (Records Am. Catholic History Soc., Vol. II., p. 190.)"

In the year of 1835, Dr. Marcus Whitman went as far West as the rendezvous at Green River and visited St. Louis, both going and coming, and a journal of that trip is preserved in the form of a letter to the missionary board at Boston, which is on file among the papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. The report of Dr. Whitman as to those Indians, as given on pages 10 and 11 of this same book by Principal Marshall, is as follows:

Dr. Whitman's Account.

"A letter written by Dr. Whitman, really a journal covering May 14th to Dec. 17th, 1835, and covering 16 pp. foolscap,—from which nothing has yet been published,—(but which I copied from the original) says: 'The following is the history of these Indians that came to St. Louis to gain a knowledge of the Christian religion as I received it from the trader under whose protection they came and returned. He says their object was to gain religious knowledge. For this purpose the Flathead tribe delegated one of their principal chiefs, and two of their principal men, and the Nez Perce tribe a like delegation, it being a joint delegation of both tribes. In addition to this delegation a young Nez Perce came along. When they came to Council Bluffs two of the Flatheads and one of the Nez Percés returned

home, and the other Flathead, the chief, and the Nez Perce chief, and the remaining one of the delegation, and the young Indian came to St. Louis, where they remained through the winter. At St. Louis two of them died and the only remaining one of the delegation died on his return at the mouth of the Yellowstone, so that there was no one left to return but the young man."

(There is not a word in this about their "having come in search of the white man's Bible" or anything whatever about the Bible, or about **any book**.)

In 1831 the Wyandotte tribe of Indians was living upon a reservation near Sandusky, in Ohio, but a proposal had been made to remove them to a larger tract in the West, and a number of the tribe were sent to explore that country before their decision should be made. Mr. William Walker, an intelligent man, of either part or full Wyandotte blood, was the interpreter of those who made this journey, and the party on their outward trip seem to have passed through St. Louis early in November, 1831, at a date after the death of the first Indian and before that of the second. After his return, Mr. Walker wrote a letter to his friend, Mr. G. P. Disoway, of Pittsburg, and that gentleman made it a part of a lengthy communication to the "Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald" (the leading publication of the M. E. Church) of March 1st, 1833. This was, so far as is known, the first publication in America of anything in reference to the Flathead-Nez Percés deputation and it made an immediate impression in religious circles. The communication has been reproduced in full in so many books that are easy of access (see Exhibit "D" in Chittenden's History of the Fur Trade for the best; also, Mowry's Marcus Whitman,) that it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Suffice to say that in no part of it or in any of the editorials based upon it at that time was there any mention of a lament by one of the Indians or of the "Book of Heaven" as a phrase. We will, however, set forth so much of William Walker's letter as relates to this deputation, calling it

The Methodist Account.

Upper Sandusky, Jan. 19th, 1833.

Dear Friend:—Your last letter, dated November 12th, came duly to hand. The business part is answered in another communication which is inclosed.

I deeply regret that I have had no opportunity of answering your very friendly letter in a manner that would be satisfactory

to myself; neither can I now, owing to a want of time and a retired place, where I can write undisturbed. * * *

I will here relate an anecdote, if I may so call it. Immediately after we landed in St. Louis, on our way to the West, I proceeded to General Clark's, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to present our letters of introduction from the Secretary of War, and to receive the same from him to the different Indian agents in the upper country. While in his office and transacting business with him, he informed me that three chiefs from the Flathead nation were in his house, and were quite sick, and that one (the fourth) had died a few days ago. They were from the west of the Rocky Mountains. (Here is given a description of their flattened heads and the manner of doing it.)

The distance they had traveled on foot was nearly three thousand miles to see General Clark, their great father, as they called him, he being the first American officer they ever became acquainted with, and having much confidence in him, they had come to consult him, as they said, upon very important matters. General Clark related to me the object of their mission, and, my dear friend, it is impossible for me to describe to you my feelings while listening to his narrative. I will here relate it briefly as I well can: It appeared that some white man had penetrated into their country, and happened to be a spectator at one of their religious ceremonies, which they scrupulously perform at stated periods. He informed them that their mode of worshipping the Supreme Being was radically wrong, and instead of being acceptable and pleasing, it was displeasing to Him; he, also informed them that the white people away toward the rising of the sun had been put in possession of the true mode of worshipping the Great Spirit. They had a book containing directions how to conduct themselves in order to enjoy His favor and hold converse with Him; and with this guide, no one need go astray; but every one that would follow the directions laid down there could enjoy, in this life, His favor, and after death would be received into the country where the Great Spirit resides, and live forever with Him.

Upon receiving this information, they called a national council to take this subject into consideration. Some said, if this be true, it is certainly high time we were put in possession of this mode, and if our mode of worshipping be wrong and displeasing to the Great Spirit it is time we had laid it aside. We must know something about this—it is a matter that cannot be put off—the sooner we know it the better. They accordingly deputed four of the chiefs to proceed to St. Louis to see their great father, General Clark, to inquire of him, having no doubt but he would tell them the whole truth about it.

They arrived at St. Louis and presented themselves to General Clark. The latter was somewhat puzzled, being sensible of the responsibility that rested on him; he, however, proceeded by informing them that what they had been told by the white man in their own country was true. Then he went into a suc-

cinct history of man, from his creation down to the advent of the Savior; explained to them all the moral precepts contained in the Bible, expounded to them the decalogue; informed them of the advent of the Savior, his life, precepts, his death, resurrection, ascension, and the relation he now stands to man as a mediator—that he will judge the world, etc.

Poor fellows, they were not all permitted to return home to their people with the intelligence. Two died in St. Louis, and the remaining two, though somewhat indisposed, set out for their native land. Whether they reached home or not is not known. The change of climate and diet operated very severely upon their health. Their diet when at home is chiefly vegetables and fish.

If they died on their way home, peace be to their names! They died inquirers after the truth. I was informed that the Flatheads, as a nation, have the fewest vices of any tribe of Indians on the continent of America.

I had just concluded I would lay this rough and uncouth scroll aside and revise it before I would send it, but if I lay it aside you will never receive it; so I will send it to you just as it is "with all its imperfections," hoping that you may be able to decipher it. You are at liberty to make what use you please of it.

Yours in haste,

WM. WALKER.

G. P. Disoway, Esq.

This is the story as told in 1833, more than a year after the occurrence. But in the spring of the following year (1834), Rev. D. Lee and Rev. Jason Lee were in St. Louis and made inquiries of General Clark (they were on their way to Oregon to start the Methodist mission), and in Lee's "Ten Years in Oregon," (Lee & Frost, N. Y., 1844) pp. 110-11, we read that they ascertained that the account printed in the "Advocate" was "high wrought" and contained "incorrect statements." So there is good ground for believing that there had been much embellishment even at that early date. We know that the description of the flattened heads is largely imaginative, because nearly every traveler reported that this custom did not prevail among either the Choppunish or Salishan tribes.

Among the manuscripts in the Bancroft collection at the University of California is one written by a retired clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose father had been a resident of old St. Louis and who says he was himself ordained as an elder in that denomination at a meeting held in St. Louis about the time the Flathead-Nez Perces deputation arrived there; and it is upon the authority of that manuscript that the foregoing statement is made as to the Indians setting up their own

lodge and living in it while they stayed at St. Louis. As special permission has been obtained by the writer to make a copy of that manuscript it will be presented as a document at a later date, with verifications and comments, and not considered here. This account also refers to the Walker letter as overdrawn and incorrect.

The incident we are discussing took place in 1831-32, and the chronicles we have transcribed were written within a decade thereafter. But we now pass on to the year 1866 before we note another development of this tale. In the meantime, the Indian missions in Oregon (Methodist, Congregational-Presbyterian and Catholic) had been started with enthusiasm, maintained at much cost and sacrifice, and, in most instances, ceased to exist. Those among the Flatheads and the Nez Perces were afterward revived, and in time yielded some results; they were the most promising. During the intervening years there may have been further mention of this deputation in public address or missionary literature, but none that has attracted any attention or that has been quoted by any historical writer. But the issue of February 16th, 1866, of the Walla Walla Statesman contains No. 2 of a series of lectures written by one of the early missionaries, Rev. H. H. Spalding, entitled "Early Oregon Missions and Their Importance in Securing the Country to Americans," and here we find further elaboration.

Mr. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle, has kindly furnished the following copy from his files of the paper:

The Spalding Account.

"Mark the hand of God bringing forward His agents. In 1832 the Flathead and Nez Perces Indians, having received some ideas of God from gentlemen of the Hudson Bay Company, and having committed five of their young men to that company to be by them taken across the Rocky Mountains and committed to the school of those self-devoted excellent men, Messrs. Jones and Cochran, of the Church Missionary Society at the Selkirk Settlement of the Lakes, still felt, as they expressed it, 'very hungry for more of God's Book,' and resolved to send men to the rising sun to obtain that book, and men to teach it. They seemed to have been encouraged in this, also, by Catholic Iroquois Indians from Canada, a few of whom had arrived among them. This delegation consisted of one principal chief, one sub-chief and two warriors. They arrived at the American rendezvous on Green River in time to join the American Fur Company on their return from the Rocky Mountains to the States. They paid their passage (riding their own horses) by herding

animals, hunting, swimming rivers and otherwise making themselves useful. At St. Louis General Clark, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for the Western Territories, received them kindly, having met their chief in his own country twenty-six years before. Two of them died during the winter. In the spring, as the other two were about to return to their nations, the chief made his last lament to General Clark: 'I came to you, the Great Father of the white men, with but one eye partly opened. I am to return to my people beyond the mountains of snow, at the setting sun, with both eyes in darkness and both arms broken. I came for teachers and am going back without them. I came to you for the Book of God. You have not led me to it. You have taken me to your big house where multitudes of your children assemble and where your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and you have taken me to many other big houses where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am to return to my people to die in darkness.' This lament was overheard in an adjoining room by a young man of the Methodist Church, who immediately made known the fact that the Indians had come beyond the Rocky Mountains to obtain missionaries in a letter to a brother in Christ in Pittsburgh. But just as the fact was about to come before the public, it came under the eye of the great Indian traveler, George Catlin, who, providentially, was in that city at the time. He advised not to publish the statement. He did not believe it to be true, as he had traveled from the Rocky Mountains in the same caravans with those Indians; had seen them often in General Clark's office during the winter; he had never understood that they came for that purpose, but he would write to General Clark. He did so, and soon received the frank acknowledgment of General Clark: 'The sole object of those Indians when visiting the States was to obtain religious teachers.' Mr. Catlin immediately gave the facts to the editor, told him to give it to the world. I received this from Mr. Catlin's own lips, when we met him in Pittsburgh on our way to this country, in March of 1836. **The lament I received from the only surviving one of the delegation after I arrived in the nation.** The chief died soon after leaving St. Louis. Only one returned to the nation."

Concerning Mr. Spalding the writer is inclined to be charitable, out of consideration for the reported accident of his birth, the diseased condition of his mind (as stated by his associate, Dr. Marcus Whitman) aggravated by the shock and exposure connected with his personal escape from massacre; and there is no doubt that he was courageous and zealous in his early work among the Nez Percés and accomplished more in proportionate results than any other Protestant missionary in the Oregon country; his good wife is entitled to credit for this

also. But there is written evidence to his having been a very troublesome member of the mission band, of a violent temper and vengeful disposition, and of his actual hatred of the Catholics and the Hudson's Bay Company interests, which led to his general discredit by many of the people of Oregon and Washington during the '50s and '60s. He was practically a fanatic upon those very questions which are closely connected with our history, and his own writings furnish this evidence, as well as unprejudiced statements of those who lived as neighbors to him. His later missionary work among the Nez Perces was also unquestionably good, although during those same years some of the army officials were compelled to forbid his presence at their posts. Allowing him due credit as a pioneer and a missionary, his statements and conclusions must be in a very considerable part rejected as historical authority. And yet he is the authority used (innocently, perhaps, by some) by most of those writing from the missionary standpoint.

Spalding's Later Account.

During the fall of the year 1870 Mr. Spalding went East in the interest of missionary work and of some land claims, and, incidentally, to let the government officials know that he was on earth and willing to accept the office of Indian agent at Lapwai; for it was the plan then to take the care of the Indians away from the War Department and give it into the care of the missionary societies. In Chicago he had himself interviewed by Rev. S. J. Humphrey, an editor of the "Advance," and this interview was published on December 1st, 1870, in that denominational paper, and the following month was included as a part of a report to the Interior Department, and was published by the government as "Executive Document No. 37" of the Forty-first Congress. In this some further elaboration appears:

"The Macedonian Nez Perces.—About the council fire, in solemn conclave (it was in the year 1832), the Flatheads and Nez Perces had determined to send four of their number to 'the rising sun' for 'that Book of Heaven.' They had got word of the Bible and a Savior in some way from the Iroquois. These four dusky wise men, one of them a chief, who had thus dimly 'seen His star in the east,' made their way to St. Louis. * * * They fell into the hands of General Clark. * * * He was a Romanist, and took them to his church, and, to entertain them, to the theatre. How utterly he failed to meet their wants is revealed in the sad words with which they departed: 'I came to you' [and the survivor repeated the words years afterward to Mr. Spalding] 'with one eye partly, opened; I go back with

both eyes closed and both arms broken. My people sent me to obtain that Book from Heaven. You took me where your women dance as we do not allow ours to dance; and the Book was not there. You took me where I saw men worship God with candles; and the Book was not there. I am now to return without it, and my people will die in darkness.' And so they took their leave. But this sad lament was overheard. A young man wrote it to his friends in Pittsburg."

Executive Document No. 37 is now quite easily to be had and the reader can see the whole of the interview there.

The Barrows Account.

During his visit in the East, and afterward, Mr. Spalding undoubtedly found this Indian lament very taking, and we next find it again amplified and used by Rev. William Barrows in his series of articles contributed to the *New York Observer* and afterward compiled into his "Oregon," (H. M. & Co., 1883) chapter XIII. of which gives a more detailed version of this Flathead deputation and the lament as follows:

"I came to you over the trail of many moons from the setting sun. You were the friend of my fathers, who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened, for more light for my people, who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed. How can I go back blind to my blind people? I made my way to you with strong arms, through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with me—the braves of many winters and wars—we leave asleep here by your great water. They were tired in many moons and their moccasins wore out. My people sent me to get the white man's Book from Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles, and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the Good Land beyond, but the Book was not among them. I am going back the long, sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy with burdens of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I tell my poor, blind people, after one more snow, in the big council, that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men or by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go on the long path to other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book to make the way plain. I have no more words."

Mr. Barrows boldly includes this within quotation marks, but gives no clue as to where he found it. There is no positive

proof, but scarcely a doubt, that he took it from one of the missionary addresses delivered by Mr. Spalding while on that trip. Barrows' "Oregon" can hardly be called a history, but it was published for many years in the "Commonwealth Series" and considered as such; it has now been displaced.

The Mowry Account.

After the publication of his "Oregon," the tale and the form of the lament as given by Barrows appear in various writings, especially eulogies of Dr. Whitman, (by Nixon, Eells, Mrs. Dye and others) but we pass on to what is considered in religious circles an authoritative book upon its subject, namely, "Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon," by W. A. Mowry, Ph. D. (S. B. & C., 1901.) The preface to this book states that it is the result of over twenty years of careful investigation of everything the author could lay his hands upon relating to the subject; that the "book is a history, not an embellished story; written with the single purpose of stating in a clear and concise manner the important facts with which it has to deal. From first to last it has to do with facts." Read now his chapter on "Early Missions," pp. 35-49, and see with what regard for the contemporary accounts and devotion to the truth this Indian deputation incident has been treated. Principal Marshall says ("Acquisition of Oregon," p. 27):

"But not till Mowry's 'Marcus Whitman' appeared did any author venture to assert that it had been 'circulated' before the Statesman and Advance articles in 1866 and 1870, or that anyone ever claimed to have reduced it to writing prior to that time, but Mowry says (p. 46): 'One of the clerks in General Clark's office took down, at the moment, the speech of the Indian as it was interpreted to General Clark, and it began to be circulated.' For this he offers no authority, and, undoubtedly no authority can be produced for it save Dr. Mowry's desire to have it so. If it began to be 'circulated' in the early spring of 1832, pray how did it happen that with all the excitement and discussion there was about this matter, in no letter, or diary, or book, or magazine, or newspaper article has so much as one sentence of this speech been found till 34 years afterwards, when parts of it appeared in the Chicago Advance, in an 'interview' with Rev. H. H. Spalding? It may be stated further that Mr. Mowry has been privately asked to designate some early publication of this lament and has been unable to do so. With one statement of the preface the chapter seems in full accord, namely: 'This book was like 'Topsey'—'it was not born, it grew.'"

But the end is not yet. At a public meeting held on the evening of November 29th, 1907, at Walla Walla in celebration

of the sixty-first anniversary of the Whitman Massacre (at which the patriotic claim for the mission was made especially emphatic) the "historical address" of the program was written and delivered by Mr. Edwin Eells, a son of the early missionary, Cushing Eells, and a brother of the late Myron Eells, who was a voluminous writer upon pioneer missionary history and considered in some circles as a reliable authority upon general Pacific Northwest history as well. This romantic address is printed in full in Vol. 2, No. 2 of the Washington Historical Quarterly, and this Indian lament, as given by Barrows and by W. A. Mowry, serves as an impressive opening paragraph, rendered doubly so by the dramatic statement immediately following it: "These were the words that saved Old Oregon and the Pacific Northwest to the government of the United States." From Mr. Eells, also, we learn that the lament was at once published in the East "with ringing editorials." When asked to cite an authority he was of course unable to do so.

It has become evident, then, that good and benevolent men, and some even with a reputation as historians, have imagined things, and among others these: That General Clark was a Romanist; that he was well versed in homeletics and could explain a whole system of theology to Indians by means of signs and interpreters, but too bigoted to assist them to get a copy of the Bible or teachers; that the Indians could not get a Bible or spiritual teachers anywhere in that city of six thousand or more people and at least four Protestant churches engaged in active work; that the older Indian, the chief, who had seen General Clark twenty-five years before, then delivered a pathetic lament which *MUST* have been immediately printed and circulated because the younger Indian, the only one who reached his tribe again, repeated the words of it to the missionary Spalding some eight or ten years afterward when Spalding had become able to understand their dialect, and Spalding remembered it and set it down in writing nearly thirty years afterward; that in consequence the missionary movement was at once set in motion toward the Oregon country (would not have been started at all perhaps without it), and Oregon saved to the United States.

In the historical garden of the Pacific Northwest, in the course of years, these rootless flowers will die out and there will yet remain strength and beauty in abundance.

C. T. JOHNSON.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPT
TO SETTLE THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE
TERRITORIES BY THE APPLICATION OF
POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY—1850-1860.

Introduction.

The period in which Stephen A. Douglas took the most active part in shaping Congressional legislation was a period of territorial expansion. During this time Texas was admitted to the Union, the Mexican cession acquired, and the northern boundary of the Oregon Territory determined. The sectional question of slavery was closely connected with each of these territorial additions, but it was in connection with the Mexican cession that it became most prominent. This paper will be confined to a discussion of Douglas' activity in dealing with the problems growing out of these annexations of territory, and the application of popular sovereignty in the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. The narrative will trace events to the election of 1860 with a view to showing the results of Douglas' policy.

The movement toward the West was not a new one. It began with the settlement of the colonists along the Atlantic seaboard; and the American interest in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico, together with our diplomatic activities as a "world power," remind us that it still lives. In the middle of the eighteenth century began the movement of Western expansion into the upper waters of the tributaries of the Atlantic, and, in the revolutionary days, the Alleghany Mountains were crossed by the "men of the Western waters." Struggles with the Tidewater Aristocrats in attempts to wrest political control from them began even before the Alleghanies were crossed. Bacon's rebellion was at bottom a struggle between the frontier settlers and the large landholders of the older settled region, and the War of Regulation, in the Carolinas, and Shays' Rebellion, in Massachusetts, were fundamentally similar sectional struggles. Each successive wave of population moving westward brought its peculiar struggle with the older settled area, and resulted, generally, in a broader democracy.¹ In the period to which we invite

¹Turner, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 78, p. 289; Vol. 91, p. 83.

attention the movement toward the west bears all the characteristics of these earlier westward movements, though in the later years of the movement it became entangled with the question of slavery.

Previous to 1830 this westward movement was almost entirely Anglo-American. Immigrants arriving in American ports down to this time were comparatively few.¹ In the two following decades the social and political ferment which had been acting in Europe for half a century, and which culminated in unsuccessful attempts at revolution, led to a very large emigration to the United States and reinforced the natural American tendency to move westward. Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, and the Anti-Rent agitations and disturbances in New York from 1839 to 1847, were expressions in this country of similar democratic movements and serve to explain in part this new westward movement.²

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the profitable production of the short-staple variety of cotton was made possible on the uplands of the South Atlantic States, and as cotton planting and slave holding advanced into the interior counties the free farmers were obliged to change to the plantation economy and buy slaves or move out, and numbers of them passed into Kentucky and Tennessee.³ Many of these were of the Scotch-Irish and German stocks that in the first half of the eighteenth century passed down from Pennsylvania into the uplands of the South. At a still later period this Southern stock, including that from Tennessee and Kentucky, made up a large share of the settlers in the States bordering on the Ohio.⁴ Side by side with this movement was the onward march of the planters, who took possession of the Gulf plain into which cotton culture and slavery spread. By 1834 Alabama, which had practically no cotton crop in 1811, raised a larger crop than either South Carolina or Georgia.⁵ In the decade between 1830 and 1840, the New England States showed small gains in population, as did Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. But Georgia advanced in population from 516,823 to 691,392, Alabama from 309,527 to 590,756, Mississippi from 136,621 to 375,651, and Louisiana from 215,739 to 352,411. The new Northwestern States increased their popu-

¹U. S. Industrial Commission Reports, XV., p. 267 (1901).

²Garrison, *Westward Extension*, Chap. I.

³Turner, *Rise of the New West*, Chap. IV.

⁴Turner, *New West*, Chap. V.

⁵Turner, *New West*, Chap. VI., and table, p. 47.

lation by leaps and bounds; Indiana in the decade of the thirties, from 343,031 to 685,866; Illinois, from 157,445 to 476,183, and Ohio, from 937,903 to 1,519,467.³

Notwithstanding the fact that the Western movement of population was in general along the lines of longitude, the West, as a whole, had a strongly nationalistic tone down to about 1830. The new section lying in the Mississippi Valley, which was becoming a dominant force in the councils of the Nation, acted as a tie binding the older sections in a more compact Union.⁴ But soon after 1830 the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi Valley began to show signs of marked differences. From New York and New England, in the thirties, a tide of settlement, making its way along the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, poured into the Northwestern States and made the region an extension of the Greater New England already to be seen in New York. In the Gulf Plains the plantation system was pushing out the small farmers, cotton was becoming the most important crop, and a Greater South was in process of formation. These differences gradually became accentuated until the States of the Mississippi Valley became divided into two great groups separated by fundamental economic considerations.

The North readily saw the advantage which the control of the Federal machinery gave in supporting its policy and promoting its interests, while the South in turn fell back on the defensive theory of States' rights. The main factor in the economic divergence of the two sections had come to be slavery, because cotton culture had come to be the dominant occupation of the South, and slavery was believed to be essential to the plantation system of economy.⁵ That the movement which resulted in adding Texas to the territory of the United States was due primarily to the Anglo-American demand for more land, rather than to a conspiracy in the interests of slavery, has been conclusively shown.⁶

Re-annexation of Texas and Re-occupation of Oregon.

The impulse to Southwestern expansion, though in the beginning not primarily connected with the question of slavery, was greatly weakened in the North by the "growing realization that territorial expansion and the extension of slavery were so inextricably involved with each other that every accession of territory

³Twelfth United States Census, 1900.

⁴Turner, *New West*, pp. 67-74.

⁵Garrison, *Westward Extension*, Chap. I.

⁶*Ibid*, Chaps. II. and VI.; Garrison, *Texas* (Commonwealth Series).

would precipitate a slavery crisis."¹ Douglas stood squarely for "the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas." He undertook to prove to the doughty champion of New England, John Quincy Adams, that the Rio Grande was the south-westerly boundary of Texas; he defended the war with Mexico, and endorsed Polk's statement that American blood had been shed on American soil.² When the Wilmot Proviso came up in connection with Texas, Douglas repeatedly voted against it, and moved as a substitute the extension of the compromise line of 36° 30' and a provision for the return of fugitive slaves. If the slavery question must be settled then, he favored the compromise line of 36° 30', but he preferred to leave the question until the States applied for admission, when they could settle the question for themselves by means of their respective constitutions. Thus early (March 3, 1847,) did he foreshadow the doctrine with which his name is so closely identified.³ He held that we needed Texas to protect our commerce on the Gulf and prevent England from getting a foothold there. We needed Oregon to protect our fisheries and our trade with China. He favored establishing a railroad to Oregon, and said he would later bring in a bill authorizing a survey of the route. He advocated the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Oregon, without attempting to define the boundaries of Oregon, and as our settlements were agricultural, and the British settlers were fur traders, we would have driven them out without the use of force.⁴ He was pledged, he said, to move a declaration of war if England tried to take Oregon, Cuba or Texas, as he believed she intended, and, in conclusion, he gave vent to his "Young Americanism" by declaring that if war came, he would administer Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity and not stop till he had blotted out the national lines on the map and made the area of liberty as broad as the boundaries of the continent itself.¹ On May 13, 1846, he declared, "I am as ready and willing to fight for 54° 40' as for the Rio Del Norte."²

In dealing with the question of slavery in Oregon, Douglas held that slavery should be prohibited, "inasmuch as the whole of the said territory lies north of 36° 30' north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri Compromise." This line he accepted as

¹Bourne, *Am. Hist.*, Rev. V., p. 502.

²Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 816-7.

³Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 2d ses., pp. 425, 440.

⁴Cutts. *A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions*, as received orally from the late Stephen A. Douglas, p. 64.

¹Cong. Globe, 28th Cong., 2d ses., p. 226.

²Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 1st ses., p. 817.

the basis of all settlements of the slavery question, down to the compromise of 1850. He never favored the Wilmot Proviso and voted against it on all occasions, and he voted for the Missouri Compromise Line every time an opportunity offered itself, except when instructed otherwise by the Illinois Legislature.³

When the bill for the organization of the Territory of Oregon finally passed, August 13, 1848, it excluded slavery by the application of the "conditions, restrictions and prohibitions" of the Northwest ordinance to the Oregon Territory. The people of the Territory had already forbid slavery there, and all attempts to extend the compromise line (36° 30') having failed, Douglas voted for the bill as passed.⁴

The Compromise of 1850.

To the most pressing question of the day—that of slavery in the newly acquired Mexican territories—the election of 1848 gave no answer. The Democratic convention which nominated Lewis Cass declared the war with Mexico to be "a just and necessary war," and denied the power of Congress to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, and condemned all efforts to have that body deal with the question of slavery at all. A minority of the platform committee, led by William L. Yancey, offered a resolution favoring "non-intervention with the rights of property of any portion of the people in this confederation, be it in the States or in the Territories, by any other than the parties interested in them," but it was voted down 36 to 216, all the favorable votes coming from the South. The general desire to suppress all agitation of the slavery question appeared in the prompt calls to order whenever attempts were made to discuss the Wilmot Proviso. The Whig convention nominated General Taylor without making any declaration of principles whatsoever.¹

When Congress assembled in December, 1848, President Polk strongly urged the necessity of providing territorial governments for New Mexico and California. He favored the extension of the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific, but Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, without having made any provision for the government of the new territory. In the meantime gold

³Cong. Globe, 29th Cong., 2d ses., pp. 166, 187; *Ibid.*, 30th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 136, 1043, 1061, 1078; 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 67 (Appendix).

⁴Cong. Globe, 30th Cong., 1st ses., pp. 1061, 1078-1080; Hines, 425-31; Gray, 346, 359.

¹Garrison, *Westward Extension*, pp. 268-280; Stanwood, *Presidential Elections*, pp. 167-171.

had been discovered (Jan. 24, 1848,) in the foothills of the Sierras. Thousands swarmed to the New Eldorado overland, by way of the Isthmus of Panama and "around the Horn." By the close of 1849, it was estimated that 81,000 Argonauts had arrived in California in search of the golden fleece.¹ Before Congress met again, in December, 1849, a California convention had drawn up a constitution forever prohibiting slavery in the State, and it had been adopted by a vote of the people.²

Late in January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced his famous plan of compromise in a series of resolutions comprehending the questions in dispute. Bills covering most of these questions had already been introduced and referred.³ On March 25, Douglas, from the committee on territories, reported bills for the admission of the State of California and for establishing the territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico.⁴ On the 18th of April, it was voted to refer Clay's resolutions and the whole matter of compromise to a select committee of thirteen, of which Clay was the chairman.⁵ On the 8th of May, Clay reported a number of measures, which have since been known as the "Omnibus Bill." There was considerable difference of opinion as to whether it was possible to pass all the measures in a single bill. Those in favor of passing one bill at a time gave way to Clay, but it was soon seen that the "Omnibus Bill" could not be passed, and each bill was finally passed separately.⁷ Clay's bill, so far as the new Territory was concerned, consisted of two printed bills reported by Douglas from the Committee on Territories with a single modification. The original Douglas bill "provided that the power of the Territorial Legislature should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the constitution, without excepting African slavery."¹ Clay's bill provided that no law should be passed "in respect to African slavery," but this clause was later rejected, largely through the influence of Douglas.² Previous to our acquisition of the Mexican territory slavery had been forbidden therein by the Mexican government, but when this terri-

¹Rhodes, I., pp. 110-113.

²Rhodes, I., pp. 115-16.

³Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 127-8.

⁴Sheahan, Douglas, p. 130; Cutts, p. 79.

⁵Rhodes, I., pp. 171-3.

⁶Rhodes, I., p. 172.

⁷Rhodes, I., pp. 181-5, for details of the votes.

For a map showing a test vote on the Compromise of 1850, see Garrison, *Westward Extension*, p. 238.

¹Cutts, pp. 79-80.

²Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 132-37; *Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 944, 1018, 1118, 1134, 1830.

tory came under our constitution two theories arose as to the status of slavery. Calhoun claimed Congress had no right or power to "deprive the citizens of any of the States of this Union from emigrating with their property into any of the territory of the United States."³ The other side claimed that all Mexican laws not in conflict with the constitution remained in force, and slavery could not therefore exist except by act of Congress. Douglas strongly maintained that the territory of the Mexican Cession was free territory. He said: "The country is now free by law and in fact * * * and must forever remain free. It will be free under any bill you may pass or without any bill at all." Appealing to the Southerners in their determination, he uttered this bit of philosophy: "It requires but little moral courage to act firmly and resolutely in support of previously expressed opinions * * * but when a man is called upon to review his former opinions, to confess and abandon his errors, to sacrifice his pride to his conscience, it requires the exercise of the highest qualities of our natures—the exertion of a moral courage which elevates a man almost above humanity itself."⁴

When Jefferson Davis sought to amend that part of the compromise bill which dealt with the territories by an amendment safeguarding "those right of property growing out of the institution of African slavery," Douglas replied that the amendment attempted to continue slavery on **the assumption that it is there already**. This assumption, he held, was contrary to the fact, and he was not willing to extend slavery to the territory by act of Congress. Davis charged him with being unwilling to protect property in California. "But, sir," Douglas answered, "I do not hold the doctrine that to exclude any species of property by law from any territory is a violation of any property right to property." Continuing, he cited the facts that banks, whiskey and gambling tables had been excluded rightfully from several States and Territories by statute, and to allow the people to forbid slavery involved the same principle of self-government.¹ To deny this right to legislate on the question of slavery, he argued, would be contrary to the arguments used by the Democrats in the campaign of 1848; it would be contrary to the Nicholson letter; besides, to take the question out of the hands of the people would not settle it. But suppose it could be settled by Congress, "is an institution to be fixed upon a people in opposition to their unani-

³Garrison's *Westward Extension*, pp. 294-7.

⁴Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 373 (Appendix).

¹Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., pp. 1115-6.

mous opinion? Or are the people by our action here to be deprived of a law which they unanimously desire, and yet have no power to remedy the evil?"²

In a previous argument, he declared that the ordinance of 1787 did not actually prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory. Slavery existed there till it was abolished by the people themselves. In Oregon, he said, slavery did not exist because it was prohibited by the "deliberate and exclusive act of the people," acting "in obedience to that great democratic principle that it is wiser and better to leave each community to determine and regulate its own local and domestic affairs in its own way."³

He met the sectional argument that the South was being deprived of its rights in the territory by declaring that the South as a geographical section had no rights. As a part of the Union it had a voice in the disposition of the territory for the common benefit of all, but no more than that. "It is no violation of Southern rights to prohibit slavery, nor of Northern rights to leave the people to decide for themselves."⁴ As the debate dragged on through June, he took occasion to again state his idea of the solution of the question of slavery. "I have always held that the people have a right to settle these questions as they choose, not only when they come into the Union as a State, but they should be permitted to do so as a Territory."⁵

Jefferson Davis inquired what number of people there must be in a territory before the right to govern themselves accrued. Douglas replied that he would make no attempt to state the exact number. If there is enough to make a government necessary at all, that government should have the same right to legislate upon slavery as upon any other subject, like the relations of master and servant, parent and child, and commercial laws effecting the rights of property and citizens.⁶

Criticising the opposition to the admission of California, and in direct answer to Soule, Douglas said: "You must, therefore, depart from the established usages, abandon the precedents, and overturn the authorities, before you can exclude California from the Union. What has she done to justify this treatment? Sir, I fear the world will come to the conclusion that her sin—her only crime—was that she chose, in the plentitude of her wisdom

²Ibid, p. 1114.

³Ibid, p. 371.

⁴Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 369.

⁵Ibid, p. 911, Appendix.

⁶Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 1115.

and power to exclude the institution of slavery from her borders."⁴

Douglas did not vote for the Fugitive Slave Act, though he was heartily in sympathy with it, as carrying out the plain mandate of the constitution. In explaining why he did not vote for the bill, he said: "Whatever political sins I may have at any time committed, I think I may safely assert that no Senator ever doubted my willingness to assume the full measure of responsibility resulting from my official position. The dodging of votes—the attempt to avoid responsibility—is no part of my system of political tactics." "The arguments against the Fugitive Slave law, when closely examined," he declared, "are arguments against the constitution of our country and not against the provision of the law which has been passed for the purpose of carrying the constitution into effect." He charged Sumner with taking an oath to support the constitution, while at the same time firmly resolving not to support part of it. What would these gentlemen care for the form of proceedings and provisions of the law, provided the fugitive was not returned to his master? The real objection is that the fugitive is sent back, not that the form of the law does not suit them."⁵ With practical unanimity the standard historians dealing with this period picture Douglas as a subservient tool of the slavocracy, a political trimmer in the service of the South. That he made mistakes he himself did not deny, but when he looked into the future he read the failure of Calhoun's proposition looking to the maintenance of an equilibrium between the sections, North and South, and declared any such proposition to be impossible. As Douglas figured out the question of expansion into the territories, four States would, in time, be made out of Oregon Territory, five out of the Mexican Cession, two out of Minnesota Territory, and six out of the Territory on the Missouri. Each of these, he predicted, would be a free State whether Congress prohibited slavery or not. Should Texas be cut into five states, he predicted three would be free, and if all Mexico were to be annexed twenty of the resulting states would be free, and but three slave.

These predictions, he held, might be unpalatable to the South, but he considered them undeniable. We all look forward, he adds, to the time when Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and probably North Carolina and Tennessee will grad-

⁴Ibid, p. 852.

⁵Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 65.

⁶Ibid, p. 1120 (Appendix).

ually emancipate their slaves. He was opposed to Calhoun's proposition because it would revolutionize the fundamental principle of government, and would destroy popular equality. How much more completely could Calhoun have been answered? Some of the results came in a way never anticipated by Douglas, but, as early as 1850, he saw little comfort for the South in the westward movement of which he was the greatest exponent.¹

Jefferson Davis was opposed to all the measures embraced in the compromise except the Fugitive Slave Act. He declared he wanted none of the credit for having passed them, if there was any credit in so doing. "If any man has a right to be proud of the success of these measures, it is the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas). They were brought before the Senate by the Committee on Territories and the Committee of Thirteen, which it is claimed has done so much for the honor of the Senate and the peace of the country, merely stuck together the work of other men, save and except the little bill to suppress the slave trade in the District of Columbia."²

The Compromise As a Finality.

The passage of the compromise of 1850 marks the end of the first stage in the slavery controversy in the United States. The majority in the Northern States, which at one time were willing to accept the line 36° 30' as the dividing line between free and slave States were no longer satisfied with that line, and demanded the application of the Wilmot Proviso to all the new territory.³ The majority in the Southern States, on the other hand, while demanding equal rights to enter all the new territory with their slaves, were willing to accept an extension of the Missouri Compromise Line.

California's action in organizing as a State, with boundaries extending north and south of that line, and a constitution declaring against slavery, complicated the situation. A settlement was then worked out by allowing the people of the States and Territories to settle the question for themselves, and the alarming possibility of Southern secession was temporarily suspended. Every part of the public territory had received some sort of regulation regarding slavery except the Indian reservation. The final

¹Cong. Globe, 31st Cong., 1st ses., p. 371.

²Ibid, p. 1830.

³Schurz, Clay, II., p. 322.

Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 225.

outcome in Utah and New Mexico was, of course, a question of the future, but the means of settlement had been provided.

Three possible sources of friction lay on the horizon: Southern attempts at tropical annexations, Northern opposition to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the opening of the territory between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. This latter, it is true, had been provided for by the Missouri compromise, but the South was able to keep it closed to settlers because it was occupied by Indians, and action of the Senate was required to remove the Indians and make settlement possible there. "It remained to be seen whether the country would acquiesce and let the old parties resume their customary electoral contests, and concern themselves with the problems of internal government with which their earlier days had been taken up—such as the currency, the tariff, the public lands."¹ In the North opposition to the compromise was concentrated against the Fugitive Slave Act, but Cass, Dickirson, Douglas, Choate and Webster labored hard for submission to the law, and gradually a reluctant acquiescence was obtained. "It is a disgraceful and dirty business," said the *Ohio State Journal*, "but it is sanctioned by the constitution." The Southern upholders of the compromise, Clay, Crittenden, Stephens, Cobb and Foote, had a more difficult task in persuading the Southern people that nothing had been lost in California and that the North would live up to the Fugitive Slave law.²

The Northern people were not yet enough concerned about slavery to risk driving the South into disunion, and the South, though distrusting the North so far as carrying out the Fugitive Slave law was concerned, was willing to watch and await the outcome. Accordingly, an artificial calm reigned.³ Both political parties in 1852 declared the compromise final in the settlement of the slavery question; and the election, which turned largely on the personality of the candidates, was uneventful.⁴ "Except incidentally, and in relation to foreign affairs, the word slavery was hardly spoken in the session of Congress between December, 1852, and March, 1853. * * * But the fires of abolition and of secession were apparently as ceaseless as Aetna's. The Northern radicals were not discouraged, although popular senti-

¹Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, Chap. I.

²Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, p. 163. (*American Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1901, Vol. II.)

³Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, Chap. II.

⁴Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, pp. 249, 251.

ment was so hostile that they kept their assistance to fleeing slaves as secret as possible."¹⁰

Beneath the peaceful surface the irrespressible conflict was going on. "Was there not peace already here?" asked Seward, in discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill. "Was there not harmony as perfect as is ever possible in the country, when this measure was moved in the Senate a month ago?"¹¹ On the surface, yes; but beneath the surface was working the same mighty restlessness that gave birth to every westward movement. Following the famine in Ireland and the revolutions on the Continent, immigration to America was very large. From 1845 to 1850 the average annual influx was about 300,000 persons. Large numbers of Germans were pouring into the country north of the Ohio River and into the upper Mississippi Valley. During the decade 1850 to 1860, the figures of the previous decade were exceeded by over 800,000, reaching the highest mark in the history of the country before the decade 1880 to 1890. In the latter part of the period the flow was somewhat checked by the panic of 1857 and the Civil War. Relatively few of these foreigners pushed to the extreme frontier, but as they settled in the older regions of the West and bought land, they pushed westward large numbers of native Americans, who were ever ready to move on to the new frontier. Texas formed a southern outlet for these people, Oregon formed a northern, and California drew from both sections.

The Argonauts moving to California and returning across the plains came to know Nebraska Territory, and demanded that it be opened for settlement. In addition, the possession of California and Oregon on the Pacific Coast called for better means of communication, and railroads, telegraph lines and wagon roads were projected. So important had the railroad movement become that conventions were called in various parts of the country, and three separate localities went into the struggle in earnest to become the eastern terminus of the Pacific Railway.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Petitions were sent from the people of Iowa and Missouri, as early as 1851, praying for the organization of Nebraska Territory.¹ Representative Henn, of Iowa, informed Congress that "in the summer of 1853, not less than 3,000 souls had assembled on

¹⁰Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 333.

¹¹Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 155 (Appendix); Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 349.

¹Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 95.

the frontier of Iowa, ready to make their future home upon the soil of Nebraska, and later information led him to believe that 10,000 people will cross the river and become permanent settlers in Nebraska before the summer solstice" if the Territory is opened.² Senator Atchison, who until March, 1853, had been opposed to the opening of Nebraska because of his opposition to the Missouri Compromise Provision governing that Territory, said in Congress: "We know that it must come, and that in a very few years. The pressure of population from the older States, and from Europe, has been such that they roll up against the frontier, and the most populous counties in the State of Missouri are upon the western boundary line of that State. * * * The tide of immigration rolls on until it is stopped by the intercourse law. Such has been the case in our State for the last ten years, and I know the tide of immigration has been rolling back upon the interior of the State; now, sir, I know very well that in a very few years, if it is not doing so now, the tide of population, in defence of this government, will pass the frontier and take possession of every habitable spot in Nebraska Territory. You cannot keep them out. There is a large portion of our population who are now ready and anxious to abandon their homes and go into this Territory. You cannot restrain them much longer."³ Ex-Senator Benton went so far as to advise 15,000 or 20,000 who had assembled on the western border of Missouri to invade the Territory and take possession; but the President dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Fort Leavenworth with orders to use the army if necessary to restrain them.⁴

The Missouri Democrats were at this time divided into two hostile factions, both in favor of opening Nebraska to settlement, but divided over the necessity of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The moderate faction was led by ex-Senator Benton, W. P. Hall, Frank B. Blair, Jr., and the St. Louis Republican, and favored the protection of the rights of slavery under existing laws, but was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction. The radical pro-slavery faction was led by W. C. Price, Senator Atchison and Sterling Price, and was in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Its leaders were the leaders of border ruffianism. Atchison, on March 3, 1853, said he saw no hope of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and urged the opening of the Territory. If he thought there was any

²Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 885 (Appendix).

³Ibid., p. 1113.

⁴Cutts, pp. 90-91.

possibility of repealing the Missouri Compromise he declared he would insist upon it as a preliminary.¹ In December, 1852, Abelard Guthrie, the recently elected delegate to Congress, found both the Missouri Senators opposed to territorial organization unless the Missouri Compromise could be repealed.² On December 9, 1852, Mr. Guthrie wrote from Washington: "Mr. Hall's bill (not then introduced) says nothing about slavery, but leaves untouched the Missouri Compromise. The Territory, it is pretty confidentially believed, will be free."³ As early as the session of 1843-44 Douglas had introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska. It was part of his plan in opening a highway to Oregon in order that we might acquire all of Oregon as far north as 54° 40'.⁴ During each subsequent session down to 1854, he renewed the introduction of his bill, and "no one had objected to it upon the ground that there was no necessity for the organization of the Territory."⁵ There was objection, however, to the creation of any more free States lest the balance in the Senate between the two sections be destroyed and the interests of the South endangered.

Nebraska was, in 1851, Indian territory from which white settlers were excluded under threat of heavy fines and imprisonment. William Walker, one of the Wyandotte chiefs, stated that the Indians, especially the Wyandottes, "warmly favored the occupation by white people of the vacant lands, and the ultimate organization of the Territory," and with this end in view, "a few daring and resolute spirits in the Wyandotte nation determined to make a demonstration in favor of its organization by concerting measures for holding an election for a delegate to Congress."⁶

On the 12th day of October, 1852, a meeting was held at the council house of the Wyandotte nation and Abelard Guthrie was unanimously chosen as Territorial delegate to Congress. The Territory of Nebraska had not been officially organized, and, of course, Guthrie could have no legal standing as a Territorial delegate, but he could urge the organization of the Territory upon Congress. About the same time a similar gathering at Fort Leavenworth nominated a Mr. Banow as Territorial delegate.

¹Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 2d ses., p. 1113.

²Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub. (2d Series), 177, 28-30, 76.

³Ibid, p. 78.

⁴Cutts, p. 64.

⁵Cutts, p. 87.

⁶Neb. Hist. Soc. Pub., III., 2d Series, pp. 58, 60; Walker's MS., edited by Connelly.

Mr. Banow may possibly have been the representative of the Price-Atchison faction, but I have found no positive evidence of this. An election was called and Guthrie was elected by a vote of 54 to 16.² The Journal of the House of Representatives for December 17, 1852, shows that Abelard Guthrie presented a petition for a seat in the House as a delegate from the Territory of Nebraska. The petition was referred to the Committee on Elections, but apparently no action was taken on it by the committee. The matter came up again two years later, when Guthrie presented another petition, asking for pay for his attendance at the earlier session.³

The next year a movement was on foot to erect a provisional Territorial government, and a convention was called for this purpose to meet August 9, 1853. Another meeting for an entirely different purpose had also been called. Those Missourians interested in the selection of the Kansas River Valley as the route for the proposed Pacific Railway had planned a meeting to be held in that part of Nebraska Territory west of Missouri on July 26, 1853.

The Benton faction in Missouri now planned to take the enemy unawares and select the provisional Territorial officers at this earlier meeting. Guthrie was renominated as delegate to Congress, and William Walker elected as provisional governor of the Territory.⁴ Resolutions written in part by Dyer, Governor Walker, Guthrie and others, before the meeting, endorsed the great central railroad route as it had been outlined in Benton's bill; expressed their deep obligations to Benton and Hall, of Missouri; regretted the failure of Congress to pass the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and urged its passage at the next session of Congress.⁵ Later, the Price-Atchison faction nominated Rev. Thomas Johnson in opposition to Guthrie, though no opposition was made to Walker (a Wyandotte chief) as provisional governor. Governor Walker issued a call for an election, which was held on the second Tuesday of October, and resulted in Rev. Thomas Johnson's election over Guthrie, though Guthrie carried the Wyandotte precinct. Senator Atchison and the Indian agent, and the Methodist Church following, worked hard for the Rev. Johnson. Governor Walker's proclamation calling for an election in October was printed in the Missouri papers and a copy fell into the hands

²Ibid, III., 2d Series, 26-28.

³Ibid, III., 2d Series, 70, 71.

⁴Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub. (2d Series), III., pp. 30-37.

⁵Ibid, pp. 30-37, 45-6, 88. Resolutions in Kansas Hist. Collections, VI., 107.

of H. D. Johnson, a member of the Iowa Legislature, who immediately sent word to Council Bluffs, Iowa. After consultation, the Iowans concluded to have a hand in the election for Territorial delegate, and arranged to have a ferry boat carry them over to the Nebraska shore near Sarpy's trading house, where, on the day specified in the governor's proclamation, they cast 358 votes for H. D. Johnson as delegate to Congress.

The returns for this election were turned in to the provisional government along with those for Rev. Thomas Johnson and Abelard Guthrie, but the returning board threw them out because H. D. Johnson and many who voted for him were residents of Iowa.³

Meetings ratifying the election of H. D. Johnson were held in several Iowa towns, and H. D. Johnson went to Washington (January, 1854,) where he found Rev. Thomas Johnson knocking for admission to the House of Representatives. Neither was admitted as delegate, and Nebraska, therefore, had two unofficial representatives in the gallery of the House.¹

The objection to organizing Nebraska as a Territory came naturally from the South. Nebraska was north of the compromise line of 36° 30', and in the struggle following the Missouri Compromise the South consistently tried to prevent the admission of free States unless she had ready a slave State to keep the balance in the Senate. No man understood this opposition better than Douglas. When he made an attempt to protect the emigrants passing through Nebraska to California and Oregon, the Senators from Georgia and South Carolina were foremost in opposition. Their objections, said he, "show us that we are to expect no protection at all; they evince direct, open hostility to that section of the country."¹ On another occasion the Senators from Texas were objecting, and Douglas said: "All other descriptions of bills—private bills and public bills—have been taken up by unanimous consent and by courtesy; but the moment a territorial bill is indicated, objection is made. Not only to considering it on that day, but on any future day. It seemed as if there were a design that this bill should never be considered—should never be entertained."² Pike and Guthrie found the center of opposition to the organization of Nebraska in the same section.³

¹Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., pp. 85-6, and III., p. 37 (2d Series).

²Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 88.

³Cong. Globe, 32d Cong., 1st ses., p. 1762.

⁴Ibid., p. 1684.

⁵Pike, *First Blows*, p. 183. Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., III., p. 82 (2d Series).

Reference has already been made to the attempts Douglas made in every Congress of which he was a member to organize Nebraska Territory.⁴ In the session which ended in March, 1853, a bill for this purpose had passed the House, but Douglas was not able to have it considered in the Senate. That there was a strong demand for the opening of Nebraska Territory has been shown, and it is probable that in time Douglas would have won over a majority of the Senate, but a mere majority would not improve the situation, because Nebraska "had forever been excluded from settlement by treaties with the Indians, which could not be changed or repealed except by a two-thirds vote of the senate."¹

Senator Bell saw this objection and alluded to it on the last night of the debate, March 4, 1854, but Douglas had committed the South to the measure before this feature was mentioned.¹ When Congress met again in December, 1853, the bill which had passed the house during the previous session was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Douglas was chairman. On the fourth day of January following, the committee returned a substitute for the bill and accompanied it with a report in which Douglas argued for the application of the principles established by the compromise measure of 1850.² The important changes made in the original bill were incorporated in the fourteenth section, which provided "that the constitution and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within said Territory as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union * * * which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories * * * is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States."³

The report affirmed that these principles "were intended to have a far more comprehensive and enduring effect than the mere

⁴Nicolay and Hay, I., p. 337. Harper's Magazine, Dec., 1853, p. 121.

¹Cutts, pp. 92-3.

²Cutts, pp. 92-3.

³Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 115, 307 (Appendix).

³Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 307 (Appendix).

adjustment of difficulties arising out of the recent acquisition of Mexican territory. They were designed to establish certain great principles, which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all time to come, avoid the perils of similar agitation by withdrawing the question of slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, committing it to the arbitration of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for, its consequences. * * * A question has arisen in regard to the right to hold slaves in the Territory of Nebraska, when the Indian laws shall be withdrawn and the country thrown open to emigration and settlement. * * * It is a disputed point whether slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by **valid** enactment. * * * In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested with no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories, the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void."

It will be remembered that this eighth section of the Missouri Compromise provided that slavery should be prohibited in all of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30', except Missouri. The report continued: "The prevailing sentiment in large portions of the Union sustains the doctrine that the constitution of the United States secures to every citizen an inalienable right to move into any of the Territories with his property of whatever kind and description, and to hold and enjoy the same under the sanction of law. * * * The compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions: First, that all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories, and the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose. Second, that "all questions involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are to be referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Third, that the provision of the constitution of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, is to be carried into faithful execution in all the original Territories the same as in the States. Still the committee did not recommend the repeal of the famous eighth section of the Missouri act, but, apparently, it indirectly authorized the inhabitants to disregard it.¹ That Douglas was alone responsible for the Kansas-Ne-

¹Senate Reports 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 15; Flint, Douglas, p. 63.

braska act is beyond question. It is likewise perfectly clear that it was prepared without consulting any section or faction. Douglas denied that the South had dictated it, and the facts in the case support him. There is no evidence to show that Atchison, or Stephens, or Toombs were instrumental in influencing him.²

His motives in introducing the bill have met with almost universal impeachment. Pike described him as "the agitator general of the slavery question, as the chief of dough-faces, as the bully of slavery," and Benton spoke of him as a poor white man who had married a woman with "niggers."³ The Independent Democrats accused him of making the dearest interests of the people "the mere hazards in the presidential game."⁴ A host of writers then and since have felt sure his motive was one solely of ambition. It is to be regretted that his private correspondence has not come down to us. But this has not hindered historians from reaching conclusions. Mr. Rhodes, for instance, so far abandons his usual careful accuracy as to declare that "in this case no confidential letters or conversations need be unearthed to arrive at a satisfactory explanation."⁵ This attitude of mind has become so widespread, even among trained historians, that it is almost impossible to present even the facts in the case.

"There is not a particle of evidence to show that Douglas did not himself believe that the application of the principle of popular sovereignty to the Territory was for the best interests of the country. It was entirely possible to believe that the experiment would succeed as it had apparently succeeded in 1850."⁶ The application of popular sovereignty to California, Utah and New Mexico had taken the slavery question out of Congress and placed it where it could be settled at least to the satisfaction of the people of the Territories; and certainly Congress had no better solution to offer. There was an urgent demand that the Territory be opened, as urgent demand as had been made and heeded for any earlier or later Territory. It is easy to condemn a policy suggested, very much easier than to suggest a better one. To leave the Territory till the South was ready to organize it; till a third of the Senate would not have been willing to oppose all attempts to remove the Indians, was certainly not the

²Rhodes, I., pp. 431-2.

³Pike, *First Blows*, pp. 217, 221.

⁴Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 281; *Am. Hist. Leaflet No. 17*.

⁵Rhodes, I., p. 429.

⁶Hodder, *Chataquan*, Vol. 29, p. 435.

part of a statesman. Had Douglas known the ultimate outcome, his plans would certainly have been different. But he had good reason to believe that popular sovereignty would have been no less successful in Nebraska than it had been in California. His "career was controlled by faith in the right of the people to govern themselves and by devotion to the interests of the West. * * * His ability has never been questioned. His honesty and patriotism have never been disproved."¹ Even in the Republican State convention of Illinois he found a defender. L. H. Hurlburt, a delegate from Boone County, said: "The Senator (Douglas) was aware of the strong current of emigration setting westward from the free States, and did, he (the speaker) could believe, rely upon the force and known disposition of this current to create free States, if let alone, even under the outrage perpetrated in this Nebraska bill."²

There was need for the opening of Nebraska, and he undertook the task, while at the same time attempting to control the dominating pro-slavery elements in the party without destroying the party or the Union.³ Prof. Macy says he probably "had no more intention of actually enlarging the area of slavery than had Webster in laboring to remove the legal restriction from the Territory of Utah. Northern free labor was moving westward, as he knew, by leaps and bounds. It was not at all likely that slavery would ever gain any foothold in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the States of Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri. Douglas, no doubt, sought to further his presidential prospects without making any actual change in the practical situation respecting slavery extension."⁴ His prediction, in 1850, that Nebraska would be a free Territory has already been noted; and there does not appear to be a single sentence of his to show that he had changed his opinion. While discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he called attention to the fact that slavery then existed in Nebraska, and added: "I suppose it will continue for a little while during their Territorial condition, whether a prohibition is imposed or not. But when the settlers rush in—when labor becomes plenty—* * * it is worse than folly to think of its being a slave-holding country. I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it could be permanently a slave-holding country. I have no idea that it could."

¹Hodder, *Chatauquan*, Vol. 29, p. 436.

²Report of Convention in Chicago Press, June 18, 1858.

³Morton, *History of Nebraska*, I., p. 154.

⁴Macy, *Political Parties in the United States*, pp. 188-9.

⁵Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 279.

Senator Dodge thought a few slave holders would enter the Territory with their slaves under arrangements to serve a few years, after which they would become free, as had been the case in Illinois earlier.² Representative Henn predicted that the settlers would be ten to one in favor of freedom. "All Nebraska," said he, "if not all Kansas, must be settled by an emigration from the non-slave-holding States."³ May it not be possible that Douglas cajoled the South with the empty notion that the South stood some chance of gaining a slave State in competition with the freemen of the North?⁴ Senator Bell, of Tennessee, in arguing against the bill, said he had been assured that slavery would go into Kansas, and that idea had been spread throughout the South. He did not believe, however, that slavery could ever be established in Kansas, and he challenged any Southern man to show him how the South was to gain anything by the bill. He thought Douglas showed great skill in getting Chase and Sumner to attack the South and unite the South for the bill, adding: "I never saw a higher degree of parliamentary tact displayed than by the Senator from Illinois on that occasion."⁵

On the 16th of January, 1854, Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that when the bill was taken up he would offer an amendment to the effect "that the citizens of the several States or Territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories of the United States, or of the States to be formed therefrom."⁶ Mr. Douglas looked upon this amendment as a deliberate attempt to legislate slavery into the territory, though in the discussion which followed Mr. Dixon denied this intention and accepted Douglas' modification of the bill as satisfactory.

On January 23 Douglas offered a substitute bill, which differed from the original in two particulars: It declared that the slavery restriction of the Missouri compromise "was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is hereby declared inoperative;" (note) and it divided the Territory into two parts, Kansas and

Note.—Moses, Illinois, II., p. 588, gives a letter from G. M. McConnell, in which he says he remembers hearing Douglas say that he was overruled by the Committee on Territories, and either had to accept the amendment or give up the leadership.

²Ibid, p. 381 (Appendix).

³Ibid, p. 888.

⁴Macy, Political Parties in the U. S., p. 190.

⁵Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 939-40 (Appendix).

⁶Wells, Lincoln and Seward, p. 68; Dixon, True Hist. of Missouri Comp., p. 440.

Nebraska. The people of each Territory were to determine the question of freedom or slavery to suit themselves. Dixon expressed his satisfaction with this amendment as covering what he attempted by his proposed amendment.¹ The next day Douglas consented, at the suggestion of Chase, Sumner, and others, to postpone the consideration of the bill till the 30th of the month, and on the same day the appeal of the Independent Democrats appeared in the papers.² This led to a savage debate between Douglas and Chase, and a storm of indignation throughout the North.³ In the arguments which Chase made against the bill he "reached in many respects the highest point in his senatorial career."⁴ It is sufficient to say that he completely demolished Douglas' argument that the principles of the compromise of 1850 were believed by anyone to supersede those of the compromise of 1820. That the basis of the compromise of 1850 was different from that of 1820 was true, but that the later principles set aside or in any sense abrogated the settlement of 1820 was "untrue in fact and without foundation in history."⁵ On the 7th of February Douglas offered an amendment, which was carried, by which the Missouri Compromise was declared "inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories as recognized by the legislation of 1850."⁶

His division of Nebraska into two territories has given rise to the belief that one was intended to be free and the other slave. Mr. Rhodes writes: "It follows plainly enough, therefore, that the division of the territory was in the interest of slavery; and if Douglas had not been brought to the point of actually conceding that Kansas should be a slave State, he at least knew that there was a well-devised scheme in progress to make it one."⁷ Mr. Rhodes admits he cannot trace the ways leading up to this division. Mr. Douglas clearly stated the reason for the division, but Mr. Rhodes, having first impeached Douglas' motives, will not accept his statement of the reason.⁸ The real reason for the

¹Rhodes, I., pp. 433-9; Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., pp. 175, 239, 240; Flint, Douglas, 171.

²Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 281; Sheahan, Douglas, pp. 197-201; Rhodes, I., pp. 463-71.

³Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 357.

⁴Smith, Parties and Slavery, p. 100.

⁵Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 275; p. 139 (Appendix); Rhodes, I., pp. 441-451.

⁶Sheahan, Douglas, p. 201.

⁷Rhodes, I., pp. 440-1.

⁸Ibid, I., p. 439; Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 221.

division of Nebraska was not connected in any way with slavery, but with the Pacific railroad. H. D. Johnson, who will be remembered as the Nebraska delegate to Congress elected by the Iowans, writes: "Before starting for Washington * * * a number of our citizens agreed upon a plan which I formed, which was the organization of two Territories. * * *" The Missouri people wished to have the Pacific railroad located in the Kansas river valley, and the Iowans were equally anxious that the Platte valley should be selected. Douglas being interested in Chicago, could readily see the advantage to his home city and was brought to favor the northern route. If a division of Nebraska could be made to further that end, Douglas could and did make it. Continuing further, Mr. Johnson writes: "Dodge * * * introduced me to Judge Douglas, to whom I unfolded my plan and asked him to adopt it, which, after mature consideration, he decided to do."¹ Senator Dodge said: "Originally I favored the organization of one Territory; but representations from our constituents, and a more critical examination of the subject—having an eye to the system of internal improvements which must be adopted by the people of Nebraska and Kansas to develop their resources—satisfied my colleague * * * and myself that the great interests of the whole country, and especially of our State, demand that we should support the proposition for the establishment of two Territories; otherwise the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have fallen south of Iowa."² Representative Henn of Iowa expressed the same views in the House, and all these views corroborated exactly the reasons Douglas gave for dividing the Territory. From Iowa, then, came the call to divide Nebraska, and not from the "slavocracy."³

Most of the argument against the Kansas-Nebraska bill was directed against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Douglas complained that the opponents of the bill did not meet the question of popular sovereignty as a good or bad policy aside from its connection with the Missouri Compromise. He denied that the Missouri Compromise was a compact; he denied that it was more than legislation brought forward to settle the then existing controversy over slavery and contended its settlement was only temporary. By the conditions existing, Nebraska could

¹Nebraska Hist. Soc. Pub., II., p. 88.

²Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 382 (Appendix).

³Meigs, Benton, pp. 419-21; Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway*, Chap. III.; Sheahan, *Fergus Hist. Pub.*, II., p. 205; *Chicago Democratic Press*, June 25, 30, July 4, 7, 10, 11, 1853; J. Loughborough, *The Pacific Telegraph and Railway*; *Proceedings of the Railway Convention at Lacon*, Ill (Cinn. 1853).

not be opened to settlement, and a new solution was demanded. He cited the votes on the Missouri act to show that the North had been opposed to it, and its representatives had voted against it in the Senate "in the proportion of more than four to one."¹ Touching upon the breach of plighted faith by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of which the Northerners complained, Bancroft says: "Judging by their words merely, this was not altogether sincere, for there was not one of them that would not have been glad to blot out that compromise for anything more favorable to freedom; nor was there, probably, one of them that had not favored, or promised to favor, the repeal of some part of the Compromise of 1850. Had they been as absolutely candid as Dixon they would have said, 'we know neither parties nor compromises, except when they will aid us as anti-slavery men.'"²

But the repeal of the Missouri Compromise provision does not seem to account for the great storm which arose against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Thousands of people were led to believe that the Territory was destined to be slave territory, and that they would be shut out from the free lands. Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota had recently been filling up with thrifty Northerners, Germans, and Scandinavians, and they looked upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill as an attempt to shut them out from the free lands of these two territories, "otherwise the comparatively few reformers * * * could not have set half the nation in a blaze in a few weeks."³

In 1860 the census tables showed that the free Northwestern States had contributed very heavily to the population of Kansas. Of the total population, 11,617 were natives of Ohio; 11,356 of Missouri; 9,945 of Indiana; 9,367 of Illinois. The other States contributed in smaller proportions, and 10,997 were born on Kansas soil between 1854 and 1860.⁴

(To be continued.)

EDWARD McMAHON.

¹Cong. Globe, 33d Cong., 1st ses., p. 337 (Appendix).

²Bancroft, Seward, I., p. 353.

³Ibid, I., p. 357.

⁴Seventh U. S. Census, 1860, pp. 165-6.

For maps showing vote on Kansas-Nebraska Bill, see Smith, Parties and Slavery, p. 106.

A MASSACRE ON THE FRONTIER.

In obedience to instructions from Major-General Wool, United States Army, about the 1st of May, 1856, a well-equipped command of soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe broke camp at The Dalles, Oregon, and took the line of march for Walla Walla Valley, Washington Territory. This expedition consisted of six companies of the Ninth United States Infantry, one battery of the Third United States Artillery and one troop of the First United States Dragoons. The first named regiment had just reported on the Pacific Coast, being newly created by Act of Congress, 1855. They were armed with the splendid Minnie rifle, and from their proficiency in the light infantry or skirmish drill were dubbed the "Shanghais"—a reference to the huge chicken of that name. The artillery and dragoons were old, seasoned companies, having been stationed in the department for many years, scouting incessantly. To this command were added a small party of Indian allies, under an old chief named Stock Whittly, and a few guides, with old "Cut-Mouth John" in charge. The first day's march, as is usual, was short, a halt being made on Ten-Mile Creek. About midnight an officer from Fort Dalles rode rapidly into camp and delivered an order to our commander, the purport of which was that he should march his troops directly back; that the Indians from the Yakima country and those located at the Cascades had murdered all the whites in the portage. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour this news was speedily communicated throughout the command, and by the blaze of the quickly replenished fires the soldiers could be seen flitting about in active preparation for the counter-march, and long before the dawn of day the column was clattering along the trail towards the steamboat landing, where the diminutive steamer *Mary Ann* was waiting and sputtering in nervous readiness. This little boat had already enacted a somewhat tragical part in the proceedings now being narrated. She lay tied to the bank at her usual mooring when the Indians attacked the whites. The crew, consisting of Captain Baughman, and two others on shore, endeavored to regain the steamer. The engineer was shot, the two others rapidly cast off the line, and trusting to an effort to raise steam, soon placed themselves in a position to go over the rapids, preferring, I suppose, that means

of destruction to the tomahawk. Fortune favored them, however, and the *Mary Ann* swung broadside against an island on the further side, where she rested securely till due preparation was made, when she started for The Dalles at her highest speed. One of the two aboard was wounded in the final brave attempt to escape.

Colonel George Wright, of the Ninth Infantry, now took command, and what infantry could be stowed away were rushed upon the deck; also the artillery, with two mountain howitzers, were put aboard. A large, leaky scow was made fast alongside, and into this the dragoons, with horses and equipment, were crammed. Thus, in four short hours from the time the courier reached our camp, ten miles away, the little *Mary Ann* was rounding out into the broad Columbia, with the principal part of the force the camp contained. In those days travel was slow by any route in the far West, so at the end of our first day's sail we were yet ten miles from our destination, distant forty-five miles from the point of starting. A bivouac was made in the forest on the bank and the journey renewed in about time to fetch us to the Cascades at daybreak. Eyes were now strained and heads inclined in listening attitude as we approached the shore.

The first attraction was the firing of guns and waving of handkerchiefs from Bradford's store, where some dozen of the whites were held in barricade by the hostiles. This demonstration had hardly greeted us when a volley from the forest-lined shore told us that the redskins were awaiting us, also. Now, as the cavalry were by bad luck on the side nearest the bank, their predicament, mingled as they were among unruly horses, can be imagined. Quickly, however, the little boat's nose was buried in the mud and every man sprang ashore. The infantry, not to be outdone, leaping from the upper deck, a line was soon formed in the timber, which at that date was close at hand. The howitzers were discharged from the steamer, raking the woods far in front. The Indians, gathered to form resistance, were soon driven back, the troops following close upon their heels, the cracking of their rifles was soon drowned by the roar of our own fire, each man rushing on as if to devour the enemy. Soon four of them were picked up, and further on another lying prone beside a half-emptied whiskey barrel. Miserable victim of intemperance, he received no opportunity to take the pledge in this world.

Onward the skirmishers swept, through the dense brush, over fallen logs, never halting till comrades' voices at the old block-house told us they still "held the fort." This small detachment had been regularly stationed here at the center of the portage for some months, and suffered the first onslaught of the Indians, losing one of their number, but they kept them at bay for thirty hours, although they numbered but six against more than a hundred.

Soon a spirited firing was heard still on towards the larger portage. This proved to be the skirmishers, commanded by Lieutenant Phil Sheridan, who, with his usual energy, was driving the hostiles from that vicinity. The action of the militia from The Dalles above and Fort Vancouver below was simultaneous, so the redskins were compelled to vacate the whole section they had contemplated devastating, and which they had rendered quite undesirable for settlement for some years. A system of scouring the brush by skirmishers was kept up for several days, until the enemy could be no longer found or heard.

Many amusing and some serious mishaps occurred among the raw soldiers, especially at night, when burnt stumps and black boulders were easily clothed with blankets and other savage semblance. A remnant of the war party was captured on an island just below the middle rapids, to which refuge they were traced with much difficulty and danger. The able-bodied bucks, numbering eight, were very promptly hanged by order of the commander, after an examination by a commission of officers. They all met their death stoically, with the exception of one burly fellow, who so excited the ire of an eccentric lieutenant that the latter discharged the contents of his revolver into the body while it was swinging from the scaffold. The dogs were kept constantly busy after the fighting ended in hunting up the victims of the slaughter. All were finally found, numbering about twenty-three.

One poor lady—Mrs. Sinclair—was discovered floating in an eddy of the river, shot through her breast, shorn of her long hair and entirely nude. She was tenderly cared for by soldiers, humane and true, and buried with all due ceremony. Several instances of excessive barbarity were disclosed in our search and traces of desolation were abundant.

I am, however, happy to say that since this trouble the peaceful dwellers under the shadows of those gigantic mountains have not again been disturbed by the savage. The troops remained at the Cascades working amid the rain and mud until two sub-

stantial blockhouses had been erected, and leaving a sufficient garrison, departed for their different stations. The dragoons proceeded to Hood River, where they had the pleasure and pain of meeting the Yakimas, who, in retreating to their own country, had halted at this point on the Columbia about midway between the portage and The Dalles to fire some cabins and drive off some cattle. As they were posted on the northern or opposite bank considerable risk was encountered in crossing and dislodging them, the soldiers having to quit their horses and cross in Chinook canoes, which craft was generally unmanageable in our hands.

After the completion of these affairs, the Yakima expedition was organized by Colonel Wright, which campaign lasted till the snows of winter set in. Several small skirmishes took place, and those Indians were subdued. The command penetrated into the several passes of the Cascade Mountains, where the snow lay at great depth, even in the month of August. Fort Simcoe, in the valley of that name, was established in the midst of the tribes just conquered, and Major Robert Garnett was the first commanding officer. Captain Bowman, Ninth Infantry, having become insane on the expedition, was being conducted to The Dalles, when he escaped from his guard, and roaming alone through the mountains, was devoured by wolves, probably after death had overtaken him.

This narrative may seem prosy in the light of the stupendous events of war and frontier settlement just transpired, but the subject took place at an early period in the isolated Northwest and many years were required to repair the damages and great suffering was entailed thereby.

None who glean their information from the newspaper paragraphs concerning these matters can experience the thrill of horror felt by those who almost immediately witnessed them, and the past emotions can ever be traced in the faces of the settler and his family in the carelessness of everyday vocations or in the severity of old age. Frequently of late years, whilst whirling along in the railroad trains that now graces the great portages of the Columbia, I have been informed by "tourists" of the scenes set forth and shown the old barricade where the gallant Phil withstood the attack of hundreds of painted braves, when bread and water were exhausted and life hung trembling in the balance. No wonder these heroic deeds should be attributed to one who has actually since then passed through so many fiery scenes.

JOEL GRAHAM.

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1858.

In accordance with his custom, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, commanding general of the United States Army, on the 10th of November, 1858, issued General Order No. 22, giving brief account of the numerous combats with hostile Indians throughout the Western States and Territories during the year before. Four of the affairs were in Washington Territory, the first being the unfortunate expedition, north from Fort Walla Walla, of Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe; the second the daring movement of Lieutenant Allen in the Yakima country, when the captives outnumbered the captors five to one; and the third and fourth were the wonderful march, battles and successes of Colonel George Wright, to Spokane, when, without losses of any kind among those under him, he so punished the Indians that they never forgot, and never again raised their hands and weapons against the military forces of the United States.

General Scott's brief narration of these operations follows:

XI. May 16, 1858.—At To-hots-nim-me, Washington Territory, companies C, E and H, 1st dragoons, and E, 9th infantry—aggregate 159—were attacked and overpowered by some twelve hundred of the Spokane, Pelouse, Coeur d'Alene, Yakima, and other Indian tribes. This unequal contest, which did not result in our favor, nevertheless furnished many instances of personal bravery and heroism which must not be lost. It was, moreover, marked by the loss of the tried, gallant and distinguished Brevet Captain O. H. P. Taylor, and of that most gallant and promising young officer 2d Lieutenant Wm. Gaston, both of the 1st dragoons.

The following non-commissioned officers and privates are mentioned for their conspicuously gallant conduct:

Company C, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant J. A. Hall; bugler R. A. Magan; farrier E. R. Birch; privates R. S. Montague, Alfred Barnes killed; Victor C. DeMay mortally wounded, (since dead).

Company E, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant William C. Williams mortally wounded, since dead; private R. P. Kerse, "who, with a few others, gallantly defended the body of Brevet Captain Taylor (lying mortally wounded) when the Indians made a desperate charge to get possession of it."

Company H, 1st dragoons.—1st Sergeant Edward Ball, who displayed the greatest courage and determination throughout

the action, and with a few men repulsed the attempt of a large number of Indians at one of the most important points; privates Frances Poisell, who assisted in rescuing and bearing off Captain Taylor under a heavy fire from the enemy; C. H. Harnish and James Crozet, company H, 1st dragoons, (both killed).

In addition to those mentioned above, the following were wounded:

Company C, 1st dragoons.—Privates James Lynch and Henry Montreville.

Company E, 1st dragoons.—James Kelly (severely,) William D. Micon, Hariet Sneckster (severely,) James Healy, Maurice Henley, Charles Hughes, and John Mitchell.

Company E, 9th infantry.—Privates Ormond W. Hammond (severely,) and John Klay and Gotlieb Berger (slightly.)

XII. August 15, 1858.—A party of fifteen mounted men, commanded by 2d Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen, 9th infantry, sent out by Major Garnett, of that regiment, from the Yakima expedition, surprised a camp of hostile Indians on the upper Yakima river, Washington Territory, capturing 21 men, about 50 women and children, 70 horses, 15 head of cattle, and a quantity of other Indian property.

The success was dearly bought, for the gallant young leader lost his life, and the service one of its most valuable, zealous, and faithful officers.

XIV. September 1, 1858.—The expedition under Colonel Wright, 9th infantry, composed of companies C, E, H and I, 1st dragoons; A, B, G, K and M, 3d artillery; and B and E, 9th infantry—aggregate five hundred and seventy—with a company of thirty Nez Perces Indians, marched from fort Walla-Walla on the 7th and 15th of August; crossed Snake river on the 25th and 26th; established a post at the crossing, which was left in charge of Bvt. Major Wyse and his company D, 3d artillery; and after a march of nearly a hundred miles mostly over a forbidding country, during which they were twice attacked, came upon a large body of united Spokane, Coeur d'Alene and Pelouse Indians, of which some four hundred were mounted.

After securing his baggage and supplies by leaving them under the guard of company M, 3d artillery, with a mountain howitzer and a detachment of fifty-four men, commanded by lieutenants H. G. Gibson, G. B. Dandy and Lyon, the whole under Captain Hardie, 3d artillery, Colonel Wright moved with the rest of his force against the Indians, who had taken possession of a high hill and an adjoining wood and awaited his attack. They were driven by the foot troops from both their positions into the plain, and then charged and utterly routed by the dragoons, with a loss of some seventeen killed and many wounded.

The troops sustained no loss in either killed or wounded.

Colonel Wright mentions the following as entitled to credit for their coolness and gallantry:

Bvt. Major Grier, 1st dragoons; Captain Keyes, 3d artillery; Captain Dent, 9th infantry; 1st Lieutenant Mullan, 2d artillery, acting as topographical engineer and commanding the friendly Nez Percés; 1st Lieutenant P. A. Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant adjutant general; Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster; and Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, medical department.

The following are also mentioned as having been highly commended by their immediate commanders:

Medical Department.—Assistant Surgeon Randolph.

1st Dragoons.—Lieutenants Davidson, Pender, and 2d Lieut. Gregg.

1st Sergeant James A. Hall; Sergeants Bernard Korton and Patrick Byrne; bugler Robert A. Magan; and privates James Kearney and Michael Meara, company C.

1st Sergeant C. Goetz; Sergeant J. F. Maguire; and privates J. G. Trimbell, J. Buckley, Wm. Ramage, and T. W. Smith, company E.

1st Sergeant E. Ball; Sergeant M. M. Walker; and bugler Jacob Muller, company H.

1st Sergeant W. H. Ingerton, and Sergeant William Davis, company I.

3d Artillery.—1st Lieutenants Tyler, White and Ihrie, and 2d Lieutenant Kip.

9th Infantry.—Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming.

Nez Percés.—Hutes-E-Mah-li-kan, Captain John Edward, and We-ash-not.

XV. September 5 to 15.—Colonel Wright, 9th infantry, after defeating the united hostile tribes at the Four Lakes, in Washington Territory, on the 1st, (as noticed above, par. XIV,) continued to advance in the Indian country with the same force, and on the 5th of September was again met by the Spokane, Pelouse, and Coeur d'Alene Indians, who had been joined by the Pend d'Oreilles.

After a continuous conflict of seven hours, over a distance of fourteen miles, and a fatiguing march, in all, of twenty-five, the Indians were completely routed, with the loss of two chiefs, two brothers of the Chief Garey, and many others of lesser note killed or wounded. The troops had but one man—name not given—wounded, and he but slightly.

Colonel Wright bears witness to the zeal, energy, perseverance and gallantry of his officers and men. He especially mentions the following:

Brevet Major Grier, 1st dragoons, commanding squadron; Captain Keyes, 3d artillery, commanding artillery battalion, acting as infantry; Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, 9th infantry, detached to support the howitzer battery; First Lieutenant and Adjutant Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant ad-

jutant general; Captain Kirkham, assistant quartermaster; Assistant Surgeons J. F. Hammond and J. F. Randolph; and First Lieutenant J. Mullan, 2d artillery, acting as engineer officer and commanding the friendly Indians.

The following officers are spoken of in the highest terms by their several immediate commanders, viz.:

1st dragoons.—Lieutenant Pender.

3d artillery.—Company K, Captain E. O. C. Ord and Lieutenant Morgan; company G, Captain J. A. Hardie and First Lieutenant Ransom; company M, 1st Lieutenant Gibson and 2d Lieutenant Dandy; company A, 1st Lieutenant Tyler and 2d Lieutenant Lyon.

First Lieutenant White, commanding howitzer battery, composed of a detachment from company D, 3d artillery, and Second Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of Keyes' battalion.

Captain Dent, 9th infantry, with his company B, and First Lieutenant Davidson, 1st dragoons, commanding company E, together with the friendly Nez Perces, guarded the train effectually.

After resting on the 6th, Colonel Wright continued his pursuit of the Indians through their country, arriving at the Coeur d'Alene Mission on the 15th of September. During this march he had a skirmish with the enemy on the 8th of September, took from them some 900 horses, a large number of cattle, with quantities of wheat, oats, roots, &c.; all of which were converted to the use of the troops or destroyed.

Those severe blows resulted in the unqualified submission of the Coeur d'Alenes, the dispersion of the other tribes, and it is not doubted, ere this, in the subjugation of the whole alliance.

Results so important, without the loss of a man or animal, gained over tribes brave, well armed, confident in themselves from a recent accidental success, and aided by the many difficulties presented by the country invaded, reflect high credit on all concerned.

Colonel Wright is much to be commended for the zeal, perseverance, and gallantry he has exhibited.

To Brigadier General Clarke, commanding the department of the Pacific, credit is primarily and eminently due for the sound judgment shown in planning and organizing the campaign, (including Major Garnett's simultaneous expedition,) as well as for his promptness and energy in gathering, from remote points in his extended command, the forces, supplies, &c., necessary for its successful prosecution. In this merited tribute to the General his staff is included.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

THE STATE ARCHIVES AT OLYMPIA.

In a report on the State archives of Washington, made a few weeks ago to the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, I gave a detailed account of the condition and contents of the archives at Olympia, Tacoma and Seattle. In some instances, especially in the Governor's office, many papers were calendared. The contents of the papers, books and documents generally in some of the offices made it seem wise that the report should not alone be a report in the narrower meaning of that word, but should also be made to act as a guide to the vaults. The notes taken in the examination of the vaults and offices during the vacations of 1906 and 1907 reveal many interesting facts that are rather beyond the scope and purpose of the report—facts of State rather than of national import—and which may serve in a way to make known the conditions of the earlier records and the urgent need of better and of organized care of them.

Official records are preserved for one primary reason—to give constant and ordered direction to the business of the State, to guarantee stated rights and decisions, and to be witnesses in disputed questions. The importance of this reason is the order it gives to the immediate present; as the present proceeds into the future it leaves the records less and less appealed to, when finally official appeal is seldom if ever made to them. Yet the State is compelled to preserve them. When this point is reached and the original importance and usefulness has disappeared they pass into the realm of archives in the historical sense. The State officials, as business men of the present, lose their interest in them; a land question or a trade-mark similarity may cause them to brush away the accumulated dust from some volume or some bundle only to replace it again in the contented disorder. The interest of the many has given place to the interest of the few; the business and official world leave the records to the isolated history student. But the law, and official pride in completeness, compels their preservation—yet both permit them to be stored in old boxes, thrown into shelves, hung from the rafters, piled in lockers and dumped into wastebaskets and corners. Attempts have twice been made within the last decade to correct this, but in both instances the Legislature, for different

reasons, failed to pass or to provide for the measures introduced. Where the offices are of late creation and the records have not yet become numerous the official pride blends with the order demanded by the important present; but when the offices reach back to the middle of the century and the records have greatly multiplied the pride has flickered and gone out. Bundled and mixed lie the books and papers of the Territory and State governors on the upper shelves of the Auditor's vault; while the war correspondence of Governor Stevens is jumbled in two unlocked cases beneath an open window in the basement; and some of the Journals of the Council, House and Senate bear misleading labels. Yet the flickering pride of Secretary Brown, in the Governor's office, has ordered some of the early Governors' papers; and Mr. Percival, of the Secretary of State's office, has replaced the time-worn and illegible labels of the Legislature records; and the State Librarian has evinced his interest in preparing a bill for the last Legislature creating a Historical Archives Commission on the Mississippi plan.

The year 1889 seems to be as much a year of transition in the care of the records as it was a transition in the government from Territory to State. It seems to mark the boundary between order and disorder; between official records and historical documents; between the State official and the State historian. Each office varies as to its borderland, yet Territory and State, some way and in some way or other, designate two conditions of records. In the Governor's office the border is in the administration of Governor Ferry. Yet some of the papers and books scattered back as far as 1853 are found in the well-ordered office of the Secretary and in the Governor's vault; while on the other hand, some of Governor Ferry's papers are to be found among the Territorial bundles on the shelves in the Auditor's vault. In the Governor's office, as well as in other offices, the Territorial confusion is rapidly encroaching upon the order of the State documents. In the Secretary of State's office the Territorial material is divided between the vaults in this office and in the insurance department. The domestic and foreign corporations, the Legislature Journals and the trade-mark records are ordered to the beginning. Here the border line is pushed far back beyond 1889. This year makes a sharp division in the Supreme Court records; the Territorial books and documents are thrown into lockers in the vault or stowed in confusion in a basement room. The books in the Auditor's office are ordered beyond 1889, but this can not be said of the papers. Beyond

the register, reaching back to 1888, the current docket book, and the file of opinions since November, 1896, confusion reigns supreme among the documents in the Attorney General's vault. The current records mark the division for the State library.

Lack of room is usually given as the cause of this disorder which is acknowledged to exist among the early State and Territory, or both, records. But this can not be the reason in the Attorney General's vault with its ample space, nor in the Governor's vault with its available shelf room; nor the reason why Governor Stevens' papers should be left in their unprotected condition. With acknowledged disorder in plenty of room, lack of official pride would then seem to be cause of all this. But lack of pride, also, is not sufficient reason, for the fact that interest is shown in the work done in the Governor's and Secretary of State's records; and the Attorney General contemplates the assortment and arrangement of his documents. The interest and the will, to a greater or less degree, are there, but official time and duties demand concentration on the present records, while neither official duties, time or law demands order among those of the past. Order is found among the records just so long as they are of immediate use; when they pass beyond this stage of usefulness they, like their purpose, are forgotten. The official has no time to battle with this forgetfulness. If he had the time it is not probable that he would know what to do with the documents, how to order, catalogue and calendar them to make them of use to the student. The official uses his documents for official purposes; the student uses them for quite another purpose. The official orders them for his ends, the student for his; it is not at all likely that the State official can do this work for the historical student. Again supposing that the official could do something toward this end, would the student be forthcoming to use them? Up to the present the investigator has indeed been rare; the interest in the past of the State, our receding from it, the general interest in the Indian wars will, no doubt, bring students to the records in time—but, unfortunately, in these days State history is sacrificed for national, colonial and European research. So the student as yet is but a rare stimulus to the officials regarding the care of their ancient records.

The Governor's papers: The records are divided between this office, the circulating library basement and the vaults of the Auditor and the Secretary of State. In the Governor's vault some of the books on the top shelf go back to 1853. Governor Stevens' letter book, however, contains besides letters other pa-

pers relative to Indian matters; also proclamations of 1861, commissions of 1855, appointments of notaries public, commissioners of deeds, etc. It extends from 1853 to 1870. There are also small books of Governors Squire, Saloman, Semple and Moore, while the bulk of their papers are in the Auditor's vault. On the top shelves are mixed together: Three Surveyor's reports of 1897; "Chart of Bureau of Labor, Showing R. R. Business in Washington for Years 1897-98," etc.; MSS. "1894 Court of Inquiry, N. G. W."; county examination papers, 1891, the minutes of the "W. S. Bd. of Ed., June, '91," bound together with a "Statement of Facts, S. of W. vs. H. Craemer;" the eleventh biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1892; a package containing examination questions, reading circle matters, data regarding denominational schools; matters relative to the University, Agricultural College and the Normal Schools, etc., mostly of 1894-96; another "Manuscript of Report of Supt. Pub. Instruction, 1890," and several bundles of pardon papers. This, no doubt, is sufficient to indicate the condition of the upper shelves.

In the Auditor's vault many papers are loose and quite mixed. In "Misc. Papers, Gov. Semple," 1887-89, will be found tide land papers of Snohomish City and county, 1884. Pardons, educational reports, centennial proclamations, and letters, are mixed with applications for offices at Steilacoom. Dates are sometimes incorrectly written or are misleading. Territorial Treasurers' papers are to be found among the papers of the Governors. With "Notaries Public, 1886-89," will be found Thanksgiving proclamations from the different States for 1880. With "Prosecuting Attorney, Territory," is found Indian enumeration for 1891. Election returns are among "State, U. S. Officers." In a bundle marked "Insane Asylum, Western Washington, 1890," all papers relate to the recommendation or appointment of tide land appraisers. Thanksgiving and Arbor Day proclamations are among "U. S. Land Office Report, 1884." Bundles and boxes are labeled differently on different ends or sides. "Territorial Pardon, Miscellaneous Applications," holds also Geologist's reports, and proclamations. The shelf room alone has dictated the arrangement of the books, boxes, papers and bundles.

Governor Stevens' war correspondence covers the Indian War of 1855-57. Some of the papers are of 1853; some interpolated documents, printed matter, etc., bring the date down to 1872; but most of the papers are of 1856. They are in two pigeon-holed field cabinets, each containing about an equal amount of

matter. The documents are of very unequal value, and the contents of the first case is of much greater value than the contents of the second. The double doors are without lock; a narrow slat was once nailed across the front to hold them closed. They stood in the packing room of the circulating library in the basement; and the window just above them was open day and night during my examination of their contents in 1906. The cases were still standing in this position during my second examination in May, 1907. The capitol legend has it that the papers were once upon a time considered junk and rubbish, were dumped into an ash-barrel in an alley and mingled with the manure from the neighboring stable. To this treatment the papers bore evidence when they were later rescued by an interested hand. But former State Librarian J. A. Gabel writes in a letter to me that this story "of the rescue of the cabinets was slightly exaggerated. The old correspondence was contained in an old cabinet and some boxes which were stored in an old building, the lower floor of which was used for a barn. The papers were brought to my attention by Adjutant-General Drain, and I unearthed them from the rubbish and placed them in the State Library. The soiled appearance of the material is due largely, I presume, to the rough field usage and to the fact also that since stored it has become wet and mouldy."

On the inside of the door of the first case is a card, reading: "1st 2 rows & pigeon holes 2, 3 & four of 3rd row are letters fully separated from vouchers. Do not destroy this order. J. H." This was Miss Josephine Holgate, of the State Library, who did this work about 1905. In the same year Mr. Hazard Stevens, so he related to me during his visit to Olympia in 1906, made an examination of the papers for data to controvert certain statements which Mr. Ezra Meeker made in his "Tragedy of Leschi" regarding the dealings of his father, Governor Stevens, with the Indians in the Treaties of 1854. Aside from these two handlings the papers seem not to have been touched since they were placed in the cabinets.

Vouchers, bills, invoices, muster rolls into and out of the service, and routine papers, form for the most part the bulk of the material in the second case. The most valuable letters and papers are in the first cabinet, but mixed with a mass of material like the contents of the second. Here is the correspondence with the Federal vessels in the Sound waters during the war; the letters relating to their troubles with the Northern Indians, the fighting with them at Port Gamble and Steilacoom, their trans-

portation to Victoria, and their patrol of the Sound. The papers recounting the campaigns east and west of the mountains, the fights at Connell's Prairie and in the Yakima Valley; the trouble on the Columbia and on the Snohomish; the siege of Seattle and the White River massacre; the Walla Walla campaign of Governor Stevens; material dealing with the enlistment of Indians in the militia and the provisions made for them; the trials of Leschi and of other Indians, and the Chenowith controversy. Documents regarding the declaration and enforcement of martial law in Pierce County; the treatment of the foreigners and of the foreign-born; the organization of a company at Whatcom, and the demands made by the Northern Indians for the return of an Indian woman who was sold in 1854 to a man later a volunteer in Peabody's company. The papers in the controversy between the regular army and the volunteers; the correspondence to and from the various companies and the Territorial officers, and with the Federal arsenal at Benicia and the officers at San Francisco. Letters, petitions, news articles, poetry, protests, reports of engagements on the field—all, in other words, forming practically the whole background of the Washington of that day.

The most congested of all are the records in the Secretary of State's vault. Material for which there is little call or use is in general confusion. Boxes have changed lids and the labels are thus misleading. Of the Legislature Journals, Vol. I., is labeled "Memorials and Joint Resolutions, 1853-54, 1854-55," yet really runs to 1862, and contains an index for the first seven sessions. Vol. 7, "Journal, 1860, continued," runs to 1865; Vol. 8, "Journal, 1864," runs to 1868; Vol. 9, "Journal, 1864-65," also runs to 1868, Vol. 8 being of the House and Vol. 9 of the Council. Vol. 10, "Journal, 1867-68," runs to 1869-71, and is of the Council. In the filing on the shelves, Vol. 19 should be Vol. 21. A volume marked "Indian Affairs" is, no doubt, Governor Stevens' first book of record bearing as its first date March 21, 1853. It contains letters directed from Washington, D. C., to Fort Benton; accounts of weights and premiums to the Indians on the upper Mississippi; United States accounts of 1869; and a record of the script issued by the Quartermaster and Commissary General. Bills, resolutions, vetoed bills, letters, boom plats, election returns, notarial appointments, memorials, accounts, printed books, etc.—all of no immediate use if ever at all, except to the student, are piled in lockers and on shelves.

On the top shelves in the vault of the Insurance Department are many bundles mostly of the Territorial Secretary of State.

"Jail Reports prior to 1901;" session laws of 1881 to 1888; pardon papers, 1855-76; blue prints; abstracts; extradition papers, 1862 to 1887; Treasurer's receipts; Council acts of 1869 unsigned by the Governor; civil practice code, 1881. A package marked "Miscellaneous Papers, Prior to Statehood" dates from 1854. It contains the "Original of Seal of W. T." and was "Recorded May 1st, 1854. C. H. Mason, Secy. Wash. Ter." It is the original sketch from which was made the Territorial seal now standing in the Secretary of State's vault. This sketch evidently had a romantic existence before it came into the hands of the Territorial Secretary and years later was stowed away in its present oblivion, as may be seen from the following note attached to it: "O. March 28, 1889. My Dear Ed. The enclosed original of the seal of the territory should probably be on the files in your office. Resp. Eugene Semple." In this package also is the original plat of the capitol grounds, Olympia, dated May, 1857; together with papers pertaining to these grounds and abstracts of the lots transferred. Just prior to 1906 a legal attempt was made by the heirs of the original donors to recover these grounds no longer used for capitol purposes. Whether these papers, plat and abstracts would have been of value in this litigation I am unable to say, but certain it is that they were not consulted, as is evidenced by their present condition, as well as by a statement from the Attorney General's office.

Beyond MSS. copies of the reports for 1901-02 and 1902-03, and returns from mills and factories, 1901-04, there are no records in the office of the Labor Commissioner beyond the present administration. Mr. Hubbard made diligent search in all likely places and offices, but no documents of his predecessors could be found.

In a basement room is a mass of material belonging to the Supreme Court. Nothing more seems known of it than that it belonged to the Territorial Court and some day it is intended to put it in order. Neither the window nor the door was secure. Here are bundles of testimony, docket sheets, great quantities of exhibits, transcripts, opinions, Pierce County census for 1883, etc. The oldest paper that came to hand was dated September, 1858, and nothing was found beyond 1890.

The question may readily be asked: Of what use or value are these old papers and why not leave them gather dust in peace? First, they are of no use; their usefulness passed away long ago, and it is very improbable that any official in his regular duties will find it necessary to disturb them. As the years

roll on their mass will proportionately increase. Second, their value increases with their age—when the words, use and value are thus thrown into juxtaposition; their value increases inversely with their usefulness. They were useful to the many; they are valuable to the few and only indirectly to the many. The history student is now interested in them as was formerly the official, but in a different way. The official carried on the life of the State and Territory in accordance with law or policy, or, as legislators, made laws and policies in applying traditions to current problems—his letters, papers, books and journals were the evidence to all that his duties had been performed. The life of 1855-57 marched on and left the documents behind; the historian now uses them to reconstruct the Territory of the Indian wars, and by his art and his personality resurrects the life of those days. The Constitution, the acts of the Legislature and the decisions of the courts of record are documents now used by the lawyer and statesman in directing the present in accordance with the past. These documents and others the historian uses in like manner—to direct the present directly or through his presentation of the facts influences others to do it. The Indian wars are over and there is no probability of their return; but the spirit aroused there had its effect on the white men in relation to the Indians and to each other, and these effects can never be eradicated. The Territorial east and west were thrown together as never before; the people of the Sound came into new relations with each other; a kindred feeling arose between both sides of the Cascades via the passes and the Columbia; as a unit they fought their foe and as an entity they presented themselves before the other States and Territories. Their material gains are ours, and their spiritual life is our inheritance unconsciously through ourselves and consciously through the historian. Third, the law requires the preservation of the records irrespective of their age or immediate usefulness. The law provides for their care in files, racks, cases, vaults and clerks while the records are in making and in constant reference use, but fails to provide vault space and clerical care when their usefulness is passed. The many make and use them; the few—as students—work with them. The State provides for the many but not for the few. The majority rules, it is true, but it rules all and for all. Fourth, let them gather dust in peace, but in some protected and ordered way. If these old books and papers are in the way numerous libraries would gladly relieve the State of their care and expense. The officials, however, feel that they must be preserved and

hope for a systematic care of them—yet beneath a basement window, amid waste paper and rubbish, stands—or stood in May, 1907—Governor Stevens' war correspondence, the State's most valuable documentary asset.

J. N. BOWMAN.

Berkeley, California, February 6, 1908.

THE OREGON PIONEER.

Had you been in Portland on a recent day in June you might have seen a strange procession passing through the streets. One man, bent with years, walked feebly in the front. He bore a banner telling the year of his arrival in Oregon. Other aged men and aged women in little companies followed closely behind, each company in succession bearing a banner of a later date. Few were the banners of the '30s and early '40s, and few were the groups in those irregular front lines in which some husband or wife did not walk companionless. Larger companies of the '50s and the '60s followed, and men still stalwart and women still comely walked on in conscious pride of the honor that on that day was theirs. For they were the guests of the city, and many a cheer and shout of pleasantry marked their progress toward the great Armory, where they were to sit down to a banquet fit for an assemblage of kings, and be eulogized as the bravest and best in all the land.

These were the pioneers of Oregon, and Washington, and Idaho, come to the mother City of Portland to hear once more the roll-call of the living and the dead, to renew the friendship that began when Oregon comprised all the Northwest; when Oregon was a part of neither the United States nor of Canada; when Oregon, unpossessed, as it were, and undivided, was all their own.

How changed are the scenes they look on now! How thinned are their own victorious ranks! A few more Junes shall come and go and there will be none left to walk in that yearly procession. And those banners borne aloft so long must also perish. But the fame of the pioneers will live forever in legend, song and story, and three great States will never cease to erect monuments to their memory.

'Tis enough! No strain of sadness can do justice to the Oregon pioneer. His was no mournful existence. He lived in the halcyon days of youth and hope. He came hither with great expectations, and he realized yet more. I have heard him laugh at the hardships and dangers he passed through. He sang aloud as he cracked his whip about his oxens' ears in the early morning start across the plains. He had his wife and

children with him, and with them he chatted and joked around the campfire at night, and lay down to dream of love and happiness in the new home he would build beyond the shining mountains.

To whom shall I compare the Oregon pioneer? Whether by land or by sea, the journey to Oregon from the settled East took longer than the voyage the Dutch ventured on a little earlier in their flight for freedom to Cape Colony. Our ancestors migrated from the German shores to England, and thence after a thousand years to Massachusetts and Virginia. History tells us how much the race was bettered by each migration—by each transplating. Shall we doubt the race gained a new hardihood, a new courage, a new love of independence in the third and last journey to the West? Nay, the strong survived and bred a hardier stock than ever the world had known. And so, if even in America, as I believe, the Star of Empire takes its westward way, and if the balance of power is even now held in the West, know that for these things we must chiefly thank the Oregon pioneer. For by as much as the love of gold is less noble than the love of home and country by so much less, it seems to me, will the abiding influence of the early settlers of California be less than that of the pioneer of Oregon.

And who was the Oregon pioneer? Not Captain Gray, who found our mighty river, or Lewis, or Clark, or any of Astor's men, or Bonneville, or that magnificent dreamer, Hall J. Kelly. These were but the harbingers of settlement on our shores. Not yet were the hearthstone and the altars of the American home established here.

Who, then, was the Oregon pioneer? He was such a one as Jason Lee, who came in 1834 in answer to the call of the Nez Percés Indians for the white man's Book of Heaven. He with his companions opened a school for the Indians, as did Whitman and Spalding two or three years later. He set up the missions of Chinook and Nesqually, in this State. He founded the City of Salem and Willamette University. He drew up and carried the first memorial from Oregon to Washington asking Congress to extend the protection of the United States over the Oregon country. And a remarkable document it was—wise, statesmanlike and prophetic. His was the first marriage of a white man with a white woman in Oregon. He beheld the greatness of the Oregon to be; and gave his life for the realization of his vision. In his death far away he longed to be buried in his beloved Oregon, and grandly was his wish

fulfilled when, after sixty years of sepulcher in Canada his body was brought back to Salem, and there reinterred by many distinguished citizens and the State officials and the Pioneers' Associations of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. With solemn joy they laid him to rest in the old mission cemetery where his wife and child had slept so long. Here I am on familiar ground. It is hard for me to pass so swiftly on. Often have I lingered long and lovingly amid the scenes where the feet of Jason Lee have trod.

The Oregon pioneer was such an one as Narcissa Whitman, that beautiful woman with golden hair and snowy brow, who came riding across the continent on her bridal tour. And that other dark-eyed one, Eliza Spalding, the sweet singer who finished the farewell song alone in the little church of her native town when the congregation broke down in tears. Even so was the highest type of wife and mother to be the Oregon pioneer. But of these two women and of Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spalding another paper will speak more deservedly.

There was Father Blanchet settled among his flock, who did great good to the settlers in ministering to their temporal as well as to their spiritual wants. There were W. H. Gray and Dr. White, and George Abernethy and Dr. Babcock, who drew up the plans for the provisional government that made Oregon a little American republic at the very time when England was most desirous to make it a province of hers. It was the Oregon pioneer that saved Oregon for the American nation, not the statesmen in Washington. That call of Jo. Meek's "Who's for a divide? Follow me," in that epochal meeting at Champoege, was infinitely wiser and more eloquent than all of Webster's great speeches against the occupation of Oregon. All honor to the fifty-two who crossed the line with Meek—the fifty-two whose sole survivor, Francis Xavier Matthieu, is the father of our townswomen, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Geer. But what shall I say more? For time fails me to tell of the Waldos, the Dennys, the Applegates, the Scotts of literary fame, of the brave soldiers Lane and Nesmith; of Ezra Meeker, who last year retraced his steps over the old wagon road to the East, building a monument in the presence of many people to mark every stage of the way; of the Royals, and the Wilsons, and Glovers; of the Meanys, and Youngs, and Holmans, who are doing so much to preserve our early history; of the immortal Stevens, and a multitude of others whose names must ever come to mind when we think of the past.

Such was the Oregon pioneer, who, with heroic patience, subdued the wilderness, battled mightily with tribes of savages, triumphed over British enterprise and diplomacy, selected with unerring wisdom the strategic sites of our chief cities, and gave to the American Union these three great Northwestern States.

The rivalry with England could do the pioneer no harm. It quickened his patriotism and summoned all his powers to larger action. The settlement of the Oregon question has served as an example of peaceful arbitration to all nations and to all succeeding generations.

Dr. John McLaughlin's services to the Oregon pioneers must be forever a bond between the two peoples, who are still neighbors and who have so many ideals, so many aims, so many hopes in common. And if in the passage of the years the good, old Doctor, as it now seems probable, should be called the Father of Oregon, none would be more willing than the children of the pioneers to yield this highest honor to him who, being here before them, succored all Americans who came, and at last for love of them cast in his lot with them and became himself an American citizen and of Oregon pioneers the first.

And so I circle back to the thoughts with which I began—to entreat once more your regard, your admiration, your veneration for these old toilers among us who, as I have said, laid the foundations for all we do or may hope hereafter to accomplish. Some day we shall read of their joy in reaching this Western shore in words as eloquent as those of Xenophon in telling how the Ten Thousand, in beholding the waters of the Euxine after their long march across Armenia, cried out as one man, "The sea, the sea!" Some day the story of their travels will be told all over the world as now we tell of Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece. Some day the historians of America will relate with equal ardor the landing of the Pilgrims and the coming of the Oregon pioneer.

WILLIAM P. MATTHEWS.

Wilbur, Washington, February 3, 1908.

DOCUMENTS.

This installment finishes the series of fine old Hudson Bay Company documents, furnished by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, from the collection of materials she made in the preparation of her book "McDonald of Oregon."

The Oregon Missionaries.

Archibald McDonald, in this long and interesting letter, informs his correspondent on many points, among which are the facts that three settlements of American missionaries had been made. He refers, of course, to the Lees in the Willamette Valley, Whitman at Waiilatpui and Spalding at Lapwai.

Colville, 25th Jan'y, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your very kind letter of this very date last year, & was happy to learn that you and yours were then in the enjoyment of all the blessings this visionary world can afford: If I on my part take up the pen this early in the season, tis not to say that this is the latest date you will hear from us. No friend but as I am situated some preliminary steps are necessary to make the winding up of my correspondence more shure and convenient [obliterated] 20th. April, when the more important and pressing affairs of the concern must be attended to. I am not assisted with the scrape of a pen by clerks as heretofore was the case, indeed I may almost say there is not a man in the district that can sign his own name for Ermatinger with the exception of a couple of weeks middle of December I never see; his sojourn being constantly in the F. Head camp & the Kootenais business is in charge of Big Charles & Antoine Felix—old Rivet is the summer master & Deputy Gov'r of Colville—so you all cannot say that our bill of expense for clerks here is extravagant. I must own however that the bill of wages nevertheless is heavy—we have 28 Men and Boys and the most of them being old hands or otherwise useful their wages amount high. The Trade also is on a more liberal scale than in our early days in the Columbia, especially in the upper country both with Indians & Freemen in consequence of the number of new adventures now pouring in upon us from the American side of the mountains. Our profits however continued between 3 and 4 thousand. The farm

at present is on an extensive scale. What think you this winter upwards of 5000 Bushels of Grain?—namely—3000 of wheat, 1000 of corn and more than 1200 of other grain. Your 3 calves are up to 55 & your 3 Grunters would have swarmed the country if we did not make it a point to keep them down to 150. With all this and its concomitant comforts, I need not say that we live well—last season to complete our independence I had a handy man from the sea and in three months got us up a new mill & new stores the best between Cape Disappointment & Fort Coulonge. With your two friends of old Ogden & Black I made the trip to the sea last summer accompanied by Cowie who discontinued here the intended voyage out. There we found the usual bustle not at all diminished by the presence of a new transport ship from England and a very superb steam vessel intended for the coast. In this **Skokum** Ship as the Chinooks call her the Isle a la Crosse Gents & myself were treated with a delightful cruise round the mouth of the Willamette before her final departure for the coast with Finlayson, who superintended her first essay in those seas. By last account she reached her destination safe & proved well adapted for the project in view. She was to have returned by Johnsons Straits inside Vancouver's Island & winter in Puget's Sound—but of the happy performance off this trip I have not yet heard. Three other vessels are also employed in that trade and the occasional trips to California & the Islands. Work & Dr. Kennedy are at new Fort Simpson substituted for Nass. Manson & [illegible] Kipling (your Lac La Loche staff) at Fort McLoughlin—Yale at Langley and Kittson at Nusqually in Puget Sound—this is the coast distribution & you cannot say there supernumeraries. Birney again is at Ft. George Laframboise has the Umqua Dept. Payette the Lower Snake District & Tom the Upper—your friend John McLeod is a sort of a go between the three last places, who I dare say will be writing for himself. Black & Pambrun are at their old places; so that if you should be at a loss to know where the deuce the superabundance of gentl'n are, if there be any, look for them at Vancouver. Ogden, besides Squire Fisher, has seven clerks with him at the 7 Posts namely—McLane—Lane—McBrane—Fraser—Anderson—McKinley & McIntosh.—So far I am more particular with **you** in these matters than I will be with any of my other Indian country correspondents as I take it for granted you dont every day see a Columbia Herald. Your frequent visits now however to Montreal & Lachine might perhaps have saved me the task of going so minutely into our legal news.

On politics I could also dilate a little too, but as I have just observed, the frequency of your visits to the great folk about Lachine must put you in possession of everything interesting on that head. Our betters seem to have a wonderful attachment to service—not one of them will budge—rather make the tour of Italy & Holy Land upon the advantageous terms of **full pay** than either retire or return to the country. I see the honest

man your father-in-law is a length promoted and I believe has already resigned, at least he himself wrote me so much last fall. I do not know when or how all our expectant clerks are to be provided for, but they seem exceedingly important at present. The last affair into which we were all lugged was to entail upon us advantages that I cannot for the soul of me foresee—the general profits are annually decreasing and will continue to decrease—happy those who have their fortunes already made—but enough on this gloomy subject. I hope you continue to hear pleasing accounts of the Boys. My wife is anxious to know what family you and Charlotte have now. Flora must now be an age to demand the untying of your purse strings. We have as yet but an only girl who with our boy is all the family we have here—the other chaps are at R R—three with Mr. Jones and one with the grandfather. By the by I have the pleasure to correct you in the information you had from Mr. McKay at Lachine. Earl Selkirk is not dead—at least end of last April he was at White Hall in America alive and active after returning from New Orleans—he is again about returning thro the Southern States, and this summer tis not at all improbable we shall see him from the head of the Missouri across upon a tour to the Columbia—what think you of that—I am aware of the passage in the papers that misled Mr. McKay. The traversing of the continent in that direction is now becoming more safe & familiar to our ear every day. I have now St. Louis cows & horses at Colville—two or three American clergymen with their families & household goods came across last season & are now settled, the one in the Willamette and another in the Blue Mountains of Walla Walla and a third at the Clear water forks of the Nez Perces. We also have an Episcopalean Minister of our own at headquarters—so you must own “the march of intellect” is making great progress in our part of the wilderness. It is now almost an age since we saw one another—so much so indeed that you seem to forget the exact place. My memory is better—it was the Forks of Spokan & not Okanagan. this recollection brings on other melancholy reflections—poor Dease is no more and the fate of poor Douglas still more appalling in the Sandwich Islands—they were both our companions in the last parting glass. I have a very long and interesting letter from Edw’d Ermatinger at St. Thomas in U. Canada. He is well and in the way of succeeding well. His brother joined me here middle of last month—left us 9th. inst. with 14 men & 2 Boats for below; since that time I am informed of his detention by ice above Okanagan, & must await the grand breaking up of the River as the frost continues to increase in severity. They cannot suffer much, as their cargo is flour, corn & pease & the neighbourhood still affords Rocons if not Macons. The most of his men are York people whom I detained here in the fall until the flour was ground. This hanh of provisions—apuhmus, cord & parplok is intended for Walla Walla and a large party that is to be fitted up from there in the spring under I

believe the direction of Mr. John McLeod. We must now absolutely make a bold stand on the frontiers. Though not a lucrative business its prosecution will have its advantages. We are satisfied from good information that the Americans attempting that trade make nothing out of it. Indeed the Equippers at St. Louis sent up an agent last summer to secure from the leaders of the Trappers all they could before their couriers **du Bois** were declared insolvents while the outfits continue from St. Louis—and a strong influential party has a direct interest in keeping the trade in that channel—we shall always be able to compete with them, but the moment an entrepot is formed by American subjects near the mouth of the Columbia good bye to our advantages.

April 3d Two days ago Ermatinger sent me a Budget from Spokane after his return from below—a vast deal of domestic news, and upon the whole nothing amiss all the way from Ft. Simpson to Umqua. Finlayson safely landed from the steamer in Puget Sound last fall. I expect him here in a few days on his way out also Douglas and Fisher, but Black it would appear wont budge from Kamloops. McLean got as far as Cape Disappointment on a Monterey voyage but being 45 days wind bound there was recalled & was succeeded by Birnie—he is now about Walla Walla arranging affairs for the Snake Expedition. We have had a very severe winter here—would you believe that the horses which left us with the F Head outfit the 21st of last month are not yet at Spokane. It will be some days yet before we can turn out our ploughs. Ermatinger took upwards of six weeks going down the Columbia even by leaving his lading at Okanagan. I am anxious to close my private correspondence as a very disagreeable task is just imposed on me by Order of Council to collect evidence & make out affidavits from our men here in the case of that unhappy man Heron.—Mean-time

I am
My dear Sir,
Very sincerely & truly yours

(Signed) ARCH'D McDONALD.

Yankee Competition.

John Work writes to Edward Ermatinger at St. Thomas, Upper Canada, telling the news of Fort Simpson. Among other things he mentions the competition from Yankee fur traders and hopes it will cease.

Fort Simpson N. W. Coast.
15th Feby. 1837.

My dear Ned

On the 31st December last I had the pleasure of receiving your very kind and highly valued favour of the 11th Feby. last

and was much gratified by learning that you and Mrs. Ermainger and the little ones were well and getting on prosperously. It gives me joy to hear of your increased emoluments from the Bank and the confidence from which it results. May it still be further augmented and success and prosperity attend you in all your undertakings is the sincere wish of your old friend Work. Ned how often I envy you of the happiness you enjoy compared to anything within our reach in this cursed country. But since there is no remedy we must be content and make the best of a bad job till we have the means of doing better. I am happy to inform you that except occasional twitches of rheumatism I am in good health. The affairs here under my charge going on as favourably as can be expected, last summer we had a very keen competition with two ships from the States, I am in hopes your Yankee friends had so much of opposition and made so badly out that they will not feel much disposed to return again and I assure you I dont long to see them. I have formerly given you an account of this place and the coast altogether as well as the savage tribes of Indians we have to deal with. They are getting no better only a short time ago we had to fire upon them but no lives were lost on either side. The smallpox broke out among them away to the northward somewhere last spring and reached this place in September and is advancing on to the southward, great numbers of the Indians have died of it and I have no doubt will be the cause of very poor returns this season. Having so many little ones now to provide for, the dread of the expenses has induced me to defer my intended visit to the civilized world for a year or two longer, but I have not given up the idea, I have got the wife and two youngest girls brought on to join me here, the two eldest remain at Vancouver at school a parson and his lady came out there to reside last summer. I was in hopes this would be of great service to the young ones, but I regret much to learn that some misunderstanding exists between them & the girls at Vancouver, and I fear will not be easy made up. This is in many respects not a very desirable place. Yet as some notice may be attracted it is perhaps preferable to some others. I have therefore preferred it for a short time I have not heard from Frank for near a twelvemonth, he was then he hoped starting on his last trip to the plains, he tells me he had received some encouragement to hope for promotion, it ought to be realized, and I sincerely hope it will be so. Our mutual friend J. Tod from all I can learn from himself & others has made an unfortunate matrimonial speculation in his letter he tells me he had arranged to go to England and leave his wife & child with their friends and intended returning early to Canada in order to pay you a visit, poor man his wife is deranged, I am really sorry for him. He will give you all this country news. The report you heard is I really believe entirely unfounded and entirely arose from no other cause than his taking a glass of grog occasionally in an evening as was our custom in former days. As to myself I

have not been partaking in anything like a booze for a long time nor do I feel the least relish for it, even were I alongside of my good friend Ned I durst scarcely indulge for I could not bear it. I have not seen poor Dease these many years but I understand he has taken out his wife and several little ones to Canada, a step which I fear he will repent. Among civilized people neither himself nor her can be happy, to join in anything like civilized society with her is out of the question. What tribe she belongs to I cant say but think her a Flathead: I hope that he may be able to make himself comfortable. I could scrawl on much longer but don't like to have you taxed with double postage. May God bless you and success & prosperity attend you and yours is My Dear Ned the sincere wish of yours ever sincerely & affectionately

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger.

I am sure you will be glad to learn that I am in high spirits and in hopes of possessing the means in a few years of retiring in a few years to some civilized corner of the world with the pleasing anticipation of passing the few remaining years of my life free from the vexations, turmoils, privations, dangers and difficulties to which I have been so long subjected in this, to me long since displeasing country.

Arrival of Steamer Beaver.

Peter Skein Ogden, writing from Western Caledonia, tells his friend, John McLeod, that he is very well pleased with his post, and then comments on what advantages were expected from the newly arrived "Steam Boat."

Western Caledonia, Feb'y 25th, 1837

John McLeod, Esq'r

My dear Sir,

Your last letter from St. Maurice River dated 16th March was very acceptable for after a silence of two years I began strongly to suspect you had forgotten me and consequently last year did not write you but this will again convince you I have no inclination to drop the correspondence & if it should happen you alone will be to blame myself the greatest loser. I am truly glad to learn you are so fortunate in your present quarters. I can form a very good idea what they must be so near Town and Settlements. It must indeed be even more than opposition of former days I can assure you I do not envy you your present birth although you do occasionally pay a visit to Christians after all I would not exchange my Dry Salmon with you but as you may think it is this year we have been far more fortunate in every respect than last as our profits will exceed ten thousand Pounds last year little more than seven and if I can only manage to keep it up to ten I shall be very well pleased & so ought

all interested for independent of the opposition on the Coast the Country is not so rich as it was a few years past however it still fully repays us for our trouble & I may also add there is not a District in the Country to equal it in a word I am well pleased with my present birth. Your old quarters T River under Blacks management still does well in fact the Columbia holds out well but the Furs are obtained at a far greater expense than formerly. When at Vancouver last summer I saw our Steam Boat and made a short trip in her. She cost fifteen thousand pounds but our commerce will soon repay us at all events will have a decided advantage over our opponents again last summer they the Americans had four ships there Work Manson Kennedy & Dunn are stationed there & Finlayson is also there during the summer. It is reported I know not how true the latter crosses the mountains in the spring, amongst the many good things their honours from Frenchurch Street sent us last summer was a Clergyman and with him his wife the Rev'd. Mr. Beaver a very appropriate name for the fur trade, also Mr. & Mrs. Coppindale to conduct the Farming Establishment & by the Snake country we had an assortment of Am. Missionarys the Rev. Mr. Spaulding & Lady two Mr. Lees & Mr. Shephard surely clergymen enough when the Indian population is now so reduced but this is not all there are also five more Gent. as follows 2 in quest of Flowers 2 killing all the Birds in the Columbia & 1 in quest of rocks and stones all these bucks came with letters from the President of the U. States and you know it would not be good policy not to treat them politely they are a perfect nuisance—long ere this you would have heard of David Douglas death he fell into a Bull Pit and was gored to death—I was I can assure you happy to hear of Mr. Prudents promotion but it is said must retire from the service. I presume he will go to Red River if I can form an opinion from what I hear that Colony is not in a very flourishing state and will I presume before many years die a natural death. What think you of rotations now a days Robertson five years and others ten each the former man may consider himself very fortunate but after all I expect in many years to hear of his being a very poor man as for John Clarke he will always make a show at little expense. Our friend Archy is at Colville living at his ease with little or nothing but his Farm to attend to, Frank E. with the Flat Heads Kittson Puget Sound, Yale F. Langley, T. McKay a young man by name of McLean, his father was killed in Red River you know him, are in the Snake country—Gingras at Okanagan that place still gives 15 Packs what think you of that—Mr. Rae Umqua and the Doctor, Cowie, Douglas, McLeod, Allen & B. McKenzie at Vancouver Pambrun I had almost forgot Walla Walla now you see how all are stationed & I verily believe all exert themselves for the general interest—with my kind regards to Charlotte

Believe me yrs truly

(Signed) PETER SKEIN OGDEN.

Fight With a Clergyman.

John Work, in this gossipy letter, gives the startling information that a quarrel between Doctor John McLoughlin and Reverend Beaver reached such a point that blows were exchanged and the Beavers left for home.

Fort Simpson, 10th Sept. 1838

My Dear Edward

The Steamer is shortly to start for Nesqualley and as this is the only opportunity I shall have from this out of the way place I gladly avail myself of it to write you and to express my most sincere wishes for the health welfare and prosperity of yourself Mrs. Ermatinger and the little ones. Little in the shape of news has occurred to me since I had last the pleasure of writing you. The occurrences of the place trade etc with which we are accustomed to regale each other in this country can be of little interest to you I shall therefore not trouble you with it further than that affairs go on here as prosperously as can be well expected, and that after a good deal of more trouble from the time I wrote you I got the mutiny on board the steamer quelled and reinstated the Captain in the command which I assure you I resigned with the greatest pleasure imaginable. But I will tell you what I am sure will be more pleasing, that except being occasionally annoyed by my old complaint, I have enjoyed good health, and that the good wife and little ones are also well. I am also in good spirits, tho' some little occurrences have taken place in the way of appointments which have caused me a good deal of chagrin but not depression. But Dear Ned notwithstanding I am in good health old age the unwelcome rogue forces his company on me a great deal more than I wish. The old villain wont be put off I must therefore keep fellowship with him in spite of me. My hair is not yet become grey but it is leaving me at such a rate that I shall soon have little to change colour. My eyesight has declined so much that I can scarcely see to mend a pen with candle light, but thanks to the inventor of steel pens this is a trifling inconvenience. I continue as thin and wizened as ever. When we used to meet I did not smoke and but rarely even join you in a pinch of snuff. Now I am a most inveterate smoker. I much regret taking to this abominable habit and have often resolved to quit it, but resolves are easier made than executed. I have not heard from Frank since I last wrote you, but I hear that he is got rid of the Flat Heads and sent to Fort Hall which if anything at all is only a degree better. Manson is promoted, which strengthens my opinion that Franks turn must soon come, but my friend we must not forget that the former is a Scotchman which in these days is no small recommendation. I have seen the Captain with whom our friend Todd went home last year, from him I was happy to learn that notwithstanding all his misfortunes, the poor fellow was still in good spirits, and had

got his unfortunate partner and child disposed of to his satisfaction, I understand he intended to pass part of the winter with you, so you know all this already.

All my hopes of getting my children educated by the parson and his better half at Vancouver, have vanished the misunderstanding between them and the doctor ran so high as to terminate in blows before they parted in consequence of which, I hear their Reverences go home. Would to God my means admitted of my quitting this wretched country of which I have so long tired, at once and that I was snugly berthed somewhere close by you to reap the invaluable benefit of your experience and good advice, but as it is I must linger on reluctantly some time yet. While I am able to add to my means I am reluctant to leave till I have enough to enable me to live out the few years I have to pass in this world and make some provision for my little ones without entirely depending entirely on what might be made by any business I might be necessitated to enter into, and for which perhaps I might be ill qualified. But be my means what it may on account of getting my children educated I must not defer clearing out long the unanswerable arguments in your last letter have made a great impression upon me. I have a brother in Richimbucto New Brunswick who lately commenced a shop, last year I advanced him some money to assist him to get on, he was but a child when I left home, but from his letters I judge him to be a sensible shrewd man and am in hopes he will do well, he is not married,—perhaps should he be successful perhaps I might get him nearer to your neighborhood to assist me in some business.

Perhaps I may go to Vancouver with the steamer but be assured not as Captain.

Please offer my best respects to Mrs. E. With most sincere good wishes I am My dear Ned

Yours ever sincerely & truly

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger.

.American Interference in Canada.

John Work, again writing to his friend, Edward Ermatinger, described his own rugged ideas of religion, and also takes occasion to refer to the Yankees trying to interfere with Canadian affairs.

Steamer Beaver 24th October 1839

My dear Edwd.

I have had the infinite pleasure of receiving your highly valued and friendly favour dated 1st April 38 and more of seeing our friend Tod who speaks in raptures of the country where you are situated, and of the success which has attended you and above all of the high rank you have attained in the estima-

tion and respect of all the most respectable with whom you come in contact, all this is nothing more than I would have expected, for I was always sure that your honourable upright principles would not fail to command the highest respect with all to whom you should become known. Go on and prosper my friend. May the Almighty crown your endeavours with success. I deeply deplore the misfortune which befel you in the loss of your dear children, I am a father and can easily conceive how keenly you and Mrs. Ermatinger must have felt the blow, but at the same time I am gratified to find, that through Christian resignation you bore it with fortitude. Whatever my friend may be said by scoffers about Religion my friend it is our only resource in the day of misfortune, and will support us when all other resources fail. I am not speaking of mere professional religion, but of the genuine Religion of the heart which is practiced not from show, I am led to these observations from a conviction that there is too much show and parade in the Religion now practiced in the Columbia, not only at Vancouver but elsewhere. It is too puritanical, and as far as I can learn little good has hitherto resulted from it, at least there is little or no perceptible improvement in the morals of the people whether whites or blacks. On enquiring when last at Vancouver I was informed that cases of Venery in the hospital were as frequent as ever. I trust that you will not suppose that I am insensible to the blessings of Religion, on the contrary be assured that the reverse is the case, but I certainly detest hypocrisy which I consider to be the greatest enemy that can be to the Maxims of our Blessed Redeemer, but enough of this. From some recent American papers I learn that your Yankee neighbours are still endeavouring to disturb the peace of the Canadas and determined to force liberty (or what they consider such) on you whether you will or not. But it is to be hoped that their designs will be frustrated, at least they are not likely to find John Bull such a slack customer as the poor Mexicans were. Ere now I hope everything is quiet and that business is again become active and everything going on well with you. I am happy to find that Mr Dease is getting on well. Remember me to him.

I left Mrs. W. and the three youngest girls at Fort Simpson well, the two oldest ones are in the Willamet with a Mr and Mrs Lesslie, American missionaries, and I am told are improving fast particularly in English. During the last year I have been at times in but indifferent health, but at present thank God, I am well. My eyesight is much impaired and other symptoms of old age coming on more rapidly than could be wished, but these things are unavoidable and without remedy, we must be content, I have long been heartily tired of this country, and would be glad to be out of it, but still hang on in hopes of having a trifle to enable me to not be entirely dependent on other means of ending my days and some little provision for my little ones when I shall be gone. Ah! how I would have enjoyed the pleasure of being with you and our friend Tod. I am just wait-

ing for a chance of fixing my family during my absence in order to pay a visit to the civilized world, and if possible I shall give you a call and endeavour to make an arrangement to settle for good and all. My opinion regarding the Columbia colonies you already know it is not changed. I have a brother in Richimbucto who has commenced a little business a few years ago, I sent him a little assistance, he is still a bachelor, I wish he saw you, perhaps he would be induced to go up your way. Judging from his letters he is clever I have the utmost affection for him.

The result of this years proceedings, on the coast is less favourable than last year, but still pretty fair, indeed ever since I have been in this quarter affairs have gone on as prosperously as could well be expected taking everything into consideration, indeed better than there was reason to anticipate. Yet I dont expect any personal advantage from it. As usual with us it is not he who labours most who is best rewarded. I had a letter from Frank, by which it appears as usual he has an abundance of promsies but nothing else as yet has been forthcoming. I regretted at one time that he did not cross the Mountains with the Doctor, it is better that he did not, as the Governor did not come out and nothing could have been done. I am now on my way to Vancouver but write this at present, as my stay may be very short, and so much on my hands, that there will not be a moment to spare. I omit no opportunity of writing you. I cant conceive how you missed getting my letter that you did not receive. Our friend Tod is superintending a newly established farm on an extensive scale at the Cowlitz and will no doubt give you all the Columbia news,—perhaps I may be able to add a little to this when I get there, In the meantime may God bless you with every happiness & prosperity is the sincere wish of

My dear Ned

Yours ever sincerely

JOHN WORK.

Edwd. Ermatinger Esq.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Pioneer Days on Puget Sound. By Arthur A. Denny. Edited by Alice Harriman. Illustrated. (Seattle: Alice Harriman Co., 1908, 103 pp., \$2.)

The appearance of a reprint of Arthur A. Denny's "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound" is an event of more than ordinary interest. The original volume was privately issued by the author in 1888 and distributed among his friends. It was printed by Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, still living in Seattle, who states that the edition was small, probably 300 copies, although he is not sure of the exact number. Whatever the number may have been, it was much depleted the following year in the great fire of 1889.

Mr. Denny, being one of the founders of the City of Seattle, and always prominently identified with its development, was in an excellent position to write of its history. This he did in the straightforward narrative of eighty-three pages, which he published under the title of "Pioneer Days on Puget Sound." Mr. Denny was a discriminating and careful observer and he aimed at scrupulous accuracy. His book is deservedly prized as an authoritative source of information upon the early history of Seattle and Puget Sound. Its intrinsic worth, the small number of copies, and the fact that it has never been on sale to the public, have all combined to make it extremely rare and difficult to obtain.

It was, accordingly, with great interest that local students of history read the announcement in the Publishers' Weekly of March 14, 1908, vol. 73, p. 1126, that "The Alice Harriman Co., of Seattle, Wash., announce for early publication the first of a series of reprints to be known as 'The Puget Sound Historical Series.' The first book to be reprinted is Arthur A. Denny's 'Pioneer Days on Puget Sound.'" The book has promptly made its appearance and it becomes a duty to compare the reprint with the original for the benefit of students who do not possess the original edition.

The first impression one gets from the new edition is very favorable. It is printed on good paper from excellent type and is well bound in neat green covers bearing an attractive design in the center of which appears the well-known portrait of the

author. It is an exceptionally well made book and reflects credit on all who had part in its production. In size, it is some three times that of the original, suggesting the addition of much new material.

The editor's preface, however, is singularly non-committal as to what has been attempted in the reprinted edition. It is not stated that any additions have been made and the reader is left to infer that the original text has been followed without change. Unfortunately, such is not the case.

Mr. Denny's simple narrative has been broken up into a dozen chapters, each with a chapter-title and a motto after the style of certain works of fiction, and all without the slightest indication that the chapter formation, titles and mottoes are not the work of the author. Further than this, paragraphs have been subdivided and even sentences have been broken and recast into new ones. Marks of punctuation have been added to suit the taste of the editor. As a sample of the extent to which this work of revision has been carried, the first paragraph of the book will serve. Mr. Denny's first paragraph has been broken into four paragraphs. His first sentence has been cut into three sentences. In spite of this cutting up process, it has required the insertion of five additional commas to make this first paragraph satisfactory to the editor.

Nor has she been content with such revision. On page 16, line 6 from the top, of the original, appears the words "very small" in italics. The reprint, p. 33, line 3 from the bottom, ignores this added emphasis, though why no reason is given. A still more serious offence is the alteration of spelling without warning or excuse. The author's Nesqually has been uniformly amended to Nisqually. Mukilshoot is changed to Muckilshoot. Lake Kichelas, p. 75, becomes Lake Kitcheles, p. 92 of the reprint. Gansevort, p. 69, is changed to Gansevoort, p. 87. In one case only has the slightest hint been given of change of spelling and in this case no change had been made. On page 92 of the reprint, an asterisk after Naches Pass, line 12 from the top, refers to a foot-note, which says, "Official spelling U. S. Board on Geographical Names." Reference to the corresponding sentence of the original, p. 75, line 3 from the top, shows that in this case no change had been made, but that the two spellings are identical. The spelling of the original is that sanctioned by the U. S. Board on Geographic Names in every case but one, namely, on p. 45, line 9 from the bottom, where it is printed Nachess Pass.

This has been corrected in the reprint and here on p. 64 evidently belongs the foot-note which is superfluous on p. 92.

As another example of lack of fidelity to the original should be noted the disappearance of the addenda slip on final page 83, which calls attention to five errors for correction. These corrections have been made in the body of the reprint, but with the editor's usual freedom from restraint. Take for example the first item of the errata requesting the substitution of Wm. Hebner for William Hefner, as printed on p. 33, line 5 from the bottom. A reference to the corresponding sentence in the reprint shows neither of these spellings, but a third one—William Heebner.

In fairness to the editor, it should be stated that there were corrections that were needed, but they should have been given in notes with authority and reason for the change. For example, two dates were erroneously given in the author's text. The first of these occurs on page 64, line 11 from the bottom, where the "21st of October, 1855," should be the 28th of October, 1855. The other one is on p. 69, line 9 from the bottom, where "January 25th, 1855," should be January 26, 1856. These errors have, in fact, been corrected in the reprint, but without one word of explanation or comment.

From start to finish, Mr. Denny's narrative has been revised as a schoolboy's composition is worked over by a conscientious teacher. Evidently the editor has not the qualifications needed by one who would reproduce works of historic worth, but evidently she is imbued with the idea of an editor's importance. The name Harriman appears on the cover and in the book no less than eight times, exceeding in number even that of the author's name in similar positions of prominence.

What the editor wished to accomplish is not clear. The preface gives no statement as to the purpose of the reprint, but to furnish an accurate reproduction of the author's work was apparently no part of the plan. For the person who possesses the original, the new work will prove a serviceable supplementary volume. Very praiseworthy diligence has been shown in the collection of photographs, which have been copiously added to the book. Some of these are exceedingly rare and all are timely and helpful. An index, also, has been made which adds greatly to the working value of the book. Some useful information is supplied by way of foot-notes, but their value would have been greatly enhanced if the editor had thought it worth while to give authority for her statements. Opposite page 80 is a reproduction of an interesting "Sketch made by Lieut. W. S. Phelps of the

'Decatur' (afterwards Rear-Admiral of the U. S. N.); during the Indian troubles of 1855-56."

At the end of the author's text has been included without comment a list of "Chronological Notes" relating principally to the early settlement of Seattle and King County, and signed by six pioneers, fac similes of whose signatures are given. What is the meaning of these chronological notes and why are they included? The document is dated January 1, 1880, and is clearly no part of the book which it antedates by eight years. Authoritative and valuable it certainly is, and although it has been elsewhere printed (Seattle "Argus," December 21, 1901, volume 8, page 6,) it is worthy of insertion as a commentary upon the care and method exercised by Mr. Denny in safeguarding the main facts relative to the early settlement of Seattle. Facts in regard to this document, telling how and why it was prepared and placed on file, would have made an extremely interesting editorial note. Barring such facts, it loses the best part of its meaning as an addendum to this work.

Mr. C. D. Boren, the only survivor of the signers, is not now in Seattle, but from others familiar with the case it is learned that Mr. Denny's purpose, as carried out in this document, was to collect the absolutely fundamental facts pertaining to the city's earliest history and to have them accurately and precisely set down and signed by those still living who participated in the events recorded. This was in fact done, and the statement was filed away in a secure vault for no other purpose than to safeguard the history of the region covered, at least to the extent of this brief chronology. One incentive, probably, for putting the record upon paper at that time was the work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, who had visited Seattle in June, 1878, (See Bancroft, H. H., *Literary Industries*, 1890, page 541,) while collecting material for his history of the Pacific States.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

Jefferson Davis. By Wm. E. Dodd, Ph. D. [*American Crisis Biographies.*] (Philadelphia: Geo. W. Jacobs, 1907, pp. 383.)

This life of Jefferson Davis is another evidence of the historian's growing interest in the events of our tragic Civil War after the passions of the period have largely passed away and time has made possible a more correct perspective. The clue

to Davis' early political activity is indicated by a brief sketch of Calhoun's scheme for Southern expansion, which began to take shape in the great Carolinian's mind as a result of the westward movement of the cotton planters and their slaves into the newer States of the gulf region.

When Davis first entered the House of Representatives he had not fully accepted the Calhoun Southern programme, especially in connection with internal improvements, but he did accept this programme respecting Texas and slavery expansion. A few months later he resigned his seat in Congress to take command of the Mississippi Rifles, and acted a distinguished part in the Mexican War as General Taylor's chief assistant. Davis was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate almost at once after his successful year in the Mexican War, and again took up the policy of expansion with great vigor. All of Mexico, Yucatan, the West Indies and the route for an inter-oceanic canal were to be annexed. During the next session he advanced to the front of the Calhoun policy, advocated a Southern Pacific railroad and a railroad across Panama. Later as Secretary of War he returned to the advocacy of a Southern Pacific railroad and internal improvements, and found for them a constitutional justification in the war powers of the constitution.

The Northern sentiment against the further extension of slavery into the Territories, which was embodied in the Wilmot Proviso, the complications in the Oregon situation, and, finally, the organization of California as a free State, spoiled the pretty picture which the Southern leaders had painted and called Clay from his retirement to urge the compromise of 1850. The alliance between the leaders of the Northwestern States and those of the new South broke down and the compromise was carried in spite of Calhoun and Davis. Davis resigned from the Senate and entered the race for the governorship of Mississippi against Henry S. Foote, the Unionist candidate, who favored acquiescence in the compromise. Davis was beaten, but soon became Secretary of War in Pierce's cabinet, and once more took up the work in behalf of Southern expansion where it had been left by Calhoun. Four years later he re-entered the Senate and "took the ground which he had always taken when his ideas of national expansion failed of realization—that of strict States' rights." (191.) When the trend of his policy brought him face to face with secession he began to hesitate and "doubted whether South Carolina ought to withdraw from the Union without as-

surance from the tier of States reaching from Charleston to New Orleans; he feared Mississippi could not wisely follow her, and he counseled delay if even one Southern State (Georgia) would not join the movement." (191.) The facts in the plot to wreck the Democratic convention of 1860 are presented in an interesting fashion.

Davis expected in 1861 to receive high military appointment in the Confederacy, but against his wish he was destined to lead the "Lost Cause" as President of the Confederacy. Prof. Dodd's treatment of the war occupies more than one-third of the book. Whoever believes that the South stood as a unit during the war will be well repaid for reading these chapters. The Confederacy clashed repeatedly with the States and Davis was hindered on every hand by the States' rights doctrinaires. The war had lasted scarcely two years when it appeared there were many in the South who would have welcomed peace. As the war went on the numbers of these increased. Prof. Dodd, it seems, is needlessly severe on some of these leaders. Davis should have understood the extreme tenderness of his States' rights followers, and might have expected opposition to military despotism. Alex H. Stephens at least had the virtue of knowing when the South was whipped, but Davis did not realize it even when Lee offered to resign command.

Prof. Dodd's purpose "simply to relate the story of that remarkable tragic life and, in so far as the limitations of time and space permit, correlate his [Davis'] career to the main current of American history" has been well done. Neither letters nor speeches are quoted at length, but are carefully summarized and connected with the thread of the story. On the whole, the book is satisfactorily done and is well worth careful reading.

EDWARD McMAHON.

NOTES.

A popular life of "Abraham Lincoln" intended to meet the needs of the English reading public has been issued in the Temple Biographies Series, published by J. M. Dent & Co., in London, and E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. The author, Henry Bryan Binns, laying no claim to special research in this field, has based his volume on the well-known works published in this country.

Henry S. Burrage has issued, through Putnam's Sons, a volume entitled "Gettysburg and Lincoln" dealing exclusively with the battle, the cemetery and the national park.

"Phillips Brooks," an abridged and condensed volume by the author of "The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks," Mr. Alex. V. G. Allen, is issued by E. P. Dutton & Co., to meet the demand for a brief and less expensive account of the great preacher, and "care has been taken to preserve everything of importance bearing on his development, and to maintain the perspective of his career."

A detailed study of the "History of Slavery in Cuba—1511 to 1868," puts us in possession of the salient features of the Spanish policy governing the slave trade in Cuba and its effects on Cuba and Spain. This convenient volume is from the press of Putnam's Sons, and the author, H. H. S. Aimes, intends to follow it by another volume dealing with the domestic slave regime. A bibliography is appended.

Two new volumes in the Harpers' "Heroes of American History Series" have appeared. "Balboa" and "Vespucci" are both from the pen of Frederick A. Ober.

"With the Border Ruffians, Memories of the Far West, 1852-68," is the story of an adventurous English lad who landed in Virginia after several years' experience at sea, and made his way to Kansas in 1855, where he acted the part of a border ruffian. Later he became a cattle-rancher in Texas and finally took part in the Civil War as a captain in the Texas Rangers. The volume purports to be the story of R. H. Williams, edited by E. W. Williams, but there is nothing in it to indicate what is by the author and what by the editor. (E. P. Dutton & Co.)

In "Pilots of the Republic" Prof. A. B. Hulbert presents a popular study of the "romance of the pioneer promoter in the Middle West." (A. C. McClurg, Chicago.) The volume deals with the experiences and hopes of such well known Western pioneers as Washington, Putnam, Geo. Rogers Clark, Henry Clay, Lewis and Clark, Astor and Marcus Whitman.

"The American Indian as a Product of Environment" (Little, Brown & Co.), is the attempt of Dr. A. J. Fynn to present in popular form the results of studies begun as a preparation for a doctor's thesis.

"The Union Cause in Kentucky," by Captain Thomas Speed, is an account of the struggles of the Union men of Kentucky to

keep that State in the Union during the Civil War, and is written by one of the actors. (Putnam's Sons.)

Haper & Brothers have issued a "Life of Charles A. Dana," written by James H. Wilson, late Major-General, U. S. V., who was associated with Dana in the field during the Civil War and under him as a bureau officer of the War Department.

To meet the demand for an up-to-date account of the Philippines, the publishing house of A. C. McClurg & Co. have issued "A Handbook of the Philippines," by Hamilton M. Wright. The book contains three maps (one showing in colors the religious distributions), and one hundred and fifty illustrations from photographs. The peoples of the Philippines, together with their manners, customs, dress and houses are discussed briefly. Then follows a chapter on law and government and several on agriculture and industry. The final chapters deal with the ideals of the Filipino, Christianity and commerce.

In the "First Forty Years of Washington Society" (Scribners) we have some new light on Washington life between 1800 and 1841. The basis of the book is a large collection of the letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith (Margaret Bayard), which are edited by Gaillard Hunt.

Two volumes in the monumental work dealing with "The History of the Society of Jesus in North America," which Father Thos. Hughes, S. J., is editing for the Burrows Company, are published.

In "The Makers of Canada" series, Morang & Co., of Toronto, have issued two additional volumes. "Sir John A. Macdonald" is the title of the book in which Geo. R. Parkin recounts the events in the life of Canada's first premier; in the other John Lewis tells of the work of "George Brown," a newspaperman and politician, who did effective work for Canadian union.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

New History of the State of Washington.

A four-volume history of the State of Washington is being prepared by The Century History Company, of New York, of which E. O. Wilson is the moving spirit in this State. The editor of the work is Clinton A. Snowden, of Tacoma. The associate editors are Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Seattle; William A. Tyler, of Tacoma, and former Governor Miles C. Moore, of Walla Walla. The work is being sold by subscription at the price of \$25 for the entire work, even if it should be found necessary to put out more than the four volumes promised. Mr. Snowden's long association with newspaper work in this State has given him a good equipment for the undertaking. The history promises to be a valuable addition to the literature of the Pacific Northwest.

A Massacre on the Frontier.

The article on this subject was written by Major Joel Graham, of the United States Army. It was copied and forwarded to the Quarterly by Will J. Trimble, instructor of history in the High School of Spokane.

Professor Bourne's Death.

The death on February 24th, 1908, at New Haven of Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne, of Yale University, is worthy of more than passing notice by the readers of history in the Pacific Northwest because of his special interest in the history of Oregon acquisition, his valuable contributions upon that subject, and the general acceptance of his conclusions by the members of the American Historical Association. The thoroughness of his research and the systematic arrangement of his material the writer of this brief notice is able to vouch for by reason of having been given personal access thereto. That his conclusions were carried into controversy was of course inevitable, but quite

against his preference or desire and participation; for he himself was by early training and later choice a faithful member of the Congregational Church and supporter of missionary enterprises, and his contributions were solely in the interest of the truth of history.

Professor Bourne was born in Strykersville, N. Y., on June 24th, 1860. He entered and was graduated at Yale with the class of 1883, devoting special attention to history during his course. Soon after graduation he was made instructor in history at Yale, and after two years resigned to take a similar position at Adelbert College, in Cleveland, Ohio, where in 1890 he became a full professor of history. In 1895 a new chair of history was established at Yale, to which Professor Bourne was chosen, and which he retained until his death.

Professor Bourne's best known book is perhaps the "Spain in America" of the American Nation Series, published in 1904. Earlier than that he wrote "The Life of J. L. Motley," "Historical Introduction to the Philippine Islands," "Essays in Historical Criticism" and "History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837." The greater part of his work, perhaps, was in the editing of a number of books, among them "The Voyages of Champlain," "The Narrative of De Soto," "Rocher's Spanish Colonial System," "The Chase Papers" and Fournier's "Napoleon I." He was a co-editor of the "Yale Review" and a frequent contributor to the American Historical Quarterly, in which during 1906 appeared a brief but valuable criticism of the career of Jonathan Carver, to whom has been given the honor of the first use of the name "Oregon" in literature. Professor Bourne indicated that in all probability this was merely a copy from some earlier manuscripts of French explorers. The mutability of memory and the importance of following contemporary writings and records, as against the later recollections of man or woman, were given prominence in both the teaching and writings of Professor Bourne; in other words, the need of relying upon scientific study of history for any final conclusions.

As a member of the American Historical Association Professor Bourne was connected with its more important committees and enjoyed a wide acquaintance. He was considered one of its most valuable members and promoters. In the summer of 1905 he accepted an invitation to be present at the historical conference held at Portland, Oregon, in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition, and delivered one of the prominent

addresses at that gathering. He was afterward made an honorary member of the Oregon Historical Society.

The immediate cause of his death was an operation connected with a disease of the hip.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

The Possibilities of South American History and Politics as a Field for Research.

With the above title, a paper was read before the American Political Science Association at its annual meeting on December 28, 1907, by Dr. Hiram Bingham, of Yale University. The paper was published in the *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of American Republics* for February, 1908, "in accordance with that bureau's present policy of advancing the mutual literary interests of North and South America." The material in the paper is based on a card catalogue of South America on which Dr. Bingham has been engaged at intervals for seven years. The material available for such research work is discussed in a scholarly manner, and the writer concludes as follows: "And so this list might be prolonged, but perhaps enough has been said to show that there is far more material available in this country for South American research than is generally supposed, and that the opportunity for scholarly work in the field of South American history and politics is an uncommonly good one."

Inland Empire Historical Society.

The Inland Empire Historical Society held its annual meeting at Pullman, Washington, on April 7th in connection with the Teachers' Institute of three or more counties of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. Professor W. D. Lyman, of Whitman College, presided over the sessions, and by way of annual address read one of the chapters of his forthcoming book on the "History of the Columbia River" in the *Historic Waterways Series*. Mr. T. R. Tannatt, of Spokane, gave an address upon the "Early Transportation in the Inland Empire," and Professor Will J. Trimble, of the Spokane High School, read a paper upon "Relations Between the History and the Physiography of the Inland Empire." Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, read a brief paper upon the "Early History of Walla Walla

County." The feature of the meeting was the address in the evening by Mr. Clark Prescott Bissett, of Seattle, upon "Abraham Lincoln," which was listened to with deep attention by a large audience comprising largely the visiting teachers. The officers of the society for the coming year are Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, President, and Mr. F. F. Nalder, of the State College, Pullman, Secretary and Treasurer, and an Executive Committee yet to be named. The object of this organization is to arouse interest in local history research through local clubs or sections in the counties and cities of Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. It was organized in Spokane two years ago. The present meeting was under the arrangement of Professor W. B. Beach, of the Washington State College.

Albert Bushnell Hart.

This well known author of works on American history has reached another Sabbatical year in his long career as a member of the faculty at Harvard and will devote that year to a tour of the world with his family, leaving Seattle for the Orient early in August. He will give a course of thirty lectures on "American Diplomacy" in the University of Washington Summer School just before sailing for Japan. Next winter Professor Hart will be promoted from the vice-presidency to the presidency of the American Historical Association. This is the highest honor of the kind attainable in America.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

THE HISTORY OF OREGON, GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL.

By George Wilkes.

[Continued from the last issue of the Washington Historical
Quarterly.]

Historical Account of the Discovery and Settlement of Oregon
Territory, Comprising an Examination of the Old Spanish
Claims, the British Pretensions, and a Deduction of the
United States Title.

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

Because the immense revenues arising out of it, and the wide domain accompanying the grant, (Whitney's memorial asks for a strip of public land 60 miles in width, from Lake Michigan to the Western ocean,) would create a monopoly liable to the most dangerous abuses. From the great number of its employees, the numerous settlers upon its lands, most of whom it would be able to coerce, and its enormous wealth, it would grow into a stupendous power, which, if not capable of rivalling the Government itself, might at any rate, exercise such a control by these combined influences over its representation in Congress, as would place our dearest privileges at its disposal. As a protection, on the other hand, against a perversion of its patronage by the Government, we should have to rely on the honor, the purity, and patriotism of our Presidents; a guarantee somewhat more substantial, it must be admitted, than the cupidity of individuals.

Because, the object of a Democracy, while it secures to Enterprise and Talent, their rewards, is to equalise the benefits of heaven to all, and the act which would avowedly confer special facilities for the amassment of enormous wealth on any body of men, is in derogation of its own comprehensive scheme. A bounteous Providence has made the productions of the earth equal to the wants of all its creatures, and it is a demonstrable rule that every usurpation of an excess is followed in some quarter by a corresponding loss. This tendency, through the peculiar construction of society, cannot be helped at present, nor can it be corrected in a day, but it is incumbent upon us, whom

a wise director has delegated to work out a system for the elevation of mankind, to interpose no obstacle to its consummation, by specially encouraging an infraction of the plan.

The first results of a private grant of the nature of the one proposed to the last Congress, would doubtless be as follows: As soon as the route had been surveyed, maps would be prepared, dividing the whole into sections for sale. Then a formal, and ostentatious opening of the road would follow. A vast collection of people would gather together to see the show, and amid the thunder of cannon, the waving of colours, and the swell of martial music, some public spirited gentleman would strike a spade into the ground while the wild huzzas of the admiring multitude would make the welkin ache again.

This herculean effort over, the company, after staving in the heads of a few barrels of beer to whet the whistles of the crowd, would retire to a sumptuous dinner to devise plans anew, and to felicitate themselves over the vast advantages they had cozened from the Government.* From that time out, their attention would be devoted entirely to land speculations. The maps would be industriously circulated, and adopting to their use the science of puffing, newspapers would teem with glowing representations to attract the attention of purchasers. The domain parcelled out by the company, would be described, on account of its facilities for transferring the produce of its fertility from ocean to ocean, as the golden belt of the continent. Speculators would rush to make investments off their capital and undeterred by the exorbitant advance from day to day in price, the poor man would hasten with the tribute of his hard won gains to cast a golden anchor in the future. After this course of things had been pursued long enough to swell the pockets of the company with a plethora of millions, we should have no stronger guarantee than what exists in the fallability of man that the work ever would be prosecuted. The whole result would be, that the company who had simply assumed for a time the United States ownership of the public lands (for none but the sixty mile strip would sell during this delusion) would good naturedly pocket The People's money till they fell off from very surfeit; and then, declaring themselves incapable, for want of means, of carrying out the objects of the grant, they would either sell out their privileges to others, or Government, impelled by the complaints of distresses of those who had been their victims, would have to complete the object after all herself.

But supposing their intentions to be sincere and their measures for the immediate commencement of the work earnest, there is yet another consideration against it outweighing all the rest. As soon as the grant was made, plans would be drawn out, and one of the directors despatched to London (as in the present case of Don Jose de Garay in relation to the ship canal through

* It must be borne in mind that these observations, though based on the provisions of Whitney's proposal, are merely suppositive against its theory, and are by no means meant as an imputation of his intentions, or a reflection on his character.

the Isthmus of Tehuantepec) to solicit the aid of British capitalists to sustain the work. Its importance would at once strike all, and perhaps attract the attention of the British government itself, and under the direction of her wily minister, funds might be placed in private hands for purchases of stock. At any rate, there can be but little doubt that the stock would all rapidly be taken up, and the result would be, that British stockholders, and perhaps the British government itself, would control the whole enterprise. It at any rate would afford her a pretext for interference on the score of protecting the property of her subjects. This principle has already been vociferously claimed for her by many of the creditors of our non-paying states, and the probability is, that in a matter of such vital import to her as this, it would ripen into a governmental assumption. In short, the necessary consequence of any private company must be, the introduction into our very bosom a foreign influence that will pierce our continent from shore to shore, and, in a double sense, divide our happy land.

Lastly, it should be national, because its vast revenues would not only enable the Government, after paying off the cost, to relieve the country of the burden of almost every tax, whether impost or otherwise, but afford a surplus, which might be expended to advantage in the gradual increase of the navy, and in strengthening our seaboard and harbor defences to a state amounting to impenetrability.

Having settled the feasibility of the work, both as to geographical facility and as to means of defraying the cost, the next thing to be considered is the **time** necessary for its completion; and though our arrangement brings this third in order, it is altogether first in importance.

The **time** allowed for its completion should be limited to **five years**, in which period it could as easily be accomplished by the energies of our government, as it could in twenty-five!

If 20,000 men* can complete 500 miles a year, there is no good reason why the result should be delayed to bestow the monopoly of the labor on 5000 who can only perform 125 miles in the same time.

Our country is as capable of a great effort as a mean one, and we have a right to expect one worthy of her genius and character. We repeat that **time** is the great object! A series of rapidly developing political events prove that the antagonistic principles of liberty and feudalism are fast approaching their final struggle. Alarmed at our astonishing progress, the monarchical governments of Europe are preparing to bring their centralized force to bear upon the genius of Republicanism, and when the collision takes place, we, as the grand promoter and defender of the latter, will have to sustain the whole brunt of the shock. Let us, therefore, arm ourselves against the crisis in time! Let

* This number is not offered as a portion of the rule for the accomplishment of the work within the specified time. If, however, a larger number of workmen than the above could be obtained and paid, and the work completed in a still less time than five years, so much the better for every interest concerned.

us extend our communications across our country's length and breadth; secure the possession of the points that will enable us to protect the interests of our commerce in both oceans and the East, and assume a position worthy of the champion of the world's emancipation.

As many men should be employed upon the work as is possible to be obtained, even if the number ran up to 20,000, or should go even beyond that. This would furnish employment to all the languishing labor of the great cities, and force, by the gradual progress of the road, an immense mechanical and laboring population into Oregon. This result would of itself peaceably settle our title against the world, and obviate entirely any necessity of further negotiation or force. These artisans and laborers having long been in the receipt of wages which they have been obliged to hoard, would, by the time they arrived in that distant territory, be possessed of a handsome competence, and taking advantage of the government bounty to settlers, become at once substantial landed proprietors, whose patriotism and obedience to the laws, would be securely guaranteed by their interest in the soil. Our government in exchange for its eastern substratum of suffering population, would find its broad and fertile western territories sprinkled with hamlets, and owning a class of intelligent and happy husbandmen, who would be the chief pride, boast, and dependence of the country.

These settlements would be formed, in great part, by the artisans and workers on the road, who having built temporary habitations for themselves and families in the neighborhood of their work, and foreseeing that for years to come they would reap a rich harvest for their agricultural labors in the wants of the immense army of pioneers who had gone before, and afterward in the markets of the Pacific, would yield to the love for a stationary home and the dignity of independent ownership, by settling permanently in every fertile portion of the road-side. The places of those who thus dropped out of the line would be supplied by the new emigrant, whom the increased price of labor in our Atlantic cities would have enticed to our shores, and thus the generous spirit of the enterprise would go on, redeeming man after man from the abasement of ill-requited servitude into the majesty and perfection of human nature—lord of the land, and with no master but his God.

The price of labor in our great cities would be progressive from the commencement of the work to its completion; and thus would be drawn from capitalists a portion of their hoards for its beneficial diffusion throughout all classes of the community. The rights of labor would be vindicated by the enforcement of a more equal division of its returns between it and its mercantile deputies, and a great step would be taken towards elevating it to its true importance in the social scale. The annual drain of population to the interior, and the new direction to be given to it south, would at the same time reduce landed property nearer to its true level, and modify that last remnant of feudalism, the

landlord's power, into a bearable evil. These two influences combined, will do more at a stroke to elevate the condition of the masses, to check the fatal tendency to a division of interests and distinction of castes as in the old world; to divide the national domain among **the people**, and thus consummate the original scheme of the creation, than all the agrarian laws, social chimeras, and visionary legislation could in centuries!

Here we bring our inquiry to a close. We have, in the first place, made a satisfactory examination of our title to Oregon; in the second, proved the capabilities of that region for supporting a numerous population; in the third, examined the facilities which are offered for easy communication between it and the States, and in the fourth, we have established the perfect practicability of a railroad to and through it, and following out the examination of this feature of our subject, we have glanced at the most obvious of the advantages that will be accomplished through its agency. In conclusion, we repeat that the earliest practicable time should be adopted to carry out the design. While France and Mexico mediate the segregation of the continent, and while England is despatching another squadron to the Arctic sea, we certainly are called upon to **inquire at least**, by an actual survey, whether we have not within the bosom of our own territories superior facilities for accomplishing the same grand purpose which impels them. The immediate commencement of the work itself, would not conflict with any treaty stipulation, nor could it justly give umbrage to any other power, and in addition to affording a pledge to The People of the sincerity of the Government's intentions towards Oregon, the actual prosecution of the measure would defeat the British jugglers in their design of circumventing our rights by protracted negotiation.

Let them negotiate and let us work, and while they are mousing through the pages of Bynckershoeck and Puffendorff in cabinet caucuses, and solemn diplomatists are exchanging assurances of profound consideration, thousands of our hardy citizens will keep pouring through the gaps of the Rocky mountains, and at the conclusion of the grave dispute, be smoking their pipes in every fertile nook in Oregon.

The railroad is the Great Negotiator, which alone can settle our title more conclusively than all the diplomatists in the world.

Aside from the consideration of national aggrandisement, this project is warranted as a measure of political economy which makes its appeal directly to the heart of every philanthropist. It would be a benefaction to the oppressed masses that would come with a peculiar grace from a parental government to its suffering children, and in addition to its being a measure for their gradual elevation and relief, it would also be an evidence that among all the chartered privileges lavished time and again upon the rich, the government could find it in its heart to make at least one charter for the poor.

Lastly, if the magnetic telegraph should be added to this comprehensive scheme, where shall calculation look for the limits of

its vast results? Basing our conclusions upon our wonderful advance in the present century, it is no extravagance to predict that in less than fifty years we shall behold in our beloved country a government, holding the preponderance of power, owning a population of a hundred millions, with a central capital in the great valley of the Mississippi, commanding from its nucleus of power an electric communication over three millions of square miles, and diffusing its congregated science, art, philosophy, enterprise and intelligence; its enlarged spirit of liberty, philanthropy, peace and good will, to the uttermost ends of the earth in a fullness that will realize at last the fondest dreams of the millenium!

Arouse, then, America, and obey the mandate which Destiny has imposed upon you for the redemption of a world! Send forth upon its mighty errand the spirit of enfranchised man; nor let it pause until it bears down every barrier of unrighteous power; till it enlarges the boundaries of freedom to the last meridian, and spreads its generous influence from pole to pole!

[End of Chapter I., History of Oregon.]

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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MARKING THE WASHINGTON-IDAHO BOUNDARY.

Until 1863 the State of Idaho formed a portion of what was then known as Oregon. During that year the Territory of Idaho was organized by act of Congress by segregating a portion of the territories of Washington, Nevada, Nebraska and the State of Oregon. The following year the new Territory of Idaho lost a portion of its original area to form the new Territory of Montana. The boundaries of Idaho as organized were partly natural; that is, formed by rivers or mountain chains, and partly artificial, or parallels of latitude or meridians of longitude. The latter never having been indicated by markings on the earth's surface, controversies frequently arose as to the jurisdiction of the courts in the various territories contiguous to Idaho. For the purposes of taxation and the settlement of disputed matters before the courts, it became important that a demarkation of Idaho's artificial boundaries should be made. Accordingly, in 1873, Congress made an appropriation of \$10,800 to establish the western boundary of Idaho, or that portion lying east of the Territory of Washington not already established by nature. The Secretary of the Interior was directed to definitely mark on the earth's surface by conspicuous monuments accurately established, this portion of Idaho's boundary. To execute this work, the then Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, appointed the writer, then a resident of Olympia, Washington Territory. I was instructed to begin at the intersection of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers, as said intersection existed at the time of the organic act in 1863, and to mark a line on the earth's surface from that initial point running due north to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, this being the boundary between British possessions and the United States; to establish an iron monument at the initial point, and, at the end of every mile, a post

seven feet long, and six inches square, imbedded in the earth three feet, with a mound three feet high at the base of the post, and two pits, two feet long, one foot wide and two feet deep, one on the east and one on the west side of each post. The posts were to be marked by cutting into the post not less than one quarter of an inch deep, as follows: on the east side, the word "Idaho," on the west side "Washington," on the north "1873," and on the south, the distance in miles from the initial point. I was instructed to measure the distance twice by chaining and to verify the measurements by astronomical observations, determining the latitude within three seconds of arc for each parallel of latitude at the even degrees; also, to make observations on Polaris when it crossed the meridian or at its eastern or western elongation, every clear night, to correct the alignment.

The party organized to perform this work proceeded to Lewiston, Idaho, during the summer of 1873. It consisted, besides myself as officer in charge, of an astronomer, two transit men, a leveler, for chainmen, four moundbuilders and axemen, two cooks and three packers. One of the most difficult problems in the execution of this survey was the termination of the junction of two rivers, as said junction existed ten years prior to the location of the survey. The Snake River is a rapid stream, flowing about ten miles per hour through alluvial soil with shifting channels and changing shores. The Clearwater is a smaller stream, with similar banks and bed, and they formed a junction just below the peninsula upon which the town of Lewiston, Idaho, is built. The party spent nearly two weeks in the vicinity of Lewiston determining this initial point. Once decided upon, it was impracticable to plant a visible iron monument at the junction of the two rivers, so the monument was erected on the north bank of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers above high-water mark and has remained a permanent landmark from that day to this. The survey was made with much care and deliberation, the chaining being verified by the astronomical tests, and wherever a discrepancy was found, either in measurements or in alignment, the line was re-established repeatedly until a satisfactory result was obtained. At that date the country was sparsely settled, only a few frontiersmen having taken up claims near the Washington-Idaho boundary, between Lewiston and the British boundary. No white man not a member of the surveying party, except two trappers, was seen after leaving Cowley's Bridge on the Spokane River until its return from the completion of the survey. In crossing the Pend Oreille River there was a delay of three days

in making rafts upon which the instruments, provisions and camp equipage were crossed. There were forty-five horses used in transportation. Of this number thirty were pack horses and the balance saddle horses. These animals were driven into the river and crossed by swimming, the men crossing on the rafts. Where the line intersects the Pend Oreille River it crosses two islands. Upon one of these islands were two trappers who were astonished at the appearance of the surveyors, and the surprise was reciprocal, much information being obtained from both parties as to the character of the surrounding country, its water, timber and grazing facilities being inquired into by the surveying party.

When within about fifteen miles of the end of the line, the country from the Spokane River north having been heavily timbered, mountainous and rocky and progress with the work slow and laborious, it was found that the provisions had all been consumed except several sacks of flour. This flour was divided into equal parts and given pro rata to the members of the party. On the summit of Old Baldy Mountain, fifteen miles south of the terminal point, all of the live stock, the packers and the cooks were left in camp and the others took their blankets on their backs and their ration of flour and started to complete the last fifteen miles of the boundary line. It required five days to blaze and mark this line through the heavy timber. When the forty-ninth parallel was reached by chaining, and the test made by latitude observations confirming the correctness of the chaining, it was confidently expected that a well-defined boundary between British Columbia and the United States would be intersected at this point. The instructions from the Washington authorities stated that said international boundary had been carefully established by a joint commission of British and American engineers, that the timber had been razed to the earth's surface and that a strip of open country, sixty feet wide, would be found marking the forty-ninth parallel. The party was greatly surprised, embarrassed and puzzled to find no indications whatever of any white man having ever been in the vicinity of this parallel.

After spending two days in a vain search for some evidence of the international boundary the party made its permanent location of the forty-ninth parallel and started on its weary return to Old Baldy Mountain. Their flour was now exhausted and they returned in an almost famished condition. Fortunately the packers and cooks had killed a moose in the absence of the field party and some dried peas were found from which coffee was made and some dried salmon was obtained from the Indians,

and upon this diet the party managed to get back to Cowley's Bridge where a supply of provisions was bought and the party continued its homeward march, disbanding at Lewiston, Idaho, in the winter of '73 and '74.

I returned directly to Olympia by way of Walla Walla and Portland and made a brief report to the Secretary of the Interior of the progress of the work, stating the conditions found at the terminal point, where no evidences of an international boundary could be found, and asked for further instructions. In those days it required two weeks for a letter to reach Washington, D. C., from Olympia. In about six weeks I received a letter from the Department advising me that a search of the report of the international boundary survey on file in the State Department disclosed the fact that for a distance of about twenty miles east and thirty miles west of the point where the Washington-Idaho boundary terminated the international line had not been established because of the extreme roughness of the topography and the belief among the engineers of the two governments that the land was too worthless to ever be settled by white men. The Commission had omitted to establish this part of the line and resumed their work at a point some twenty miles east and running thence along the forty-ninth parallel to the Lake of the Woods. The receipt of the information that the international boundary line had not been established where it should be intersected by the Washington-Idaho boundary was a great relief of the suspense which I had suffered because of the positive instructions to close my line upon the well-marked international boundary supposed to have been established with great care by engineers of national fame. I immediately began the preparation of an elaborate report from the data obtained in the field and consumed the remainder of the winter in completing the report, maps and other details required by my instructions. A report of the survey is given briefly in the annual report of the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1874.

While there has been some discussion among the residents and particularly in newspapers of the two Territories contiguous to this boundary, as to the correctness of its location, and various schemes have been proposed by which the line might be moved farther east or farther west, no evidence as to its incorrect establishment has been submitted to the Department of sufficient value to cause a re-survey. The old line is now being remarked by more permanent monuments and the demarkation as established in 1873 will probably never be changed. Some fifteen or twenty

years ago a bill was passed by Congress providing for the annexation of the four northern counties of Idaho to Washington, but President Cleveland withheld his signature and the measure failed. For the first ninety miles the boundary runs through an agricultural region, a portion of which, the so-called Palouse Country, is the richest farming section of the State of Washington. The last fifty miles, or from the Spokane River north to the terminus, the boundary runs through an extremely rough country, being heavily timbered, mountainous, rocky and covered with down timber and heavy underbrush.

In the personnel of the party were several men who have since become well known and prominent in their respective localities. Hon. E. L. Smith, of Hood River, Oregon, has been Speaker of the Oregon Legislature and has been frequently mentioned as a candidate for Governor of Oregon. The late W. Byron Daniels was for several terms Mayor of Vancouver, Washington, and a member of the State Legislature, as well as a leading attorney in his home town. A. Reeves Ayres has been Clerk or Deputy Clerk of the United States Court for a quarter of a century. Mr. Dysart, of Ellensburg, is a prominent farmer in his own section. These were all members of the surveying party. The astronomer, Denison, has been a professor in the Engineering Department of the University of Michigan continuously for nearly forty years. The man originally engaged for that work was Dr. Mark W. Harrington, late president of the University of Washington and a classmate of mine, but after engaging for this work he was offered a more tempting field by Professor Dall in his survey of the Aleutian Islands, and I obtained the services of Professor Denison as his substitute in the Washington-Idaho boundary work.

ROLLIN J. REEVES.

HISTORY OF SAN JUAN ISLAND.

[Charles McKay, the author of this article, was born in Nova Scotia, September, 1831. He came to the Pacific Coast in 1855, was attracted by the Fraser River gold excitement of 1858 and is now the only living survivor of the San Juan Island colony of Americans of the eventful year of 1859. He and his family enjoy the respect of the community at Friday Harbor, as well as of the other present settlements of the San Juan Islands. Though beyond the Biblical three score and ten years, he still enjoys the strenuous life of a successful village blacksmith.—Editor.]

W. D. Oakes and I, returning from the Fraser River mining excitement, arrived in Victoria, B. C., on our way back to California. There we got acquainted with some hunters and they told us about San Juan Island. They told us what a fine island it was, full of game. So we went there to see it. There appeared to be a lodestone on the island, for we got stuck there at once.

We found the Hudson Bay Company had a station on the island. They had 2,000 head of sheep and cattle and horses. There was also an American Customs Inspector by the name of Hubbs.

We took up farms and soon there came a number of other American citizens to the island. All took up farms, and among them there was a man by the name of Cutler who took a farm. This was in June, 1859, and we prepared to celebrate the Fourth of July. We hoisted a fine flagpole and got a large American flag, and on the Fourth we hoisted our flag and we had a glorious time. There were fourteen of us and we passed a resolution that each one of us had to make a speech. There was a Welshman in the number. When it came to his turn to speak he said we should not only be independent of Great Britain, but we should have a government of our own on such a beautiful island as this was. So we kept up our flag for four days. And there came a man-of-war steamer up in the Straits, and there was the commander of the Pacific Coast on board, by the name of Harney, a large man and very firm. He spied our flag with his glass, but was so far away he was not sure that it was an American flag. So he said to the Captain:

“Take this glass and see if you can tell if that is an American flag.”

So the Captain took the glass and said that it was the Hudson Bay Company's flag, when the General said: “Give me the glass.” After looking some time he said:

“Don't you know your own country's flag? Put the steamer in to the island till I see what this flag means.”

It was the first American flag ever hoisted on the island. So the General landed. Seeing such a strange thing as a man-of-war coming into our harbor, we all went to see him land. So he said:

"Are you Americans?"

"Yes."

"Is that your flag?"

"Yes."

"What are you doing here?"

So we told him. When we found out who he was we commenced to lay our complaints to him against the Hudson Bay Company and the Indians. We asked him if he would send us a company of soldiers to protect us from the Hudson Bay Company's threats to take us prisoners. They had sent a gunboat to take one of our men to Victoria, and we told him all about the hog scrape which I will give you later. The General said:

"If you will send me a petition with twenty-five signers I will send you a company of soldiers."

He left and went straight to Bellingham, and there was one company there. He commanded Captain Pickett to move at once to San Juan with his command, and when Pickett landed with his sixty soldiers and the outfit, the Hudson Bay Company's manager sent to Victoria to Governor Douglas and told the story. So Governor Douglas sent a man-of-war to Pickett's camp and turned his vessel broadside on the camp and ran out his guns toward the camp, and sent an officer to Pickett and ordered Pickett to prepare to leave the island at once.

Pickett sent back word that he was sent here to protect American citizens by his commander-in-chief, and if the man-of-war would land every man on this island he would fire on them as long as he had a man left.

So the English officer got Pickett's answer and they pulled in their guns and went to Victoria. Captain Pickett sent a rowboat to Steilacoom where the commander-in-chief stayed until he heard from the result of the landing by Pickett. So they told the story to Harney, commander-in-chief, who commanded all the troops in this region to go at once to San Juan Island. Eight companies of soldiers landed on a foggy morning on the south side of the island. Then the man-of-war went into the harbor with fifteen guns and all the baggage. There they found three English men-of-war in the harbor. They commenced to land their guns. Then the fun commenced. They landed fifteen guns and had 800 soldiers working day and night heaving up earth fortifications, and when the news came to Victoria there were 1,000 miners ready to take Victoria when they heard the first gun fired.

All the banks in Victoria took all their money and put it on board the men-of-war.

The Governor of Victoria ordered the men-of-war to go and drive the Americans off the island, but the English Admiral was not there, so the fleet would not obey the Governor till he came. So when he came he told the Governor that he did not know the Americans as he did. They are like mosquitoes, kill one and there will be a thousand to take his place. The Admiral said:

"I will tell you what we will do. I would rather shed tears than shed one drop of blood. Governor, we will leave this to our government. If they order me to fire on those Americans I will obey, but not till then."

While this was going on we sent an express across the plains, which took one month to reach our government, and our government sent out Commander-in-Chief Winfield Scott with instructions to not land on any English soil and to make peace if he could. So he landed at Port Angeles and communicated with Governor Douglas. After a long time of communication, Scott was firm and finally made a treaty that each government could plant one company of soldiers on the disputed territory, and that each should rule their own people, and we remained under such rule for seventeen years. There never was a monarch in the world that had more power than they. The English Captain defied the English Custom House, seized a boat and would not return her to the English Custom House, so the Custom House petitioned Queen Victoria and had him removed. I have the first dispatch that ever went to San Francisco, which cost me \$45, and I had the American Captain removed.

Then we had peace and had lots of fun. The English company would invite the American soldiers to their camp and have great feasts. Then the American soldiers would invite the English soldiers to their camp and thought they would outdo them in feasting. So they filled the Englishmen with all that could be furnished until they knew they could not eat any more. Then they cleared off the tables and the waiters came in with piles of plates in their arms, and the Englishmen asked:

"What are you going to do?"

"We are going to serve the balance of our feast."

"Bloody my eyes! We can't eat any more."

"Well, if you can't eat any more the waiters will carry away the dishes."

The writer was invited to that feast and knew of the trick. There was not another thing to put on the table, but the bluff worked well.

I said I would tell you about the hog scrape that nearly caused a war between two great nations. The man by the name of Cutler had a farm with a small garden of potatoes. While we had to go forty miles across the Straits in a rowboat, you will see that potatoes were potatoes. This Cutler potato patch was growing fine. One day a hog belonging to the Hudson Bay Company broke into Cutler's potato patch. Cutler went to the Company's agent and told him if he did not take care of this hog he would kill him. The hog came and rooted all the potatoes. When Cutler came home the hog was still in his garden. He got his gun and shot the pig. Then he went to the Hudson Bay agent and offered to pay for the hog, but the agent refused to take pay and said he would send for the gunboat and have him arrested and taken to Victoria. The gunboat came to arrest him and I had to plead with Cutler to hide, for I knew that Cutler was a good shot and was going to kill all that would come to arrest him. If there was any shooting to be done we all had to take a hand in it, for we could kill all that could come, for we were all fine riflemen. We could hit a 10-cent mark at 100 yards. So you see it was not fear that caused me to coax Cutler to hide, but I did not want those men killed. So finally Cutler took my advice and when they came to arrest Cutler they could not find him. That saved bloodshed. This is the story we told General Harney when we got the soldiers.

In the course of seventeen years the Emperor of Germany decided, as arbitrator, in favor of the United States government, and the dispute over San Juan Island was settled.

The writer is now seventy-seven years of age and is enjoying the fruits of running the risk of losing his life while opening up this country and is the only one of the first settlers now left alive. He can do more work than the general average of young men. He helped to build the first Presbyterian church in this great State of Washington and was an elder in that church for twenty-two years. Twelve years ago I found a religion, a church that paid me a dividend at once by keeping me in good health. I am able to work when I wish as easy as when I was a young man. I have been in the best of health since I made this discovery and am happier than ever before in my lifetime. I would advise my fellow brothers and sisters to set all old prejudice aside and investigate Christian Science, which will teach you to be happy, healthy and prosperous, with good will toward all.

CHARLES McKAY.

Friday Harbor, June 29, 1908.

THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

During our late war with Spain we heard much about the moribund condition of the Latin race and the power and future destiny of the Anglo-Saxons, by the later being meant the people of Great Britain and the United States. It is questionable whether the term Anglo-Saxon can be used with propriety in that sense now. It may be applied to the people of England proper, particularly of southeastern England, but not to the people of the United States. Out of our population of 76,000,000 we had in 1900 nearly 9,000,000 negroes, about 8,500,000 foreigners not of English or Scotch descent, and about 13,000,000 natives with one or both parents foreign-born and not of English or Scotch descent. If to these be added all the other natives whose ancestors were of other than English or Scotch descent, we shall have a number equal to considerably more than half of our entire population. To call ourselves Anglo-Saxons is therefore manifestly wrong and misleading, at least in a numerical sense. The only race-name that we could properly apply to ourselves is the name Teutonic, for I think we are, and shall long continue to be, chiefly Teutonic in race; that is to say, I think the people of English, Dutch, German and Scandinavian immigration or descent constitute, and will long constitute, more than half of the American people. But the name Teutonic cannot be appropriated by us or by the English, for the Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians can claim it with equal right. So there is no race name that we can adopt that will apply to us distinctively or to us and the English conjointly. Perhaps American for ourselves and Anglo-American for us and the English are the best designations we can find, if we usurp the right to use the name American. Anglo-Saxon is out of the question.

But the particular subject of this article is the making of the English people.

The English people are a mixture of the Teutons and Celts that met in Britain in consequence of the Anglo-Saxon and later conquests of that country. The British Islands in the time of Julius Caesar—and we have no sure knowledge of them from an earlier time—were inhabited by the Celtic race, as were also Gaul and other parts of the European continent. The southern part of the island of Great Britain, as far north as the Scotch high-

lands, was called by the Romans *Britannia*, and the northern *Caledonia*, and the people were called respectively *Britons* and *Caledonians*, or *Picts*. Ireland was called *Hibernia*, from the sixth to the thirteenth century also *Scotia*, and its inhabitants were called *Scots*. All these people were Celtic, but are divided by writers on the subject into two main divisions, the *Brythons*, or *Cymry*, in the south of the main island, and the *Gaels* in the north and in *Hibernia* and the *Isle of Man*.

The first conquest of Britain was made by the Romans. Julius Caesar made an unsuccessful attempt to gain a foothold in the summer of the year 55 B. C. and again the following year. The real conquest began in the reign of Claudius (A. D. 43) and ended in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 84). It extended northward to the highlands of *Caledonia*, where Agricola built a line of forts across the country from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, known as the Wall of Antonine and later as Graham's Dyke. In the second century a fortified wall, known as Hadrian's Wall and later as the Wall of Severus, was built farther south, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth, or from Newcastle to Carlisle, some distance south of the later boundary between England and Scotland. The Roman province of Britain, then, corresponded to present England and Wales; for the northern part, between the two walls, was often overrun by the *Picts*, and the Romans found it difficult to maintain a continuous dominion over that country. During the long occupancy of Britain the Romans drained marshes, constructed roads and in other respects developed a material civilization, of which signs remain to this day. But they did not succeed in changing the language and nationality of the natives, as they did in Spain, Gaul and Northern Italy. Only a few Roman words remained, which were later adopted into the language of the English, such as port, wall, foss, street and a few others. Neither is it likely that there was much blood mixture with the natives, or that many Romans remained in the island after the Roman dominion came to an end. The Roman legions were recalled about the year 410 to defend Rome and Italy against the West Goths and other Teutons, and the Britons were left to themselves. During the Roman occupation the province had been exposed to attacks from two external enemies, the Saxons and other Teutons, who troubled the eastern shore, and the *Picts* and *Scots*, who came down upon the country from the north.

During the Roman occupation the Britons had become unwarlike, and after the withdrawal of the legions they were ill

prepared to ward off the attacks of these foreign enemies, as they were also broken up into parties by internal dissensions. In their distress they made the mistake of pitting one enemy against another. A party of Jutes under Hengest and Horsa are said to have been engaged by King Vortigern to drive back the Picts and Scots. This they did effectively; but being dissatisfied with their reward, or whatever the cause was, they next turned their weapons against the Welsh, or British, and the long war of the conquest of Britain by the English, or Anglo-Saxons, began, a war which lasted more than a century and a half, or from 449 till 613. It was a bloody exterminating war of race against race, Teuton against Celt, heathen against Christian, out of which conflict grew some of the traditions concerning King Arthur, the national hero of the Welsh in this struggle for existence.

The Teutonic tribes that conquered Britain from the Welsh and made it into England were the Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons, later called collectively the Anglo-Saxons. They called themselves *Angelcyn* or *Angeltheod*, that is, the English people. They came from Jutland, Schleswig-Holstein and the adjoining part of what is now northwestern Germany. They were then close akin and next-door neighbors to the Germans (Saxons, Frisians and Low Franks) on the one hand and to the Scandinavians (Danes, Swedes and Norwegians) on the other. King Alfred the Great (849-901), who wrote the first geographic and ethnographic account of the Scandinavian countries, says, in speaking of Jutland, Schleswig and the Danish Islands: "In these lands the English dwelt before they came to this land," that is to England. The first to come were the Jutes (*Eotas*), who were perhaps related to the people that still occupy Jutland. They began the English conquest in the year 449. Occupying the island of Thanet as their base of operations they, bit by bit, gained possession of Kent, which became the first English kingdom in Britain, as Canterbury became the first seat of English learning. The Welsh were killed or driven westward. Other Jutes occupied the Isle of Wight and a part of the adjoining mainland. Twenty-eight years later (477) a band of Saxons under Aelle and Cissa took possession of the district westward of Kent (*Sussex*), and eighteen years after that (495) another party of Saxons under Cerdic and Cynric sailed up Southampton water and began the conquest of the rest of Southern Britain. In the year 520 they met with a terrible defeat at Badon Hill at the hands of the Welsh, who were led in this battle, it is believed, by King Arthur. After this defeat there was a long lull in the

Saxon advance in this part of the country; but eventually the West Saxons, as they were here called, built up the largest and strongest of the Saxon kingdoms, comprising all the country south of the Thames, except Kent and Sussex, and much of the country north of the Thames and along what is now the Welsh border. Other Saxons occupied the district immediately to the north of Kent (Essex) and still others the adjoining district west of Essex (Middlesex). These Saxons were doubtless a part of that great northern tribe of Germans then known as Saxons, who were afterward conquered by Charles the Great and by him converted to Christianity at the point of the sword. They were the ancestors of the present Low Germans, or Plattdeutsch. With the Saxons that went to Britain there were also Frisians.

The third tribe, that which gave its name to the three tribes spoken of collectively as well as to the country, was the Angles (Engle), who came from Schleswig and are believed to have been the most numerous of the three. They lived between the Jutes and the Saxons and are said to have left their old home in a body. Their memory is preserved to this day in the name of Angeln, which is the name of a district in Schleswig, between Flensburg Fiord and the Schlei, and which is said to have remained waste after the Angles had emigrated. The Angles settled the country between Essex and the Wash, where they were known as the Northfolk and the Southfolk, or collectively as East Angles, forming one of the Anglian kingdoms, East Anglia. Others settled the great interior between the Humber and the Saxons, where they were known by various names, but collectively as the Mercians, or Marchmen, and their country as Mercia. Still others occupied the districts between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. They were known as the Northumbrians and their country as Northumberland, or Northumbria. This was sometimes one kingdom and sometimes divided into two, Deira between the Humber and the Tees, and Bernicia between the Tees and the Firth of Forth. These various parties of Saxons and Angles gradually pushed their way farther and farther westward. The Britons were doubtless in part subdued and enslaved and may eventually have mixed with and contributed a strain of Welsh blood to the English. This is inferred from the nature of the Welsh words in English, which are mostly names of farm and kitchen utensils and indicate the social position of the people that introduced them. But the war was very fierce and bloody, and there is every reason to believe that, at least in the early period of the long struggle, the Welsh were for the most part

either killed or bodily driven westward. They were at last confined to Wales proper (North Wales) and Cornwall (West Wales), the latter being for centuries looked upon as a separate country and not thoroughly anglicized till within recent times. Cornish was spoken till near the end of the eighteenth century. Another part of the country where they held out for a while was the kingdom of Cumbria and Strathelyde, comprising the northwestern counties of what is now England and the southwestern counties of present Scotland. In 613, after a great victory, the Angles pressed on to the Irish Sea at Chester, thus separating Wales from Cumbria and Strathelyde. Somewhat earlier, after the battle of Deorham, in 577, the Saxons had extended their dominion to the Bristol Channel, separating Wales from Cornwall. From about the year 613, then, we may regard the continuous war of conquest to be at an end and the English to be in permanent possession of at least half of Britain; and the rest was little by little absorbed and anglicized except Wales proper, where the Welsh language is still enthusiastically maintained.

Shortly before this long war ended, missionaries had been sent from Rome to convert the English (597), and within a hundred years the whole country became Christian. Schools were founded, and in the eighth century literature and learning flourished as nowhere else in Western Europe. Politically the history of the seventh and eighth centuries is largely a record of internal war among the various English kingdoms, in which the Welsh often took part on one side or the other, the spirit of nationality among the English being weak. The outcome was the supremacy of Wessex under the strong hand of Egbert, which supremacy became the nucleus of resistance against the new enemy that had already begun to threaten the country and every year became stronger and bolder.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain was the last ripple of that first great wave in the movement of the Teutonic race southward and westward, beginning in the fourth century, which destroyed the Roman Empire in the West and erected new states upon its ruins. The second great wave in this general movement was that on which the northern representatives of this race sought new outlets for their surplus energy or new homes for their overflowing numbers; in other words, the Viking expeditions, which began in the eighth and lasted to the eleventh century, resulting in the foundation of new states, with far-reaching influences on race, language, literature, manners and institutions. Excepting northwestern France, where Danes and Norwegians in the ninth

century settled in such numbers as to found a new race, the British Isles were more directly exposed to their attacks than any other part of Europe. In Ireland they founded kingdoms at Limerick, Waterford and Dublin, which lasted for centuries, at least the kingdom of Dublin. Their power here was broken by King Brian, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them in the battle of Clontarf in 1014. At the same time they were in possession of the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, Orkneys, Shetlands, Faroes, Iceland and Greenland and large parts of the mainland of Scotland, such as Caithness and Sutherland. Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes we leave out of consideration, as they have remained permanently under Norwegian or Danish dominion. In parts of Scotland and the Isle of Man and the islands north and west of Scotland, which for centuries were tributary to Norway, the Norse overlordship was broken in the battle of Largs, in 1263, when the great King Hakon the Fourth of Norway was overthrown by King Alexander the Third of Scotland. In the Orkneys, where the people were for the most part Norse, and in the Shetlands, where they were wholly Norse, the Norse speech maintained itself for about a thousand years and did not become extinct till the seventeenth and the eighteenth century respectively.

In England the first Viking attacks were made in 789 and in 793-94, but were at first sporadic and made by small bands of men, the object being booty. In the course of the following century the invading parties became greater and greater, until 866, when an army came that overwintered and never again left the country. They brought their families with them and settled down permanently. In a few years they had conquered and occupied all the northeast half of the country. By the peace of Wedmore, concluded in 878 between King Alfred and the Danish King Guthrum, the Danes were left in undisputed possession of the country lying north and east of a line drawn from London to Chester, more than half of England. A part of this territory was reconquered by Alfred's great son Edward, and Edward's son Aethelstan won a great victory over Danes, Scots, Britons and Norwegians in the battle of Brunanburh in 937. In the third quarter of the century the great King Edgar was recognized as overlord over the whole of Britain. But under his weak son Aethelred the Unready, who attempted to have all the Danes in England massacred, November 13, 1002, the country was again invaded by great fleets of Danes and Norwegians, led by such men as Olaf Tryggvesson and Swein of the Forked Beard, whose sister had been among the massacred. 1013 Swein, then king of Denmark,

conquered and was recognized as king of all England. He died in 1014, but in 1016 the country was again conquered by Swein's son, Cnut the Great, who reigned till 1035 and was king also of Denmark and Norway. He was followed by his sons Harold (1035-40) and Harthacnut, who died in 1042, when Edward the Confessor, son of Aethelred, was made king. The Danish dominion then over England, or a part of England, lasted politically about 175 years; but on the people and their language the Danish influence was permanent. The part of England that the Danes settled was long known as the Danelaw (Denalagu) and was subject to Danish law. In some of the counties, such as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the Danes settled very densely and were possibly in the majority. Here the Danish place names are the thickest, and here the language as still spoken is most Danish in character. The two peoples being of the same race and their languages so nearly allied that they could understand each other, amalgamation by intermarriage doubtless began early and was soon complete; yet the linguistic difference was considerable in the forms and inflections of words and in phrases and idioms, so that English in the north of England and throughout Scotland has a marked Scandinavian character in pronunciation and diction to this day.

The Scandinavians who settled the east of England (the Danelaw) are believed to have been chiefly Danes; so they are mostly called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which was written at the time of these events or shortly afterward. Those who settled in the Northwest of England, from Cheshire to Dumfries, and in Scotland, Ireland and the Islands, were mostly Norwegians. But in those days all Scandinavians spoke nearly the same language, so that their influence on English was about the same in the Norwegian as in the Danish settlements.

The last foreign conquest of England was that by the Normans under Duke William. The Normans were descendants of the Danish and Norwegian adventurers who two centuries earlier had begun to occupy the valley of the Seine, but especially from the beginning of the tenth century, when Normandy was formally ceded to them by the king of France (912). They had intermarried with the French and formed that mixed race which played so conspicuous a part in the history of Western Europe and in the Crusades of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The strong government they established in England put an end forever to the local interests and dissensions which hitherto had divided that country. Spreading all over England and partly

over Wales, Ireland and Lowland Scotland, they contributed the last element in the formation of the English people. On the language and literature their influence was greater than all previous influences.

To sum up, the conquest of Britain by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes (449-613) and of the England that these founded by the Danes (866-1042) and later by the Normans (1066), who were already a people of mixed Teutonic and Celtic blood, brought the Teutonic and Celtic races together in that country, and the result of this race contact was the English people of today, who are a Teutonic people with a Celtic admixture. In the counties bordering upon Wales and in the southwestern and northwestern counties the Welsh blood is doubtless considerable, and in Cornwall the people are almost purely Celtic; but in the southern and eastern parts the English are almost purely Teutonic, Saxon south of the Thames and in Essex and Middlesex, Anglo-Danish from Essex to Edinburgh, especially as far north as the Tees, and Anglo-Norwegio-Celtic in the Northwest. Anglo-Saxon is not a very accurate term to apply to the race now. Anglo-Danish would be better; for the first part of the compound would comprise all the English tribes that first conquered Britain, as they themselves used the word English in that comprehensive way and not the word Saxon, though this came to be the collective term used by their Celtic enemies; and the second part of the compound might be understood to include the Norwegian element, according to the common usage of those times. Still better would be Teuto-Celtic or Teuto-British.

Of Ireland and Scotland I have already spoken incidentally. The Irish have a Teutonic element in their blood dating back to the ninth century, when many parts of the island were occupied by Norwegians, and to the time of Henry the Second, and later, when many Normans and English settled in the country. In Scotland likewise the people are a mixture of Teutons and Celts, the Celtic element being stronger than in England, but not so strong as in Ireland, except perhaps in the Highlands. To begin with, we have here the Picts of Roman times; then the Scots, or Milesians, who from the fourth to the sixth century crossed into Caledonia from northern Hibernia, settled on the islands and in the west, north of the Clyde, and eventually became one people with the Picts (844) and in the eleventh century imposed their name, Scotia, upon the country; next the Angles and Danes, who settled in the south, and the Norwegians, who settled especially in the north, west and southwest and on the Hebrides. The High-

landers, then, are Celts, with a Scandinavian strain in their blood; the Lowlanders Teutons (Angles, Danes, Norwegians), with a Celtic admixture, the Celtic perhaps predominating in the south-west. The people of the Hebrides are largely, and those of the Orkneys and the Shetlands almost wholly, of Norse stock. In the Welsh there is a slight Norse, English and Norman admixture, the Norwegians having settled especially in Pembrokeshire. In the Manx the Norse blood is considerable. The Norwegians had occupation of that island about four hundred years, it having been conquered by Harold Fairhair in the ninth century and ceded by King Magnus of Norway to King Constantine the Third of Scotland in 1266. The English people, then, those of England proper and of Lower Scotland, are, to repeat once more, of Old English, British and Scandinavian blood, and perhaps in that ratio, and may be represented by the names Brown, Jones and Robinson.* That is to say, the English are a people of mixed Teutonic and Celtic blood, the Teutonic blood predominating; as the Welsh, Irish and Gaels are of Celtic and Teutonic blood, the Celtic blood predominating.

ALBERT E. EGGE.

*Flavell Edmunds, "Traces of History in the Names of Places," (London, 1872,) p. 6.

SEATTLE AND THE INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND.

SEALTH

Chief of the Nisquallies,
A Firm Friend of the Whites,
For Him the City of Seattle
Was Named by Its Founders.

This is the inscription proposed to be placed upon a monument built by the municipality of Seattle, at the corner of Denny Way and Fifth Avenue. It is objectionable for a number of reasons:

1. The Nisquallies never had a chief named Sealth.
2. No chief named Sealth was known as the "firm friend of the Whites."
3. The City of Seattle was not named by its founders for or after either "Sealth" or the "Chief of the Nisquallies."

It is a well-known fact that the founders of Seattle named their town after Chief Seattle. Of course, they gave it his name, and not Sealth's, or Leschi's, or Patkanim's, or Kitsap's, or that of any other chief contemporary with him they chose to recognize and honor. Any other supposition is discreditable to the founders—the Dennys, Boren, Bell, Yesler and Maynard. It would have been quite as absurd to name the town for Sealth and call it Seattle, as it would have been to name the State for Washburn and call it Washington. If they had intended to name and call their town for Sealth, the city today would have been Sealth and not Seattle.

There is no published record, either book or newspaper, of any Sealth until within about twenty years, and no one has known a Sealth during that period of time. The Indian whose name was taken for our city lived as Seattle until 1866, died as Seattle, and was buried as Seattle. His sons were also called Seattle, and all of his descendants repudiate knowledge of any one known as Sealth.

It is said that there was an Indian whose baptismal name was Noah Sealth. This may be true, and may not. If true it may not have been Chief Seattle. If meant for Chief Seattle it undoubtedly was a blunder on the part of the officiating priest.

Seattle did not talk English or Chinook, and the priests in those days were men who spoke French fluently, but English quite imperfectly. Their records were often, if not always, kept in French. Intelligent communication between them and Indians like Seattle was very difficult, and frequently impossible. Under the circumstances, it is quite unlikely that he asked the priest to name him Noah. As far as known to the writer there is no record of such baptism and such naming, though repeated and diligent efforts have been made, at many places, to learn of it.

The priests of the earliest days on Puget Sound were Demers, who conducted the first religious service in Seattle, and who was the first Bishop at Victoria, getting the latter appointment in 1847; Blanchet, the Vicar-General and first Archbishop of Oregon; Bolduc, who was here as early as 1840; Ricard, Jayol, d'Herbonnez, Chirouse, Rossi, Vari, and perhaps others whose names are not now at command, down to Prefontaine and Kautan yet among us. As far as possible, their records have been looked up, and in them Indians have been found mentioned who are said to have been named Saitala, Sohtala, Siatlah, Siatla, Siatle, Salatalh and Seat'tlh, whose wife was said to be Hewyik. These may all have been connected with the Seattle family, and they may not have been. The records do not show. D'herbonnez baptised in "Siatlah," Henri, son of Siatlah and Hilo. In the list of contributors for a church at Puyallup, Chief Salatalh appears on the record as giving one-fourth of the whole cost, and Oiahl, his wife, as also giving one-fourth. Whether this "Chief Salatalh" was our Chief Seattle, it is impossible now to tell. It is well known that there was a Seattle family among the Puyallups. A dozen years ago a young Seattle, from Puyallup, took prominent part in a Fourth of July celebration in the City of Seattle. Admitting for a moment that the Indians named were all of the Seattle family, it is plain that the priests had no fixed form of spelling for the name. Each one in the written record approached the sound as nearly as he could, and he did so without reference to the efforts of the other priests or to the understanding of the American settlers, as they, in some cases, continued to use their own forms of spelling after the name Seattle was given to the town on Elliott Bay.

The record of Noah Sealth may have been burned or lost, if it ever existed. There seems to have been no repetition of the name, and as far as reported no other Sealth ever lived in this country. Putting the name upon the tombstone of Chief Seattle was an unfortunate error, repetition of which, upon the proposed monument, would be historically distressing.

It is evident that there really never was a Puget Sound Indian named Sealth. The sooner the idea is dismissed from the public mind, and forgotten, the better.

This proposed monument has called out two other questions:

1. Who was Seattle?
2. Who were the Nisquallies?

There is no real doubt that Seattle was a Suquamish or Suquamish Indian. According to George Gibbs, his mother was a Duwamish woman, through whom he obtained his chieftainship in the Duwamish tribe. Mr. A. A. Denny corroborates what Mr. Gibbs says, and the statement was undoubtedly correct. Seattle, however, did not live with or among the Duwamishes. His home was among the Suquamishes, near Port Madison. Notwithstanding their proximity, their common interests, and his being chief of both tribes, the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians were somewhat antagonistic and at times rather unfriendly.

In the war of 1855-56, the Duwamish Indians were either neutral or hostile to the whites; the Suquamish Indians were either neutral or friendly. It was proposed to remove the Duwamishes from the influences of other hostile Indians, by placing them upon the reservation with the Suquamishes, and there feeding and caring for them. Such was their dislike for the Suquamishes, however, that they would not go, and the combined persuasions of the white townspeople, the United States and Territorial officials, the military and naval forces and Chief Seattle himself, were not sufficient to move them. Some were finally induced to go over to Bainbridge Island, eight miles from the Suquamish home, and some were quartered in the town; Henry L. Yesler giving a lot of rough and refuse lumber for the building of houses in which they might comfortably dwell during the winter.

In his report of August 1st, 1857, G. A. Paige, agent for these two tribes, entered quite fully into the unpleasant relations existing between them. He said that their feelings were "most unamiable" and "deep rooted," and again that they regarded each other with "feelings of hatred." He was compelled to establish a new home for the Duwamishes near the mouth of the Duwamish River, placing James H. Goudy in charge of it. July 1st, 1858, Agent Paige reported again, he then saying: "I have to reiterate the suggestion made in my last annual report, to-wit: that the Suquamish and Duwamish Indians be allowed separate reservations, as the feud which has long existed between these tribes instead of becoming less is daily growing greater." The Suquamish Indians were the more numerous, 441 of them in 1857, against

378 Duwamish Indians. Under the circumstances, Seattle was more closely connected with the Suquamishes than with the Duwamishes; he chose to be so; and his chieftainship among them was more of a reality than that among the Duwamishes. It is, therefore, more nearly correct to speak of him as a Suquamish and as Chief of the Suquamishes, than as a Duwamish and Chief of the Duwamishes, he being so regarded by Gibbs, Denny, Shaw, Simmons, Maynard, Stevens, Paige, and others connected and acquainted with our Indian affairs half a century ago. It would be entirely proper to speak of Seattle as chief of the Suquamish, Duwamish and allied tribes, upon the monument referred to, but it would be far from right to refer to him there as chief only of the Duwamishes—the lesser tribe, and one with which he had least connection and influence.

It has been stated in one of the papers recently that Wm. H. Dall, a well known Pacific Coast authority on ethnological subjects, had said, in a report prepared by him in 1876, that "Seattle was chief of the Indians of the Nisqually nation." This was a mistake. Dall at that time contributed a valuable paper concerning the Indians of Alaska, but said not a word of Seattle, the Nisquallies or other Indians hereabout.

The only authority for the use of the name Nisqually upon this monument, or in connection with the middle and lower Sound Indians, is obtained from George Gibbs, who in 1855-56 wrote a paper upon the Indians of the Columbia River region, the Chehalis, Puget Sound and the west coast of Washington. Mr. Gibbs was quite learned, as may be inferred when it is stated that he came to Washington commissioned by Governor I. I. Stevens as geologist and ethnologist in connection with the Northern Pacific surveys under Captain Geo. B. McClellan, in 1853; that in addition he was a doctor of medicine, an attorney at law, a ready clerk and author of good repute. Besides all these things, Gibbs took a land claim in Pierce County, and pretended to be a farmer. He discovered what many men before him had discovered, and what a million people have since discovered, that the Puget Sound Indians were practically one people, one family, with one line of ancestors, and with much in common in the way of habits, languages and general characteristics.

Mr. Gibbs' home was on what was called the Nisqually plain, and he was near the Nisqually Indians—in fact in their very midst. It became convenient to him, when he wanted to speak of this great Indian family, to have a name that he could apply to all in common, and he chose for this purpose that of the Indians he

was nearest and knew best. If he had been located thirty miles further north, he probably would have called these Indians the Suquamish Nation, or maybe the Duwamish, and that this would have been more fitting than the Nisqually is undoubted, as the center of his so-called nation was where the City of Seattle now stands, and the center of population was likewise here.

Mr. Gibbs, or Dr. Gibbs, makes it plain that the connection between these Indians was quite insignificant. The Hood's Canal Indians had a language so different that they could hardly make themselves understood by the Indians elsewhere; there was a difference between the Nisqually and Suquamish dialects; the Snohomish and Snoqualmie, though adjoining tribes, by no means used the same language; and a like report was made of the Lummi and Nooksacks. There was nothing in common in the way of government. Each band or tribe had its own chief or chiefs and managed its own affairs.

The Snoqualmie and Nisqually Indians were in many respects more alike than any others, and yet the Snoqualmies would have fiercely scorned the appellation "Nisqually." Patkanim and Leschi, the respective chiefs, were bitter enemies. Leschi and his Nisquallies led off in the war upon the whites; Patkanim and the Snoqualmies were the open and enlisted allies of the white men. When the treaties were prepared by Stevens, Simmons, Shaw and Gibbs, which men, with others, signed them as parties and witnesses, there was no mention of any Nisqually nation except among the Nisqually tribesmen. Had there been the Puyallups, Squaxons, Skagits and others would have strongly demurred, and would not knowingly have affixed their X-marks to such papers. The United States Government chose to consider all the tribes as nations, and it made treaties with them as formally as though they actually were great, distant and foreign peoples.

Carrying out this idea, Gov. Stevens and Dr. Gibbs and their party, in 1854-55, dealt with the various aggregations of Indians separately, consolidating as many as they could, and calling upon those to sign who dwelt near together and were closely allied. If Seattle had been chief of the Nisquallies he would have been present and signed the Medicine Creek treaty of December 26, 1854. Having nothing to do with that nation, he was not asked to participate in the treaty making there.

At the next place, however, the white men dealt with the Suquamish-Duwamish nation or nations, and there Seattle had proper place, he being the first Indian signer of the Point Elliott Treaty of January 15th, 1855. Whether he knew it or not, he

was then and there put upon the treaty paper as chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish tribes, and probably so placed by George Gibbs himself. Patkanim represented his Indians, the Snoqualmies and Snohomishes; and Goliah the Skagits and others. Leschi and the Nisquallies did not interfere, and it was well for them they did not, as the stronger tribes of the lower Sound would have resented such action, blood would have flown, and the Nisquallies would have been wiped out. And so it was with the other Stevens treaties. The Governor knew no great Nisqually nation, but he did know a little Nisqually nation, and a number of other little nations of other names, the people of which were more numerous and powerful than the Nisquallies themselves, and who were politically as disconnected and independent as any other Indian tribes in Washington, Oregon or California.

The Vancouver expedition of 1792, the Wilkes expedition of 1841, the Hudson Company, the American missionaries and first settlers, Governor Stevens, the treaty maker, the military, the more recent inhabitants of the country, all, but George Gibbs, failed to find the Nisqually nation that he found, covering as he declared the country from the Chehalis to the Strait of Fuca and Bellingham Bay. But Gibbs' position was not a positive one, or a contention; it was more of a suggestion, thrown out, perhaps, for popular acceptance, but which encountered disfavor and rejection instead. With all due respect to him, his learning and research, it may be said his spellings of Indian names have been received with similar disfavor. Many of them are beyond present day recognition. Not one in ten has been preserved as he wrote it. He was not in all respects such an authority as attempt has been made to have him appear in the matter now before us—at any rate, not a popular and generally accepted authority. But for this matter of the monument, his Nisqually nation, maybe, would never again have been heard from. Hereafter, it will be well to let it, with Sealth, rest in peace.

An inscription for the monument that would be appropriate and truthful would be this:

SEATTLE.

1786-1866.

Chief of the Suquamish, Duwamish and Lesser Tribes of
Puget Sound Indians,
Friend Alike of the Red Man and of the White,
For Him the City of Seattle
Was Named by its Founders.

—THOMAS W. PROSCH.

**STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A STUDY OF THE ATTEMPT TO
SETTLE THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRI-
TORIES BY THE APPLICATION OF POPULAR
SOVEREIGNTY—1850-1860.**

[Continued from Last Quarterly.]

Popular Sovereignty in Kansas.

The introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill produced an unprecedented storm.¹ The newspapers followed the lead of the Independent Democrats in exciting and guiding public opinion. The Northern Whig journals unanimously opposed the act and the Democratic press was divided. Those papers loyal to the administration favored the bill, the more independent condemning it. Douglas was burned in effigy from Boston to Ohio. Speakers in public meetings, and legislatures, condemned the bill and passed resolutions against it, but Douglas remained firm and the South rapidly rallied to the support of the bill.² This support on the part of the papers and people of the South was largely because the bill was so vigorously denounced by Northern sections which were looked upon as abolitionist centers. Still, there were many in the South who were not moved to approval of the bill by Northern opposition.³

In the North, steps were immediately taken to form a new party embracing all those opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the Northwestern States and in Maine this new party took the name Republican, but in most of the Eastern States the opposition was drawn into the Whig and Know-Nothing parties, or into a more or less complete fusion of Whigs, Free Soilers and Democrats. The election returns showed that the Republicans or anti-Nebraska party carried all the Northwestern States except Illinois. In the East it was impossible to figure out exactly how things stood owing to the many varieties of fusion, and the sudden rise of the Know-Nothing party. Douglas claimed that the whole anti-Nebraska campaign had miscarried, though the administration had lost control of nine States and sixty-two seats in the House of Representa-

¹Seward, "Life of Seward," II., p. 222.

²Rhodes, I., p. 463.

³Ibid., I., pp. 468-70.

tives. Speaking of the voters in the Northern States, Professor Smith says: "Except in the Northwest, their action was so far from being what anyone would have predicted that it seems scarcely credible. The diversion of the fierce anti-Southern anger of the Eastern States into the construction of a party whose professed principles were absolutely unrelated to the measures which caused the upheaval seemed utterly inexplicable on rational grounds. The outcome remained to be seen."¹

Meanwhile a tremendous rush to Kansas had begun. The tide that Atchison and Henn had described as having moved westward to the borders of Missouri and Iowa poured forth into Kansas. The whole Northwest was astir. Large numbers of Germans went west from Missouri. The editor of the *St. Louis News* counted eleven wagons bound westward in a single day, and the *Cincinnati Commercial* noted the passage of seven hundred Germans.² More than a month before the bill was signed Eli Thayer had obtained a charter for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, which was later reincorporated as the New England Emigrant Aid Society, the object being to settle Kansas with free State settlers.³ In August, the town of Lawrence was established by the Emigrant Aid Society, which before winter set in had sent out five hundred settlers.

This organized emigration with a political purpose was an unexpected factor in the situation. Missouri and the South resented it, and when an election was called for November 29 to elect a territorial delegate to Congress the storm broke. Organized bands from Missouri crossed the line into Kansas on or before election day and cast their votes. A Congressional Investigating Committee found that 2,258 votes were cast for Whitfield, and that 1,729 votes were illegal. Supposing all the illegal votes to have been cast for Whitfield, the pro-slavery candidate, their subtraction from his total vote still left him a plurality of more than 200 over his nearest competitor; and he was admitted without question to a seat in the House of Representatives.⁴ In January and February, 1855, a census was taken which showed the presence in Kansas of 8,601 people, of whom 2,905 were voters. Governor Reeder ordered the election of a territorial Legislature for March 30, and once more "an unkempt, sun-dried, blatant, picturesque mob" equipped with guns, revolvers, bowie knives and whiskey crossed from Missouri to take part. A total of 6,307 votes

¹Smith, "Parties and Slavery," p. 120 and Chap. VIII.

²Chicago Weekly Democratic Press, June 10, 1854; Rhodes, II., pp. 78-9.

³Thayer, "Kansas Crusade," Chap. II.

⁴"Howard Report," House Report, No. 200; 34 Cong., I. Sess., pp. 4-8. Rhodes, II., p. 80.

were cast of which the Howard committee found 4,908 to be illegal leaving 1,410 legal votes. The free State vote, legal and illegal, if any were illegal reached but 791.¹

It is no part of our purpose here to go into a detailed examination of these returns. A superficial examination is enough to convince one that the early history of Kansas is worthy of further study than it has yet received. Few historians of the period seem to have gone farther than to accept the majority report of the committee. The minority member, Mr. Oliver, points out glaring inaccuracies in the majority report that seem not to have been considered. In the first place both reports were expected to and did have an effect upon the political campaign then pending. Again, the majority determined the number of illegal votes by comparing the census returns with the poll books **by districts**.² How many voters were recorded by the census in one district and had moved to another before election and were therefor counted as illegal voters, we may never know. In a territory in which conditions were as extremely unsettled as they were in Kansas then, the number might easily be large. Still further, it is probable that many settlers coming to Kansas late in the fall or during the winter may have been required through lack of shelter, provisions and the comforts of life to return to the settled districts of Missouri for the winter. Such persons returning after the census had been taken would be classed as illegal voters. The absence of definite information on these points makes the acceptance of either report hazardous in the extreme.

The invasion of the Missourians roused the North to the highest pitch of excitement; and arms were called for. The directors and officers of the Emigrant Aid Society busied themselves to raise Sharps rifles, and the Civil War began with Kansas as the outpost.³ The Free State party repudiated the territorial Legislature, and in a constitutional convention which met at Topeka, October 23, 1855, drew up a constitution prohibiting slavery and asked admission as a State. The contest was opened in Congress by a report presented by Douglas from the Committee on Territories. The report said the committee had not been able to obtain definite and satisfactory information in regard to the alleged irregularities in conducting the election, the number of illegal votes, etc., but from what they had received they reported in favor of a bill authorizing the Legislature of the Territory to provide for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention as soon as the

¹"Howard Report," pp. 9, 30.

²"Howard Report," p. 75. (Minority Report.)

³Smith, "Parties and Slavery," Chap. IX. and pp. 143-8; *Am. Hist. Review*, XII., 546.

Territory had the requisite population; and also reported in favor of an appropriation for executing the laws and maintaining public order in the Territory.¹

This plan would leave the Territorial Legislature as it was. Douglas condemned the "unnatural and false system of emigration" carried on with the view to controlling elections, and charged the Kansas trouble to the actions of the Emigrant Aid Society. Collamer, the minority member, saw the cause of the trouble in slavery, popular sovereignty, and the Missouri Invasions. He therefore advocated the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska law, or a plan of action which would render the acts of the Kansas Legislature "utterly inoperative and void, and direct a reorganization, providing a proper safeguard for legal voting and against foreign force," or the admission of Kansas under its free state constitution.² Douglas advocated his bills in a powerful speech. He attacked Reeder mercilessly, declaring that he had recognized the Territorial Legislature as a legal body till he quarreled with it and was removed by the President; he charged and attempted to prove by quotations from utterances of the more hot headed leaders of the free state movement that their movement was "a case of open and undisguised rebellion;" he insisted that the Missouri invasion was an imitation of the Emigrant Aid movement, based on self-defense. But he held fast to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and reiterated the argument of his report that "justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our representative system, imperatively demand that the voice of the people shall be fairly expressed and their will embodied in the fundamental law, without fraud or violence, or intimidation, or any other improper or unlawful influence, and subject to no other restrictions than those imposed by the Constitution of the United States."³ He refused to support the admission of Kansas under the Topeka constitution on the ground that it was the constitution of a political party—a faction—and not the act and will of the people. He supported the Toombs' bill which provided for a fair vote, but the bill was not considered in the House, because it was to the interest of the Republican party to keep the Kansas question open during the presidential campaign.⁴

The election over, "Kansas, under Geary's rule, ceased to bleed;" and the country quieted down to await developments.⁵

¹Senate Com. Reports, 34 Cong., I Sess., p. 12. (Report of March 12, 1856.)

²Ibid., Report No. 34.

³Senate Reports, 34 Cong., I. Sess. (Report of June 30.) Cong. Globe, 34 Cong., I. Sess., p. 285. (Appendix.)

⁴Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 166-68.

⁵Ibid., p. 173.

Buchanan's administration opened under favorable conditions in spite of the Dred Scott Decision, and the Republican party in the local elections lost ground nearly everywhere. Had Buchanan selected an impartial course, he might have ended "the whole territorial controversy" and have left "the Republicans with no grievance and no excuse for existence."¹ In his inaugural address he definitely promised to leave the whole slavery question to the resident settlers of Kansas, and Governor Walker stopped at Chicago on his way to Kansas to inform Douglas that the President was fully committed to this policy.² Before Governor Walker arrived in Kansas, however, the pro-slavery party, aided in part by the refusal of the free-state men to take any part in the elections, had elected a constitutional convention which drew up the famous Lecompton Constitution which declared: "The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction, and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." This constitution with a special article on slavery was to be submitted in such a way that the voter could only vote "for the constitution with slavery," or "for the constitution without slavery."³ Here was Buchanan's chance to redeem his promises, but he wilted in face of the opposition of Cobb, Thompson, Davis, and other Southerners, and turned all the power of the administration to the support of the Lecompton Constitution.⁴

Douglas bolted and arraigned the Lecompton Constitution and the method that produced it in the severest terms; his speeches against Lecompton are among the best he ever made. "Sir," said he, "call it faction; call it what you please; I intend to stand by the Nebraska bill, by the Cincinnati platform, by the organization and the principles of my party; and I defy opposition from whatever quarter it comes. * * * We are told we must force the Lecompton Constitution down the throats of the people for the sake of peace; for the sake of localizing the quarrel. * * * The moment you impose a constitution on that people against their remonstrance and protest you have nationalized this difficulty, and pledged yourself to maintain that government at the point of the bayonet, and with all the powers at your command; you have legalized civil war instead of local-

¹Ibid., pp. 209-10.

²Richardson, "Messages and Papers," V., p. 431; Cutts, p. 111; Rhodes, II., p. 273.

³McDonald, "Select Documents," p. 436.

⁴Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 217-9. Senate Exec. Doc., 35 Cong., I. Sess., No. 8, p. 130.

izing the Kansas quarrel. * * * God forbid that I should ever surrender my right to differ from a President of the United States of my own choice. I have not become the mere servile tool of any President, so that I am bound to take every recommendation he makes, without examining and ascertaining whether it meets with the approval of my judgment or not. * * * It is intimated, not charged, that there is something fearful, something terrible, in this thing of a man daring to be true and faithful to his principles, when other men do not desire that he should be."¹ Referring later in the debate to the desperate attempt of the administration to crush him by removing his supporters from the federal offices, he said: "I prefer private life, preserving my own self respect and manhood, to abject and servile submission to executive will. * * * Official position has no charm for me when deprived of that freedom of thought and action which becomes a gentleman and a Senator. * * * What despotism on earth would be equal to this, if you establish the doctrine that the executive has a right to command the votes, the conscience, the judgments of the Senators, and of the Representatives, instead of their constituents?" In old England "where they have a Queen by Divine right and lords by the Grace of God" no such despotism was practiced or would be tolerated. "I intend to perform my duty in accordance with my own convictions, neither the frowns of power nor the influence of patronage will change my actions, or drive me from my principles. I stand firmly, immovably upon these great principles of self-government and State sovereignty upon which the campaign was fought and won."²

Horace Greeley wrote of the struggle: "Mr. Douglas never exerted himself so powerfully, and never exhibited more of that vigorous grasp and close treatment of his subject which characterize all of his efforts, nor ever displayed more resources, both in assault and defense, than on the various occasions in which the discussions brought him to his feet."³

The Lecompton measure easily passed the Senate, for Douglas was supported by only three Democrats, two Southern Americans and the Republicans, making a total of but twenty-five. In the House an amendment was carried re-submitting the constitution to the people.⁴ A conference committee brought forward the English bill which was looked upon as a compromise by which re-submission was granted, but on the condition that if Kansas

¹Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., I. Sess., p. 140.

²Ibid., p. 201 (appendix).

³New York Tribune, April 9, 1858.

⁴Dem. Review, June 1858, p. 439; Smith, "Parties and Slavery," p. 225.

rejected the Lecompton Constitution its admission was to be postponed till it had gained population enough to entitle it to one representative.¹ Douglas looked upon the land grant as a direct bribe to induce Kansas to accept a constitution it did not want. He objected to the requirement in regard to population. He believed it wise to keep all territories out till they had the population requisite for a representative in Congress, but if concessions were to be made to Kansas as a slave State, they should be the same for Kansas as a free State. He did not believe the people of Kansas could be fooled so easily, and retorted that the attitude of the South would be very different if the land bribe had been offered Kansas to make it a free State. When asked to make some concession on his side because the other side had done so much, he replied: "No matter how many and how great their concessions are, if they have not conceded the principle for which I contend, I cannot take what they propose."² His opposition to the English bill continued to the end, but it was passed, and overwhelmingly defeated by the people of Kansas at the polls.³

When the English bill was passed and submitted to the people of Kansas the administration had gone as far as it could go toward making Kansas a slave state. It was generally conceded at the time, however, that the people of Kansas would reject the proposition; and if they did so, all hope of making Kansas a slave state was at an end.

In the summer and fall of 1857 it looked as if the mission of the Republican party had ended.⁴ Seward and his organ, *The Times*, accepted popular sovereignty.⁵ Greely despaired of electing a President on a straight Republican issue and the Eastern Republican leaders began to feel that some combination with Douglas and against the administration was necessary to win in 1860.⁶ The *New York Herald* predicted, "Senator Douglas will be the Black Republican of the Northwest in less than two months;" and in California the Republicans and Douglas Democrats combined to put up a fusion ticket.⁷ Even the *Chicago Press* was inclined to be lenient with the Douglas Democrats. It said editorially: "Upon the whole, therefore, we think it best neither to be too lavish in promises on the one hand, nor yet hold up in advance, a period of probation to dampen the ardor of prospective recruits * * * the results of course would be deter-

¹American Hist. Rev., XII., pp. 500-1; Rhodes, II., pp. 299-300.

²Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., I. Sess., p. 1870.

³Smith, "Parties and Slavery," pp. 225-6.

⁴Rhodes, II., pp. 302-3.

⁵Ibid., II., p. 305; Bancroft, Seward I.

⁶Chicago Press, March 9, 1858.

⁷Ibid., March 6, 1858; New York Tribune, Sept. 13, 1858.

mined by the established usages of the party—by the will of the majority.”¹

The attitude of the Eastern Republican leaders (Wilson, Burlingame, Colfax, Bowles, and others,) toward Douglas was well expressed in the *New York Tribune*, when Greeley wrote: “It seemed to us, therefore, the true policy of the Republican party * * * to rally around him and uphold him on his new platform of practical resistance to the behests of the slave power. * * * Had this been done, Mr. Douglas could never more have been signally useful to nor trusted by the slave power. His hopes of future advancement must have rested perforce on the growing free labor sentiment of the country.”²

Douglas’ term was soon to expire and the Legislature elected in 1858 was to fill the place. The Republicans of Illinois were not willing to take Eastern advice, and nominated Abraham Lincoln as the Republican candidate to succeed Douglas. Douglas seems to have been willing to welcome the Republican party into his camp, but openly and persistently refused “to be drummed out of the Democratic camp either as a deserter or coward.”³ The Illinois Republicans had given up the idea of uniting with the Douglas Democrats, if indeed they ever seriously thought of doing so. “Once for all,” said the *Chicago Press*, “let the *Tribune* (N. Y.) understand that the Republicans of Illinois so far from intending to return Mr. Douglas to the United States Senate, intend to defeat him, and they feel abundantly competent to manage their own affairs, and that they do not recognize the right of *The Tribune* to instruct them on the subject, nor do they give any heed to its suggestions. . *The Tribune* will do well to address itself to a close observance to the eleventh commandment—mind its own business.”⁴ During the campaign *The Tribune* supported Lincoln, though still believing his nomination a mistake. When the campaign was over it seemingly justified in part Douglas’ position. “That Mr. Douglas * * * was impelled to take positions in which the Republicans could not support him is very clear; but it by no means follows that he would have taken these positions had the Republicans of Illinois stood at his back instead of being desperately intent on his overthrow, and virtually leagued with the Buchananites to achieve that end * * * He could not afford to alienate, nor allow Mr. Buchanan to alienate,

¹*Chicago Press*, March 16, 1858.

²*New York Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1858; Rhodes, II., p. 306.

³*Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 7, 1858.

⁴*Chicago Press*, May 14, 1858; Hollister, “Life of Colfax,” pp. 119-22; “Greeley to Medill,” in Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 140-1; Coleman, Crittenden II., pp. 162-164; Rhodes, II., pp. 305-7.

any portion of the Democratic party from his standard, if he were obliged to meet the entire Republican party marshaled in deadly array against him.¹

The Lincoln and Douglas Debates.

The attempt to crush Douglas was not confined within the halls of Congress. His term as Senator was nearing its end, and the administration determined if possible to prevent his re-election. The South repudiated him; the Kentucky state convention expressed undiminished confidence in Buchanan; and Indiana, under the leadership of his two old friends, Bright and Pettit, carried the state convention to the Buchanan standard.²

In Illinois scarcely a week passed that did not see newspapers, postmasters and other Federal officers announce their change from Douglas to Buchanan. Those who remained friendly to Douglas were removed and their places given to administration supporters.³ "There are unmistakable indications," writes the editor of the Chicago Press, "of extensive rebellion against Mr. Douglas in the ranks of the Democracy of Illinois * * * very different are the circumstances under which Mr. Douglas calls upon the Democracy of Illinois to sustain him now. He is openly arrayed against the policy of the administration which they helped to place in power. If they sustain him, they must fight the administration, which course takes them directly out of the Democratic party. * * * A very large number of the rank and file of the Democracy of the State will doubtless stand by the administration * * * there is no disguising the fact that Mr. Douglas will not be able to carry the party with him in the State * * * not only the old conservative masses * * * but even the local leaders of the party who have worked in the Douglas harness for the last dozen years are withdrawing their allegiance from the **man**, that they may cling to the **party**."⁴ The next day the same paper said, "We shall not be surprised if more than half of the Democratic papers of the State were compelled by outside pressure to follow the example of the Peoria Union within the next fortnight."⁵

But the masses of the Democrats were too much attached to Douglas and "too honest and the prominent leaders too shrewd" to accept the Lecompton swindle. In nearly every county Doug-

¹New York Tribune, Nov. 12, 1858. Macy, "Political Parties in the United States," pp. 258-9.

²Chicago Press, Jan. 13, 1858.

³Sheahan, Douglas, XVI.; Rhodes, II., p. 322.

⁴Chicago Press, Feb. 11, 1858.

⁵Ibid., Feb. 12, 1858.

las could count on the rank and file of the party.¹ The first skirmish came in the Chicago city election (March 2), in which the Republican ticket won by a majority of 1,100 votes; and it was charged by the Douglas organ that this was made possible by desertions in the Democratic wards.² In March the "National Democrat," Douglas' German organ, in Chicago, went over to the administration, and from its presses was issued in addition the "National Union," a new anti-Douglas daily. "Let the present ordeal be maintained for six months longer, and it would be an easy matter to take the census of such officeholders and Democratic papers as stand out against the administration," observed the Press.³

The Democratic state convention was called to meet at Springfield, April 21, and as the regular machinery of the party was largely in the hands of the Douglas Democrats, the administration Democrats issued separate calls by petition for county conventions to elect delegates to the state convention. That for Cook County was signed by 101 prominent Democrats.⁴ When the delegates arrived at Springfield the Douglas Democrats were found to be in a majority, so the administration Democrats decided not to enter the regular convention, but to hold a separate one.⁵ The Douglas Democratic convention contained 520 delegates—representing all but fifteen counties (Sheahan, page 392, says all but two counties), while the administration Democratic convention contained representatives from only twenty-eight counties, and some of these were visitors rather than authorized representatives.⁶

The administration Democratic convention endorsed the Cincinnati platform and adjourned to meet again June 9, in order "to give the Democracy time to turn out."⁷ At the adjourned meeting, 263 delegates, representing forty-eight counties, met and adopted a platform and nominated candidates. Eighty counties were formally or informally represented before the convention adjourned, and some of the participants were men who "always ranked among the ablest leaders of the party in this State."⁸ The Washington correspondents reaffirmed the continued determination of the President and the administration to continue "a war to the knife on the Douglas faction of the Democracy," and pre-

¹Chicago Press, March 5, 1858.

²Ibid., March 4, 1858; Chicago Times, March 3, 1858.

³Chicago Press, March 17, 1858.

⁴Ibid., March 29, 1858.

⁵Sheahan, Douglass, pp. 390-94.

⁶Chicago Press, April 22, 23, 1858; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 392.

⁷Sheahan, Douglas, p. 393.

⁸Chicago Press, June 8, 9, 10, 11, 1858.

dictions were common that the administration Democrats would continue to gain strength as the contest continued.¹ These predictions, however, did not come true. With the entrance of Douglas into the campaign after his return from Washington, and the overwhelming vote against the English bill in Kansas, the administration Democratic party became an unimportant factor in the contest, at least as a third party, though it is impossible to know how many of them cast Republican votes.

The Douglas Democratic platform reaffirmed allegiance to the Cincinnati platform of 1856; reaffirmed its faith in popular sovereignty—the right of the people of a Territory by a majority vote at a fair election to decide the character of their fundamental laws; demanded the submission of the Lecompton constitution to a fair vote of the people of Kansas; and endorsed Douglas and the Democratic members of Congress from Illinois.²

The Republican state convention, which met at Springfield, June 16, 1858, unanimously nominated Abraham Lincoln as the senatorial candidate of that party to succeed Douglas, and it was then that Lincoln delivered his famous speech, in which he said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."³

On the ninth of July, Douglas arrived in Chicago and was accorded a rousing welcome.⁴ He responded in a speech answering that of Lincoln. He justified his opposition to the English bill because it discriminated between free and slave States by allowing Kansas to come in as a slave State with a population of 35,000, "but if she demanded another constitution, more consistent with the sentiments of her people and their feelings, that it should not be received into the Union until it had 93,420 inhabitants." This attempt to influence votes for slavery was unfair. He believed the people would reject the bribe, but in any case the right of the people to decide for themselves had been secured, and he thanked those, Republicans and Whigs, who had fought with him for this principle. He had defended popular sovereignty against a united North in 1854, and in 1858 against a United South and still believed it a sound doctrine. Turning then to Lincoln's speech he found in it two distinct propositions.

¹Chicago Press and Tribune, July 22, 1858.

²Sheahan, Douglas, p. 394.

³Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 52. (Edited by A. T. Jones, Battle Creek, Mich., 1895.)

⁴Sheahan, Douglas, p. 398.

First, Mr. Lincoln "advocates boldly and clearly a war of sections * * * to be continued relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall become free or become slave." Second, Mr. Lincoln goes for a warfare upon the Supreme Court of the United States because of their judicial decision in the Dred Scott case. On both of these points he was opposed to Lincoln. In answer to the first he vindicated the right of the people to regulate their own domestic institutions, and to the second, he declared that however he might differ with the court it was his duty as a citizen to bow to the will of the highest constitutional authority.¹

Lincoln replied the next night in a much weaker effort than his convention speech, and Douglas made answer at Bloomington, July 16. Lincoln rejoined at Springfield next day, where he declared, "I adhere to the Declaration of Independence. If Judge Douglas and his friends are not willing to stand by it, let them come up here and amend it. Let them make it read that all men are created equal except negroes."²

Thinking Douglas could be answered better from the same platform, Lincoln challenged him to a joint debate, and seven meetings were arranged—one in each Congressional district, except those containing Chicago and Springfield, where both had already spoken.³ The joint debates attracted wide attention throughout the whole country, and brought Lincoln prominently forward as a Republican leader. Douglas had found no equal in running debate either in the Senate or House; and Lincoln certainly had the courage of his convictions and a confidence in the justness of his cause when he challenged him.

In the first debate Douglas asked seven questions which he called upon Lincoln to answer. He wanted to know if Lincoln:

1. Favored the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law.
2. Was opposed to the admission of any more slave States.
3. Was opposed to the admission of a State with a constitution satisfactory to its people.
4. Favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.
5. Favored the prohibition of the slave trade between the States.
6. Favored the prohibition of slavery in all the Territories of the United States.

¹Ibid., pp. 406-15, and *Lincoln and Douglas Debates*, p. 60.

²*Lincoln and Douglas Debates*, pp. 159, 180.

³Ibid., p. 161; *Rhodes II.*, p. 321.

7. Was opposed to the acquisition of more territory unless slavery was prohibited therein.¹

Douglas' object was to identify Lincoln with the radical wing of the Republican party in Illinois; but Lincoln would not so identify himself. Lincoln declared that while he did not endorse all the details of the existing law he did not favor the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law because such a law was guaranteed by the constitution. He would be glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted, but that if slavery be kept out of the Territories until they were ready to be admitted he would admit them. He did not favor the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia except upon three conditions: First, abolition should be gradual; second, decided upon by a majority vote of the qualified voters of the District; third, compensation to be made to unwilling owners. He had not carefully studied the question of slave trade between the States and did not care to state his position on it. He was pledged to the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories. And, finally, he was not in favor of acquiring more slave territory.²

Douglas did not consider Lincoln's answer to the third and fourth questions satisfactory, but could get no more definite answer during the debates.

Lincoln then retaliated by asking Douglas four questions, and later asked a fifth one:

1. Would Douglas favor the admission of Kansas before it had 93,000 people?

2. Can the people of a Territory lawfully exclude slavery before a State constitution is formed?

3. If the Supreme Court should decide that a State cannot exclude slavery, would Douglas acquiesce in the decision?

4. Did he favor the acquisition of territory irrespective of its bearing on the slavery question?

5. If the slaveholders in a territory needed Congressional protection would Douglas as a member of Congress vote for this legislation?³

To the first Douglas answered that as a general principle he did not favor admitting a Territory till it had population enough to entitle it to one Representative, but as the English bill made an exception favorable to slavery, he would vote to admit it as a free State with the population it had. In answer

¹Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 168.

²Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 201-4.

³Ibid., pp. 204, 270.

to the second question Douglas replied that the people could exclude slavery from a Territory by unfriendly legislation. This doctrine became known as the Freeport doctrine.¹

A great many biographers of Lincoln have laid emphasis upon his cleverness when in Freeport he asked Douglas the question that resulted in his Freeport doctrine of unfriendly legislation. Nicolay and Hay (II., p. 160) state that there is a tradition that Lincoln submitted the questions to a number of friends. The second one was objected to on the ground that Douglas would answer it yes, by unfriendly legislation. "Then," Lincoln is reported to have answered, "Gentlemen, I am killing larger game; if Douglas answers he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this." It is hard to disprove a tradition; but the facts in this connection are worth consideration.

On June 12, 1857, Douglas delivered an address before the Grand Jury at Springfield in which he said: "While the right (to hold slaves in the Territories) continues in full force under the guarantee of the constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, it necessarily remains a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected and enforced by appropriate police regulation and local legislation presenting adequate remedies for its violation. These regulations and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local Legislature."²

In Bloomington, July 16, 1858, Lincoln being present in the audience, Douglas devoted more time to a discussion of this question than he did at Freeport, saying, "Slavery will never exist one day or one hour in any Territory against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people."³ Again at Springfield the next day he expressed the same idea in regard to unfriendly legislation, and Lincoln criticised his designation of the Dred Scott decision as a mere abstraction in his answer the same day at Springfield.⁴

All this occurred before the Lincoln-Douglas debates were commenced, and any advantage Lincoln could possibly gain was in getting Douglas to answer in the joint debate because "of the greater interest incited by a joint debate."⁵

In answer to the third question, Douglas said that such a

¹Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 213.

²Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 83-4, 159; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 423.

³Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 109-110; Sheahan, Douglas, p. 423.

⁴Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 157, 136; Flint, Douglas, pp. 196-206; Chicago Press and Tribune, July 20, 1858.

⁵Rhodes, II., p. 328.

decision was impossible; it would be moral treason and no man on the bench would stoop to it. Answering the fourth question, he said he felt free to annex territory and leave the people to decide whether the State should be free or slave. And finally, he would not vote protection to slave property in the Territories because he believed in non-intervention by Congress, and held that all domestic institutions should be left to the people themselves.¹ From previous speeches the "house divided against itself" issue and that of the Dred Scott decision were brought in. The points at issue between them may be summed up as follows: Lincoln planted himself upon the Declaration of Independence and declared that the negro was entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Douglas tried to push him to admitting equality between the negroes and whites; Lincoln denied that he believed this, "but in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hands earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man."² But this equality did not hold in States having slavery, for Lincoln repeatedly denied that he was in favor of interfering with slavery in the States. He believed he had no right to do so and he had no disposition to do so. Even in the District of Columbia he was not in favor of freeing the slaves except by a vote of the people—an interesting recognition of the popular sovereignty which Douglas was advocating.

They both agreed to the inferiority of the negro, that the white race was superior. They further agreed that the negro need not necessarily be a slave because an inferior; that he had certain rights and privileges which he should be allowed to enjoy as far as consistent with the good of society. Meeting the question of what was for the good of society, Douglas would let the people decide for themselves; Illinois forbade slavery, Missouri did not; Maine allowed negroes to vote, New York did the same if they owned property worth \$250. Douglas would not question the correctness of these provisions; he would allow each state and territory to decide for itself. Lincoln demanded that the territory be made free; he would not make the negroes the equals of the whites; he would not even make them citizens. The states, but not the territories could regulate slavery to suit themselves and he would not interfere with them in this matter, but in spite of all this he would not let go of the doctrines laid down in the Declaration, and the equal right to eat the bread they had earned by their toil. Douglas pointed out the inconsistencies he saw in

¹Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 212-17, 280.

²Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 180.

these views but Lincoln insisted that there were no inconsistencies in them. The doctrines of the Declaration were held by Lincoln as abstract principles to be applied to new territory, but apparently not applicable to older states having slavery.¹ Douglas wanted to know what Lincoln would do with the states to be made out of Texas but Lincoln would not meet that question. He insisted that Lincoln's preliminary proposition that the territory must be free did not meet the situation, Texas was not now free, would he admit the states made from Texas? As to the Dred Scott decision Lincoln was opposed to it, he considered it as part and parcel of a plot to extend slavery, he predicted that the court would later deny the right to the states to prohibit slavery and wanted to know if Douglas would support the courts then. As already indicated Douglas did not meet this question by a definite answer, he argued it out of court as moral treason—an impossibility. Support of the Dred Scott decision forced Douglas to emphasize the doctrine of unfriendly legislation. Lincoln repudiated the Dred Scott decision and Douglas repeatedly scored him for not upholding the highest constitutional court. How could he take the oath to support the Constitution when he did not intend to do it? Lincoln argued that he was compelled to accept it as a principle of law but not as a principle of political action; he proposed to have it reversed if possible and to favor no measure that concurred with the principle there laid down. He pointed out how the court in Illinois had been reversed, and how Douglas got the title Judge by being made one of the new Judges which reversed the former decision.² Lincoln retaliated by showing that while Douglas claimed to uphold the court he was in practice advocating the overthrow of the decision by his unfriendly legislation. Douglas argued that the decision required additional legislation to make slavery possible in a territory. This the people need not give. As a matter of fact the two men were not far apart on this principle. Each was going to obey the decision as a rule of law but not of political action.³ One of the most important differences between the debaters grew out of the policy of the "Fathers." Lincoln contended that the Nation could not exist half free and half slave. Douglas held that it could so exist; that it had so existed; and if the abolitionists would mind their own business, confine themselves to their own domestic institutions the country would continue to exist as it came from the "Fathers."

¹Ibid., pp. 384, 431, 442.

²Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 408; Flint, Douglas, p. 19.

³Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 449, 455.

Lincoln claimed the "Fathers" did not leave a divided country; they restricted slavery, and the public mind was at rest so long as the policy of the "Fathers" continued.

Douglas pressed home with vigor the charge that Lincoln favored a war on the South in order that the country might "become all one thing"—free territory. Lincoln was repeatedly put on the defensive because of this "house divided" sentiment, though he absolutely denied any intention to interfere with slavery in the states. He was inclined to go no farther than to say that all territory should be free and slavery would gradually die out, in a hundred years or thereabout.¹

"According to Lincoln's exposition the Republican party would act as if it were a church, a reform club, or an ethical society; it would simply exercise the right of saying that slavery was wrong."²

Douglas made a persistent attempt to show that Lincoln did not stand on the Republican platforms, that in the North he quoted the Declaration of Independence but in the South denied that he believed in equality. Lincoln positively refused to stand on any Republican platform other than that of 1856. Though Douglas repeatedly read Congressional platforms and caucus resolutions to show up Republican principles, Lincoln steered clear of them and explained that the radicals and conservatives met in convention, harmonized their differences, and upon that platform he stood.³

The Douglas solution for the slavery trouble was to allow the people to settle it for themselves. "Lincoln's objections * * * were historic and theoretical rather than practical. * * * It was in their moral attitude towards slavery that Lincoln and Douglas differed rather than in specific policies."⁴ Under the Douglas method Kansas was becoming a free state, at least it was not coming in as a slave state.

Speaking of the campaign, after it had ended, the Chicago Tribune said it was one "in which the leader of the Democracy, a man of great courage, coolness and adroitness, approached so near Republican opinions on the vital questions of the campaign that we could not hit him without wounding our friends. * * *"⁵ Isaac N. Arnold, a biographer of Lincoln, a Republi-

¹Lincoln and Douglas Debates, p. 321; Macy, "Political Parties in the U. S.," p. 271.

²Macy, p. 267.

³Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 167, 220, 225, 233, 343, 344; New York Tribune, Nov. 5, 11, 1858.

⁴Macy, "Political Parties in the U. S.," p. 265; Wise, "Life of H. A. Wise," p. 265.

⁵Chicago Tribune, Nov. 9, quoted in New York Tribune, Nov. 12, 1858.

can, and an intimate friend of both debaters wrote, "this canvass of Douglas, and his personal and immediate triumph, in being returned to the Senate, over the combined opposition of the Republican party, led by Lincoln and Trumbull, and the Administration, with all its patronage, is, I think, the most brilliant personal triumph in American politics."¹

The Campaign of 1860.

Douglas aided by a favorable legislative apportionment won the Senatorship over Lincoln, but he did not get a majority of the votes.² In every Northern state, except Indiana which was won by a Douglas follower, the administration had lost support, and its failure to make Kansas a slave state discredited it in the South. Douglas was held responsible for this; it was his popular sovereignty that had made Kansas a free state, and he was removed from the position of chairman of the Committee on Territories by the Senate caucus of Democrats. Following his campaign with Lincoln he made a tour of the South in an attempt to win converts to his doctrines.³ "Mr. Douglas during his canvass in Illinois and in his speech at New Orleans uttered sentiments eminently befitting a great statesman; and promulgated a platform which, with a **solitary exception**, includes as sound political creed as the most Southern man should desire. He vindicated the institution of slavery on moral grounds and advocated it, as a wise and necessary element in our agricultural system," wrote the editor of DeBow's Review.⁴

In the Senate Southern opposition to Western interests was further shown. Iverson explained his attitude against the Pacific Railroad by saying that he did not propose to help build a railroad which would be outside the South Confederacy when the Union was dissolved.⁵ A homestead bill was shelved in the Senate after passing the House because it would help the settlement of the free states. The inevitable clash came between Douglas and Davis, and each side issued its ultimatum to the other. It was what DeBow's Review called the **solitary exception**, viz.: unfriendly legislation, that separated them.⁶ Davis claimed that he was standing squarely on the doctrine of non-intervention as it was laid down by Calhoun in his Senate resolution of Febru-

¹Fergus, *Historical Pub.*, II., p. 152; Macy, p. 271; Burgess, "Middle Period," pp. 62-3.

²Moses, *Illinois; Historical and Statistical*, II., pp. 1189, 1212.

³Flint, *Douglas*, pp. 181, 189; Nicolay and Hay, II., pp. 171-4; Rhodes II., p. 354.

⁴DeBow's Review, Vol. 26, p. 641.

⁵Cong. Globe, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 242-4.

⁶Ibid., pp. 1244, 1246, 1257.

ary 19, 1847, and, in fact, Davis' resolutions of February 7, 1860, are substantially a restatement of Calhoun's doctrine.¹ But Douglas and his Northern followers did not adhere to the Calhoun interpretation, and Alex. H. Stephens and his followers agreed with Douglas rather than with Davis.² Non-intervention, said Davis, "seems to have been more malleable than gold, to have been hammered out to an extent that covers boundless regions undiscovered by those who proclaimed the doctrine. It has a different meaning in every State, in every county, in every town."³ Alex. H. Stephens writes: "Calhoun denied the power, [of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territory] yet he was for the Compromise Line; and the same position is taken by the whole fire-eating crowd."⁴ When the compromise of 1850 was under discussion, Jefferson Davis signified his willingness to accept an extension of the Compromise Line—36° 30'—in lieu of Calhoun's non-intervention, and in 1854 he arranged an interview between Douglas and President Pierce, which resulted in Pierce's support of Douglas' bill with the whole power of the administration.⁵ Later Davis used his power as Secretary of War to make Kansas a slave State. How a consistent supporter of Calhoun's interpretation of non-intervention could support a bill purporting to leave the whole question of slavery in the Territory to the decision of the people of the Territory, subject to the constitution, is hard to see unless the Kansas-Nebraska bill meant nothing. If the slave-holders had "an equal right to go into all Territories—all property being alike protected" what was to be decided by the people of the Territory?

The facts in the case seem to be: That Douglas and Stephens and their followers accepted the principles of the compromise of 1850 as superceding the Calhoun doctrines of 1847, but Davis did not.⁶ In 1859, he spoke of 1850 as "that dark period for Southern rights;" later, in 1854, he was willing to accept the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a possible means of adding a slave State, but when it became known that Kansas would not enter the Union as a slave State, he retraced his steps and resumed his stand on the Calhoun doctrines.⁷

¹Calhoun's Resolution in Cong. Globe, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 455; Davis' Resolution in Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 658.

²Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix). Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, pp. 302-4.

³Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1941. Davis' Rise and Fall of Confed. Govmt., I., pp. 40-41.

⁴Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, p. 288.

⁵Globe, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 520; Davis' Rise and Fall, I., p. 28; Rhodes, I. 483, II., pp. 85, 122, 240, 277, 295.

⁶Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix); Globe, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 586 (appendix).

⁷Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1941.

In the opinion of Alex. H. Stephens it was this new position taken by the South that wrecked the Democratic party at Charleston.¹ As a matter of fact, the position was not new; it was a position in harmony with the earlier Southern interpretation of the Calhoun doctrine that had, apparently, been thrown overboard in 1850 and 1854.

Douglas had repeatedly quoted Davis and Orr in his debates with Lincoln to show that the Freeport doctrine was good Democracy, but the South was in no mood to accept it.² The Southern Senators planted their guns on the Calhoun theory of 1847, which Douglas had repudiated. A great deal has been said in derision of Douglas' Freeport doctrine, but the Southern Senators clearly saw that the right to take slaves into a Territory was barren unless backed up by local protective legislation. They understood the slavery situation much better than the Northern scoffers who derided the Freeport doctrine as metaphysical. Douglas steadfastly maintained that slaves could be brought into the Territory just as dry goods, liquors, mules, or other property, but they must remain there subject to the local laws. Davis maintained that if the people of the Territory were opposed to slavery it could not exist in such a Territory. Douglas heartily agreed to this, but Davis and Brown wished to push him to support by Congressional legislation a slave code which would protect slave property in a territory. Answering Senator Brown in particular, Douglas said, "I am much obliged to him for taking it for granted, from my record, that I would never vote for a slave code in the Territory by Congress; and I have yet to learn that there is a man in a free State of this Union, of any party, who would."³

During the next session of Congress the two leaders of the Democratic factions again defined their positions. The Democratic convention was soon to meet at Charleston and these declarations were to define the issues to be fought out there. On January 12, 1860, Douglas said: "I am not seeking a nomination. I am willing to take one, provided I can assume it on principles I believe to be sound; but in the event of your making a platform that I could not conscientiously execute in good faith if I were elected I will not stand upon it and be a candidate. * * * I have no grievances, but I have no concessions. I have no abandonment of position or principle; no recantation to make to any

¹Johnson and Browne, Alex. H. Stephens, p. 358, 9, 62, 364; *Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 315 (appendix).

²Lincoln and Douglas Debates, pp. 110, 425; Flint, Douglas, pp. 165, 195, 201-7.

³Cong. *Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1241-74.

man or body of men on earth.”¹ On the second of the following month, Davis introduced a set of resolutions defining the Southern demands. The crucial one declared that neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature could directly or indirectly deprive a citizen of the right to take slaves into a Territory, and that it was the duty of the Federal Government to afford the necessary protection to maintain slavery there.²

When the convention met, the Southern delegates in caucus determined to stand by the Davis resolutions. Douglas as resolutely insisted that the platform should embody his principles and that the nominee, whether himself or not, should stand squarely upon that platform.³ Here was his time, had he been the time-serving truckler to the slavocracy that he has been painted, to give way and unite the party and secure the nomination. On the 20th of June, during the adjourned session of the convention, Douglas wrote to Richardson, his lieutenant, “While I can never sacrifice the principle (of non-intervention) even to obtain the presidency, I will cheerfully and joyfully sacrifice myself to maintain the principle. If, therefore, you and my others friends * * * shall be of the opinion that the principle can be preserved, and the unity and ascendancy of the Democratic party maintained * * * by withdrawing my name and uniting with some other non-intervention, Union-loving Democrat, I beseech you to pursue that course. * * * I conjure you to act with a single eye to the safety and welfare of the country, and without the slightest regard to my individual interest or aggrandizement.”⁴

The final result was the nomination of two sets of candidates, Douglas and Johnson of Georgia, on the Douglas platform, and Breckenridge of Kentucky and Lane of Oregon on the Davis platform.⁵

In the campaign which followed, the number of meetings and oral addresses was beyond precedent. “We judge that the number of speeches made during the recent campaign has been quite equal to that of all that were made in the previous presidential canvasses from 1789 to 1856 inclusive.”⁶ Douglas plunged actively into the campaign, speaking in the North, South, East and West. At Chicago he said: “I believe that the country is in more danger now than at any other moment since I have known anything of public life.”⁷ The Republicans generally hooted at

¹Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 424.

²Cong. Globe, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 658.

³Flint, Douglas, pp. 221-2.

⁴Flint, Douglas, p. 212; Rhodes, II., p. 474.

⁵Halsted, “National Political Conventions of 1860;” Rhodes, II., p. 440.

⁶New York Tribune, Nov. 8, 1860.

⁷Rhodes, II., p. 488.

attempts at "Union saving," as they were called. Seward said that the threats of secession might frighten old women, but the "stock market remains provokingly calm."

A characteristic editorial on this subject, though written during the Lincoln-Douglas debates, is worth quoting at length:

"TIME FOR UNION SAVING TO BEGIN. It must be approaching time for Union saving to begin. Here is a month of the campaign gone, the Union in the meantime going to everlasting smash, and the Giant has not stirred a muscle to save it. Where are the old apostrophes to that gal-o-ri-ous bird of freedom? Where are the denunciations of the traitors, parricides and fanatics that have been amusing themselves with pulling the tail feathers out? Where the Jeremiads that used to be said and sung on every stump, when the Union was the theme? There's but one way to account for the Senator's silence. He is in more danger than the Union. The Republicans have dropped the American Eagle and are making HIS feathers fly; and he is attending to what is nearest at hand. But the Union must be saved. If Douglas won't do it somebody else will. Who will take the contract to save the American Union? Douglas' hands are full (he's bringing Lincoln to his milk?) and he can't. Who'll save the Union?"¹

At no time during the canvass had Douglas any hopes of election. His main effort was to save the Union. In Pennsylvania, Indiana, New York and New Jersey attempts at fusion against Lincoln were more or less completely carried out. Breckenridge and Bell gave Davis power to withdraw their names if Douglas would withdraw in favor of a candidate satisfactory to all. Douglas replied that if he withdrew his friends would support Lincoln. He was sure his friends would not accept the proposition.²

At Baltimore Douglas said that although every Breckenridge man was not a disunionist, every disunionist was a Breckenridge man.³ At Norfolk, Va., in answer to a question whether the election of Lincoln would justify the South in seceding, he said: "To this I answer emphatically, no. The election of a man to the presidency by the American people, in conformity with the constitution of the United States, would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious confederacy."⁴ Another question put was: "If they, the Southern States secede from the Union upon the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, before he commits an overt act

¹Chicago Press and Tribune, Aug. 25, 1858.

²Davis, "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," I., p. 52.

³Rhodes, II., p. 483.

⁴Rhodes, II., p. 491.

against their constitutional rights, will you advise or vindicate resistance by force to their secession?" Douglas replied: "I answer emphatically that it is the duty of the President of the United States, and all others in authority under him, to enforce the laws of the United States as passed by Congress, and as the court expound them. And I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the constitution, would do all in my power to aid the government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might. In other words, I think the President of the United States, whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union by resistance to its laws as Old Hickory treated the nullifiers of 1832."¹ At Baltimore he expressed similar sentiments, going so far as to say that he was ready to hang the nullifiers.² On October 9th the Pennsylvania Republicans carried their State ticket by 32,000 majority, and in Indiana they won by nearly ten thousand. South as well as North now knew that Lincoln would certainly be elected in November. Of the popular vote, Lincoln had 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,291,574; Breckenridge, 850,082; Bell, 646,124. But it was the electoral vote that told the story. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes; Douglas, 12; Breckenridge, 72; and Bell 39. In neither House, however, did the Republicans have a majority. When Douglas heard the returns from Pennsylvania and Indiana in October, he cancelled all Western engagements and spoke in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, everywhere denouncing disunion. He believed "the Union would be safe under Mr. Lincoln, if it could be held together long enough for the development of his policy," and it was for this he was striving. When Sumpter was fired on he immediately called on Lincoln to assure him of his support in the war, but in less than two months he was dead. Horace Greeley wrote, "Our country has often been called to mourn severe, untimely losses; yet I deem the death of Stephen A. Douglas, just at the outbreak of our great Civil War and when he had thrown his whole soul into the cause of the country, one of the most grievous and irreparable."³ From across Mason and Dixon's line Alexander H. Stephens wrote, "His death, at the time, I regarded as one of the greatest calamities, under the dispensation of Providence, which befell this country in the beginning of these troubles."⁴

¹Rhodes, II., p. 491.

²Wilson, "Slave Power," II., p. 700.

³Rhodes, III., p. 415; Greeley, "Recollections of a Busy Life," p. 359.

⁴Stephens, "The War Between the States," II., p. 421.

In his last speech, which was made at Chicago, May 1, 1860, before 10,000 people, Douglas said: "There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; **only patriots or traitors.**"
* * * It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as Civil War, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country."¹

—EDWARD McMAHON.

¹Rhodes, III., p. 414.

COLONEL STEPTOE'S BATTLE.*

The American people are still in the making. It has been said that ours is a country without history, without traditions and without national pride. If we lack in history, it is to our credit that its few and scattered pages record no instance of oppression or wrong to the citizen. The light of progress illumines its pages, and it is better that it be so than to record a glory equal to that of the ancient kingdoms.

If we lack in traditions, what comfort can we claim in that those we do cherish stand for truth, honor and patriotism. What country, nation or state can boast a legacy so rich as the story of Lexington or Valley Forge? What character in the chronicles of humanity can furnish the inspiration to love, to do justice, perseverance, mercy, patience, courage and fortitude, as the simplest tale of the simplest character the world has ever known—our own Lincoln. Let the world claim what it will. Around an humble life America has built a very fountain of influence that answers for the efforts of all the ages. Let boast who will of chivalry and deeds of valor; we claim them all and more. Our first and great tradition is based on the principle of love for humanity.

It may be that we lack in national pride. If to establish and maintain schools, hospitals, libraries, to build up great business enterprises, to maintain an army that has never been defeated, and never will be defeated, and a navy that is the pride of the seas, to found a nation and in the comparative nothingness of an hundred and thirty years make it the greatest of all the earth is a matter of national pride, then we can with truth and comfort say in pride, that pride which is not boasting, bigoted or intolerant, that we are the proudest people in the world.

Every American can well be proud of his country, of the great men who have been called to rule and govern it. He can well be proud of his State and its accomplishments. Wherever we go or return the work of our people cry aloud our purposes and our achievements. The cottage and the mansion alike sing a paen to our country's greatness.

In line with the development of our history, our traditions and our national pride, we are marking in fit and proper manner the historic spots of our country, that all "who pass this way

*Address delivered at the dedication of the Steptoe Memorial Park.

may know the truth," and knowing, take resolution for the future.

In Europe there exists a beautiful custom, that of erecting shrines along the highways and in the villages. These are dedicated to some saint, and in mute command impel the faithful to bow the head in fervent prayer.

The influence of this custom cannot be measured. Anything, be it a shrine, a tablet or a monument erected to the heroic dead, that calls man to stop, to think for himself, within himself, is not a pagan custom, a vagary or naked in its significance. It meets the fundamental demand of the human soul for rest and refreshment, a time for thought, with the world shut out. It has existed since the first altar was erected, and will exist so long as the soul impulse is dominant in man.

We have been slow and negligent perhaps. The world loves show, and the more conspicuous are cared for first. But the people are just, and in time our whole duty will be done. The nation and the state have had no time to pick out the places and erect the shrines that are so justly due the martyr and the pioneer, whose first grasp of this, our country, was violently broken, and whose blood ran out in tiny rivulets to mark the cherished places of the civilization so soon to follow.

We have been slow, but to the great honor of our people, and as evidence of its democracy, the reclamation of this spot and its future marking will depend upon those who are near and dear to us, our neighbors and our friends. We are under deep obligation to the people of Rosalia. To Esther Reed Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution of Spokane, and to Mrs. Ivan Chase, of Colfax, our thanks are especially due. In the veins of these noble women flow the blood of Bunker Hill, of Saratoga and of Yorktown. The soul of the patriot still lives, and to these mothers of men of a nation will in turn bear grateful acknowledgement for a work which you and I, my brother, had so long neglected.

The story of the Steptoe expedition is a simple one and might be soon told. I may assume that in the main it is familiar to all of us. The people of Rosalia have made it familiar. The newspapers have only recently reviewed it, and it is not my purpose to say more than I deem sufficient as a proper premise to the conclusion I would draw. It is enough to say that word had come from the settlers in the Colville country that the Indians had become insolent. It had been reported that one or more Americans had been murdered on the Palouse River. It was known that

Kamiakin, Chief of the Yakimas, was hostile to the whites. Therefore, on the 6th day of May, 1858, Colonel Steptoe, at the head of a company of about 110 men, set out for the Spokane and Colville country. On the 16th they learned of the presence of the Indians in force a few miles beyond, and on the evening of that day found themselves in the presence of from 600 to 1,000 fighting men, representing the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene and Palouse tribes. The troops camped that night in the presence of the Indians.

"Finding that he should have to contend against great odds, without being prepared, Steptoe determined upon retreating, and early in the morning of the 17th began his return to the Palouse."

This in itself was an invitation to the Indians to attack. They had proceeded only three or four miles when overtaken by the Indians. With jeers and taunts of cowardice they circled about the little band. They were better armed than the dragoons, and the unruly ones did not hesitate to fire, believing the white man to be afraid. Slowly, laboriously the retreat went on, over yonder hill, through yonder draw. The savage made merry over his certain victim. The love of torture, delight in the suffering of others, characteristic of his race, is the only hypothesis upon which to rest the comparatively happy termination of this disastrous venture; otherwise, had the rules of civilized warfare prevailed, they would have shot them down at once, or surrounded them, have captured all, who to escape a fate so miserable had not ended their own careers. Finally, the day drawing on, a dragoon was stricken and he fell. Immediately the order not to fire was forgotten. The battle was on. The soldier who has often been a coward, in the mind of his enemy, because his training demanded that he meet death rather than disobey orders, threw off restraint and became a brother thirsting for revenge. Even at this time, in consequence of the pious effort of the good Priest Joset, there were but few Indians engaged, and the troops might have retired without great loss; but for the fact that Jaques and Zachary, the latter a brother-in-law of Head Chief Vincent, were killed. The Coeur d'Alenes, whose hands had hitherto never been dipped in the white man's blood, broke loose from the influence of the priest, and their fury knew no bounds. Pressed to the last degree, overcome by heat, thirst and anxiety, the hill just above us was gained. They had to stay upon the hill-tops—it was the vantage ground. The flat was before them. To cross it probably meant utter annihilation, for the Indians would at once take the vantage ground hitherto held by the soldiers. It was resolved to make a stand and fight

as long as possible. The supplies were gathered, the horses picketed, and the men lying flat upon the ground made a cordon about them. Thus they fought, returning shot for shot, until the evening came. Being without ammunition and almost exhausted, it was resolved to flee.

In the battle there had fallen twelve brave souls, among them Captain Oliver H. P. Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston. Young, brave and daring officers, who had won by courageous conduct the love of their fellows. Their bodies were recovered, buried, and horses were led over the shallow graves to obliterate the mound left by the intrusion of the returning clay. "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note." The Howitzers were dismantled and buried, and quietly, silently in the darkness of the night, they stole away.

In passing it may be said that with the coming of the night the immediate danger had passed. The previous night had been passed in security. The Indian has never fought at night. Whatever the danger of the day, the night usually brought security. The war whoop has come with the first flush of dawn, and died with the setting sun. It must be remembered, however, that Colonel Steptoe was absolutely ignorant of the Indian character, otherwise he may have given ear to the warning of the friendly Nez Perces before he crossed the river on his way, and certainly he would have halted, when on the 16th he was informed that the Indians were but a few miles beyond and prepared to resist his further progress. The time and manner of his withdrawal were also inexcusable on grounds other than ignorance. One bold man has often awed or won the admiration of the hostile Indian. Any act, however, indicating fear has been enough to bring disaster and defeat to many a brave soul who failed to appreciate the impression left by his conduct upon the mind of the untutored adversary.

Much has been written in criticism and in defense of this brave officer. Whether in starting with a handful of men, mostly inexperienced, with only side arms, other than the two Howitzers, which could have been of but little value in any event, and but little ammunition, to make an incursion into a country where he should have expected, or at least been prepared for hostile demonstration, is an issue which I shall not undertake to decide. Let the historian speak and the people judge.

Be it remembered, however, that he had not been trained to meet the Western Indian. He was a soldier trained to warfare in the rules of war. The pioneer and settler recovered the West-

ern reserve; they met craft with craft, cunning with cunning; they made punishment swift, sure, and sometimes terrible. This could not be learned, aye it could not be tolerated, at West Point, where men were trained to fight their peers. As a rule, the regular army was not until more recent years successful in its dealing with the Indian. Indian fighting, now happily passed, was a development, and when Colonel Steptoe was in command Crooks and Miles were unbearded striplings and had not yet taught the government that rules did not apply, and that the company, battalion or brigade must be broken into individual units to meet a savage foe. In my humble judgment Colonel Steptoe has been misjudged. He may have been in error, but he was not at fault. Error springs from ill judgment; fault from disregard of that we ought to know. Men's errors are buried with them. Steptoe lived to meet his critics, and received the merciless pelting of the "warrior of the upholstered chair."

Custer and Canby, the one jealous of his glory, the other in the service of the Master, were guilty of grievous fault—they should have known. They are accepted as heroes, for they died upon the field of battle. Expressing, then, my own opinion, without design or purpose to influence the ultimate verdict, I say, in justice to humanity, that Colonel Steptoe was a hero no less to be revered than many before whom death in its mercy has drawn the curtain of silence. If he was rash and indiscreet in leading his followers into danger, he was merciful and heroic in his retreat.

Let one speak who is best qualified to know:

"What breaks my heart, is to see Colonel Steptoe, the zealous protector of Indians, exposed to the blame which ordinarily attaches itself to bad success; however, in the eyes of reflecting men, who know his situation, his retreat will do him infinite honor. It is not, I think, the first officer who could thus have drawn himself out from so bad a situation, surrounded by an army of ferocious beasts, hungry after their prey; of Indians sufficiently numerous to relieve each other, and who had always the means to procure fresh horses. It appeared impossible that the troops could escape. Besides, the plan of the Indians was not to give them any rest until they had crossed the Nez Perce; the Spokanes were to be there early on the morning of the 18th to relieve the Coeur d'Alenes. In a position so critical, the colonel deceived the vigilance of his enemies, and throwing them his provisions as an inducement to delay, he defeated their plan. He foresaw without doubt, that the Indians on the one hand had let him take the advance, and on the other tempted by the booty abandoned the pursuit; so that if the troops have escaped, they owe it to the sagacity of the colonel."—Joset.

Nor are we here to condemn the Indian and charge him with the murder of those whose memory we would hallow. We should always attune our judgment to meet the conditions presented in the particular case. It is not for us to judge harshly those whose acts are consistent with the nature that the Almighty Father has planted in their hearts and souls. We must approach the case from the viewpoint of the offender, find his motive, and let "mercy temper justice." You say he was treacherous; it may be true. You say he fired while we were retreating, it is true; but withal he acted in accord with his nature. We met the Indian in battle, and he fought us as we would fight, with all the zeal and means at his command. He fought with the light and understanding which he had. He may have misunderstood our plans and the peaceful nature of our mission, but it should be remembered that this was the cherished and traditional hunting ground of his fathers. He had word that his distant relatives had been crowded out, and limitations put upon his going and his coming in the beautiful valley of the Willamette. The lawful acts of his fathers had been proscribed and he had been punished by the whites.

At the conference with General Stevens the Indians had been told that they must retire to reservations, a part of them to be among the Nez Percés, with whom the more northern tribes were not friendly. They had been told by mischievous marplots, that the whites would take their lands and they would receive no pay for them. They believed themselves to be the owners of their country and had sent word that soldiers must not be sent among them. They had said that a road must not be surveyed through their country to the headwaters of the Missouri, and they knew that an expedition was preparing for that purpose.

More than that, the chiefs of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes were men of strength and character; they loved their people and their homes. Truth insists that we speak the truth. With the coming of the civilized white they could foresee the passing of their race. They had seen disease and pestilence scattered in the wake of immigration, and liquor had been introduced by the trader. The judgment and manhood of the tribes had thus been weakened and their morals corrupted. Let us imagine ourselves in a similar situation before we render the verdict that will condemn these tribes to the contumely indulged by the unthinking and careless who measure all human conduct by their own pharisaical standard of right.

The Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes had legitimate reason to

believe that their demands would be heeded, for they had always been friendly with the whites. They had protested their neutrality in the troubles with the Yakimas. No crimes of any consequence had been charged to them, and had the progress of the troops been originally arranged through the intervention of the missionary, I doubt not it would have been peacefully accomplished.

Father Joset's influence over the Indians was limited, in that he did not know all of them, and they resented his interference or suggestion in matters other than spiritual. To use his own words, "You appear to think that we could do almost anything with the Indians. Far from it. Even among the Coeur d'Alenes there is a certain number that we never see, that I do not know in any manner. The majority mistrust me when I come to speak in favor of Americans."

But in the instance we record the Father would have undoubtedly allayed the ill-feeling of the Indians but for the unfortunate fact that Steptoe was far away from the direct trail from Fort Walla Walla to Colville. That trail did not lead through the country they cherished as their home and hunting ground. The Indian was torn in thought and distracted in purpose.

Standing between the forms of two religions, the one adopted by the Nez Perces, and the other by himself, it is not surprising that tribal jealousies should be fomented. The presence of the Nez Perces among the soldiers was calculated to increase suspicion in the savage mind. Like his white brother, he believed his form of religion the proper one, and resented the intrusion of those whom he believed would interfere with his beliefs.

Unfair indeed are those who insist that Father Joset was culpable or blamable for the attack. Could it be expected that he could impress the Indian with the idea that to fight was wrong, that he could overcome their traditions, the martial spirit, the growth of the centuries? In truth you must answer no. No man living or who has ever lived could have done so, especially when the Indian knew that a christian, civilized people insisted on the right to bear arms, to organize, and to fight in force.

Religion is a growth, and he had not grown in it. In the hour of test and trial no form of religion has proved binding upon the mind and conscience of a savage people, unless that people have themselves developed it by gradual and imperceptible stages, or passed more than one generation beyond the time of its adoption.

In the presence of exciting influences, it is not surprising that

he should have forgotten the lessons of mercy. If he had been taught mercy and peace he had also heard much that the savage nature could not comprehend.

The story of the Genesis had been told by the preacher and the priest. The story of Joshua, and of Jehovah upholding the shields and spears of Israel were his also. In the light of retrospect and history a dangerous leaven to set working in the savage mind. In it he saw God's direct intervention. He saw him feed the hungry, clothe the naked and heal the sick. He believed the white man's religion rather than his own effort would bring him peace and comfort and habitations, and may we say it, shot and powder and guns. His simple trust must surely be shattered. He was hungry, yet he was not fed. His child was sick, yet it died. It is marvelous that the missionary exercised as much influence as he did. All these things moved him to reject the advice and counsel of the priest. And in judging him we must judge him as he was, a simple savage, prompted by the instinct that prompts even the brute to defend its own and its home, and blinded by an utter but natural misconception of the object of Colonel Steptoe's expedition.

Have I been too generous in my treatment of our foe on that day? Say it if you will, that our heroes were murdered by these painted savages, condemn the Indian character if you will, but remember that on the shaft to be erected and which will mark the place where your heroes received their mortal wounds, there will appear a tablet as enduring as the one upon which the names of Taylor and Gaston will appear, one that will bear another name, and that name will be that of Timothy; one who never knew the taint of other blood, but who from longer association better understood, and whose people better understood, the white man.

If the savage, hanging on with murderous persistence, held our little army for his torture, it must in justice be said, that it was a savage who led these brave men out of their extremity and to the first place of safety open to them, and that among his own people, likewise savages, who were sufficient in numbers to annihilate them. But they fed them, comforted them, and being rested, sent them on their way in security. I have said that Colonel Steptoe was out of the direct road to Colville, and that this fact impressed the Indians with his hostile intent. It also impressed Father Joset with the notion of Timothy's treachery. He says:

"I knew, from Colonel Steptoe, that his guide told him he was conducting him to Colville by the nearest road. Now that

the guide mistook himself so grossly, is absurd to suppose. It appears necessary to conclude that in conducting the troops straight upon the camp of the Indians, he had design. It cannot be supposed that he ignored the irritation that the presence of the troops would produce upon the Indians; and as for the rest, the intriguing of this guide is well known. I see no other way to explain his conduct, than to say that he laid a snare for the *Coeur d'Alenes*, whom he wished to humiliate, and that seeing afterwards the troops fall in the ditch that he had dug for others, he has done everything possible to draw them from it."

In the light of history this, in my judgment, is unmerited and unjust, and proceeded from a misunderstanding, or rather from a want of knowledge of all the facts. It will be remembered that Colonel Steptoe's first object was to punish the Palouse Indians who had murdered the American travelers. This necessitated his going through the Palouse Country. He crossed the Snake at Alpowa and was, as we know, and as Timothy (who was at Alpowa when Steptoe arrived) said, on the direct road to Colville. Fort Walla Walla was on the present site of Wallula. It will thus be seen that Father Joset as well as the Indians, ignorant of the fact as they were, had some reason to suspect the good intent of the faithful Timothy.

What a wonderful thing is Time. How it smooths out the rough places. How it overcomes passion and eradicates prejudice. Fifty years; what accomplishment! The world has been made anew in fifty years, and from the watch towers of our present development we can see in the midst of the long ago the drama of that day re-enacted. We see three great and grand men, each struggling in his own way to serve his fellow man. Those men were Steptoe, Joset and Timothy.

The cupidity of man had put into the hands of these children of the plains better arms than the soldiers had. The priest and missionary had come armed with trusting faith, preaching peace and mercy. The fur traders had come armed, and with arms to put into the hands of every one, whether civilized or uncivilized, the means to swell the winter's pack of fur, that royalty might be adorned and wealth disport itself in the drawing rooms, oblivious of the dangers and injustice to humanity sown in the wake of those who gather the playthings of civilization. The missionary and the trader were unconsciously more hostile in their purposes than were the Indian and the white man. In all its advancement the light of the world has suffered temporary obscurity from the greed of man. Short sighted, indeed, was the policy of a government that permitted the armament of a race that had contested every inch of the course of empire from the

Atlantic to the Pacific. Were it not so this narrative and countless others of like character would find no occasion for utterance.

Among the relics recovered from the battlefield, and with which I have been made familiar, are three old army pistols, the tires from a gun carriage, and a six pound shot. These were gathered from the finders by the late George D. Anderson, who took a great interest in the subject with which we are dealing. No doubt these will in time find their way into a state or national museum, and for all time speak to the passer-by of a time gone forever, and conditions in our national development impossible of repetition.

Upon this ground a marble shaft will be raised to commemorate the event and make record of lives run out in the performance of duty,—one that will endure through countless ages, but it will not be the first monument erected to mark the spot. When Colonel Wright came north in the fall of 1858 to punish the Indians and after he had routed them at the battle of the Three Lakes, he sent an expedition under Major Greer, Lieutenant Gregg, Pender and White, to the battlefield. Doctor Randolph accompanied them. Gregg and Randolph were in the Steptoe fight. The occurrence is thus described by Lieutenant Kipp:

“At noon the dragoons returned from their expedition to the battlefield. They reached there at 12 o’clock the day before, and found the hills which on that sad day were swarming with their excited foes, now as silent and deserted as a city of the dead. The whole battlefield presented a scene of desolation. In the heat of battle but few of the bodies of the fallen could be recovered, and in the night, before their retreat, these were the only ones which could receive a hasty burial. The rest had to be left on the field where they met their fate. The wolves and the birds of prey had held their festival, and for nearly six months the sun and rain had bleached the whitened bones which were scattered around.

“As Lieutenant Gregg and Doctor Randolph rode over the field, they could point out to the other officers the scene of each event in that day’s hard fight,—where the battle began, where charge after charge was made to drive back the foes who so far outnumbered them, where Taylor and Gaston fell in the desperate attack at the head of their men, and where they were gathered in the night for the brief consultation, worn out with the contest, yet seventy-five miles of country to be passed over before they could place the river between them and their exulting enemies.

“The remains of the two officers were found, and the scattered bones of the men, gathered up, to be brought back. The two howitzers were found, also, where they had been buried. The Indians had not disturbed them, but contented themselves with carrying off the gun carriages, which they afterwards burned.

“One thing more remained to be done. Among the articles

left on the ground was a pair of shafts belonging to one of the guns. These were taken and fashioned into a rude cross, which was set up in the midst of the battlefield, to remind all future travelers of the sad event of which this had been the scene. And then, after despositing around it all that could be gathered up from the relics scattered over the hillside and wherever the fight was waged, they left the field in solemn silence."

It will thus be seen that the impulse of the race to mark the resting place of the dead was manifest. Long after the settlement of this country the pioneer here gathered relics from the mound of rubbish. The rude cross was carried away, possibly by some one who did not know its purpose, otherwise he would have reverently protected it. Now all identity is lost, and even the spot we dedicate must be pointed out by those who survived that awful day.

Fifty years ago today the spot we dedicate became historic ground. In the evolution of our Western border no concern was taken of those places where the tender shoots of civilization were first nourished by the blood of our countrymen. Upon this soil we shall hereafter rear a lasting monument that will speak of the occurrences of that not remote, yet distant past, when our voices are stilled and we shall be forgotten.

This soil, like all the boundless prairies, the fertile valleys, and the majestic mountains of the West, found its way into the great cauldron, under which the fires of human energy have since burned without ceasing. It passed from a careless and heedless government into private ownership. It has for many years made its return to the husbandmen who have tilled it. It has played its humble part, its significance unheeded, and its glory unsung. Like the pure gold of self-sacrifice, it has been lost in the simple effort of the every day.

But on this day which too shall be marked as worthy of keeping, it shall be rescued from sordid uses and made to stand out as a great landmark, significant, inspiring.

The names of our historic dead, their accomplishments and their memory belong to all of us. The citizen, of whatever degree, can claim them as his own. They are a national heritage, and whether marked by marble shaft planted deep in the earth or resting on the surer foundation of the grateful heart, they are an inspiration and a guide. Their effort is not stayed. Their works are not silenced by death.*

"The Captive's oar may pause upon the galley,
The soldier sleep beneath his plumed crest,
And Peace may fold her wings o'er hill and valley,
But thou, O Patriot, must not take thy rest."

—S. J. CHADWICK.

DEDICATION OF STEPTOE MEMORIAL PARK.

With much pomp and ceremony and in the presence of one of the most notable gatherings ever held in northern Whitman and southern Spokane County, the Steptoe Memorial Park was dedicated in this city Monday.

Among the visitors were Governor and Mrs. Mead, Colonel Lea Feabiger, commanding officer at Fort Wright, several other army officers, hundreds of prominent Spokane people, including the members of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R., a large number of prominent Colfax citizens and many prominent people from all over Eastern Washington and Northern Idaho. The number of visitors from other sections is estimated at 1,200, the total attendance at the ceremonies being about 2,200 people.

The pleasure of the occasion was marred somewhat by a gale that blew continuously all day, but the program was such an elaborate one that everybody enjoyed the occasion in spite of the threatening weather, and the crowd went home, pleased and dusty, but withal happy.

Visitors for the occasion began to gather here the two preceding days, and Sunday evening about 200 visitors were already in the city. The Monday morning trains brought large delegations from Waverly, Plaza and Spangle and a number of visitors from Pullman, Palouse, Garfield and Oakesdale.

The first special train arrived from Colfax at 10:30, bringing a delegation of about 100, headed by the Colfax band, with "little" Fred Ratliff as drum major.

They were met at the depot by the reception committees and awaited for the arrival of the first special train from Spokane, which arrived ten minutes later. On board the first special train from Spokane were Governor and Mrs. Mead, and about one hundred prominent Spokane people, including the members of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R. Fifteen minutes later the third special train arrived, carrying Colonel Lea Feabiger, U. S. A., and his staff and the First Battalion, Third Infantry, consisting of three companies, numbering 200 men, headed by a drum corps of sixteen pieces.

The regulars were in campaign equipment, carrying haversack and canteen, and apparently prepared for battle, the only marks of dress parade being white gloves. When the troops

marched up Whitman Street, keeping time to the music of the bugles and the drums, a thrill of pride and patriotism seemed to pulsate through the crowd and the younger folks exchanged ideas, the main trend of the remarks being that "them fellars could lick the Japs."

The military display was a great treat for many of the visitors who had never before seen so large a gathering of regulars under arms.

The parade formed on Fifth Street and marched up Whitman Street to Seventh and up Seventh into the country road and out to the Memorial Park site. At the head of the parade rode Marshals T. F. Prichard and L. W. Anderson, followed by the Fort Wright drum corps, heading the First Battalion; then came the Colfax band, headed by Sheriff Ratliff, and immediately following was the carriage containing Governor and Mrs. Mead, their carriage being followed by twenty-five other carriages containing many of the prominent visitors.

The exercises at the park site were brief. A temporary platform was erected and occupied by Governor and Mrs. Mead, General T. R. Tannat, Mrs. M. A. Phelps, Regent of the D. A. R., Reverend F. N. Smith, County Commissioner W. McCoy of Oakesdale, Mayor F. M. Campbell and Judge M. H. West of this city.

Reverend F. N. Smith of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, offered an invocation, after which Judge West, on behalf of the Rosalia citizens, presented the deed to the park site to Mrs. M. A. Phelps, Regent of Esther Reed Chapter, D. A. R., of Spokane, who expressed the appreciation of the D. A. R., and presented the deed to W. McCoy, Chairman of the Whitman County Commissioners, who officially accepted the same and placed it into the keeping of the county.

General T. A. Tannat, of Spokane, a member of the West Point Graduates' Association, gave a brief sketch of the careers of Captain Taylor and Lieutenants Gregg and Gaston, who met their death on the park site, and concluded with an eulogy of the work of the D. A. R. During the ceremonies the regulars were lined up opposite the stand and at the conclusion of the program the audience joined in cheers and waving of flags. The Colfax band rendered several patriotic airs during the program.

The audience then marched to the stand on Josephine Street and the troops went into camp the corner of Josephine and Ninth Street adjacent to the stand.

It was the hour of the old-fashioned basket dinner and everybody seemed to enjoy it. Many of the visitors were fed at the

ladies' rest room in the Pythian Hall and the dray lines delivered the parcels from the check room to stand. The troops carried their regular army rations, the local committee adding cakes and cigars.

The sight was a picturesque one. Under a huge canvas at the stand sat many of the leading people of Eastern Washington and pioneers of the state enjoying a picnic dinner. Farmers, merchants, officials and professional men made merry; fashionably gowned ladies and prattling children enjoyed the informality of the hour; and just adjacent two sentinels paced back and forth before rows of stacked-up rifles and beneath the trees adjacent the troops partook of their noon-day rations. It was a picture that delighted the heart of the camera artist and many of the kodaks worked overtime. The stand was among the trees and protected from the dust so that the visitors were comfortable. Had the wind been less violent during the afternoon exercises, the speakers would have experienced less difficulty.

At 1:30 Colonel Lea Feabiger delivered the first address on the afternoon program. Colonel Feabiger spoke on the value of the army as pioneers and said in part:

"The history of the world shows the soldier always as the advance agent of civilization or conquest, or both, and savage have either had to conform or cease to exist. The centers of civilization of all times have been extended not by the quiet arts, so-called, but by arms, and the so-called wars of conquest of the ancient Egyptians and Persians, and later the Greeks and Romans, the leading civilized nations of their epochs, were all against barbarian tribes eventually extending to them, in spite of the slaughter incident to the process, the benefits of the highest civilization of their respective days.

"Incidentally the spread of all prominent religions have been by the sword, the Mohammedan faith almost entirely by that means alone and even the religion of the gentle Christ has found its most potent missionary in the soldier, at least in its beginning, all wars against the heathen in the middle ages being waged for this alleged purpose and sanctioned, for that reason, by the head of the then universal Christian church.

"The aborigines of the two Americas were converted by this means, entirely so in the Spanish possessions and practically so in the French, where the energetic and self-sacrificing Jesuit priests were closely followed, where not preceded, by the man of war of that day, himself a zealot of no little ability in church doctrine.

"We are now approaching a stage in the world's history where there are practically no more barbarous people or uncivilized countries, and the soldier of today will soon cease to act as a pioneer for lack of raw material and confine himself more and more to his dual duty of national and universal policeman,

keeping the peace between nations whose commercial spirit and aggressiveness tends even more than the wars of old to oppress and take advantage of the weaker.

"In this latter day role the soldier has even become a pedagogue, as in the first years of the occupation of the Philippines, as soon as military government was established, public schools were at once instituted the enlisted man of the army being installed as teacher throughout the islands."

Following Colonel Feabiger, J. A. Perkins of Colfax made a brief address. Mr. Perkins spoke of the bill introduced in Congress to appropriate \$5,000 for the Steptoe Memorial monument and urged the people of Eastern Washington to take up the question of an appropriation of \$2,500 by the state legislature and the raising of a similar amount by public subscription.

Judge S. J. Chadwick of Colfax was the next speaker on the program. [His address is published in full elsewhere in this Quarterly.]

Governor Mead when introduced told the story of a young man who returned from the war and who was telling his mother about the dangers of the battle. "Why," said the mother, "didn't you hide behind a tree?" "But, mother, the officers had all the trees." The Governor laughingly remarked that had he been in the battle he would have preferred to have had a tree, but if no tree had been around, and Sheriff Ratliff had, he would have preferred to hide behind him. When it is remembered that Mr. Ratliff tips the scales at the 350 mark, it will be noted that even the Governor's ample personage would have been fairly protected from bullets.

Speaking in a serious vein, Governor Mead intimated that his message to the next legislature was yet to be written and that it would contain a recommendation to the state legislature that an appropriation of \$2,500 be made for the Steptoe Memorial monument. Governor Mead during his speech said:

"I have had no more congenial experience during my term of office than the pleasure of prosecuting work inaugurated by me of securing and preserving the portraits of men prominently identified with the history of the territory and state of Washington. At an insignificant cost to the state I have been enabled to secure, through relatives and friends of the men, the pictures of all the governors excepting that of Governor Gholson, many of the territorial delegates to Congress, justices of the territorial and state supreme courts, judges of the federal courts, the representatives and senators since statehood, the territorial and state legislatures from 1881 to the present time, the constitutional convention and an excellent portrait of our naval hero, John Robert Monaghan.

"It is fitting that the great army of which Colonel Steptoe was an honored member should be represented here today; an army which has been such a great factor in compelling peace and maintaining the reign of law in the Indian country; which served so valiantly, not only in subduing the Indian disturbances of the past, but, in the wars that threatened the very existence of our country; served with loyalty and upheld the honor and integrity of our flag.

"Had it not been for the sacrifice of such men as served under Colonel Steptoe, the settlement of this Inland Empire might have been postponed a quarter of a century or more and we might not have had an opportunity to build cities and develop our wonderful resources; might not now have these fields of grain that surround us on every hand from which to garner the abundant harvest; might not have these swift lines of communication, propelled by power developed by the cascades and falls that characterize our streams, and might not have the great branches of our railroad systems to transport our products to market. In fact civilization and all of its concomitant advantages would have long been deferred.

"The patriotic work of this organization restoring historical places, erecting monuments and otherwise cultivating the spirit of patriotism merits the highest commendation. If this nation continues, love of country and patriotism must be transferred from father to son. Not only the children should form the student body of the university of patriotism, but the people who come to our shores from foreign countries must be enrolled that they may be impressed with the sacredness of our history and the development of our institutions, and taught to respect the names of those who have contributed to the success and the up-building of this nation.

"A state possessing such wonderful diversity of resources is surely destined to become the home of millions rather than a million. Unless our future population steadily adheres to the traditional precepts of our form of government and respects our institutions and reveres our history, our past efforts and future growth will be in vain.

"The eyes of the people of Washington are today directed toward this spot and they will hold in grateful remembrance the efforts of your society in preserving this history for future generations. You have a noble duty to perform and you are performing it with honor and credit."

Thomas J. Beall of Juliaetta, Idaho, who was packmaster under Colonel Steptoe and a survivor of the battle fought on the grounds dedicated was the last speaker on the program. Mr Beall said:

"In April, 1858, Colonel Steptoe, who was in command of the post at Walla Walla, received orders to go into the northern country, that is the Colville country, and establish a post. The

government was just on the eve of surveying the 49th parallel and this northern post was needed to protect the surveyors.

"Colonel Steptoe did not go out to subdue the Indians. That is proved by the fact that the soldiers did not take their sabers, and they had poor guns. There were only about eighteen good guns in the squad, and the Indians were better armed than we were.

"Our guides were Timothy, a Nez Perce, who was friendly; Levi, also a Nez Perce, and Simon, of the same tribe.

"We crossed the Snake River at Alpowai because the Palouse Indians, who were not friendly, did not have the boats that would take us across the swift water, made of canvas would not answer the purpose, so we had to depend upon the Nez Percés.

"From the point where we crossed the river we took the most direct route for Colville. Going out we passed within four miles of Steptoe Butte. We crossed the Palouse River about two miles above the present town of Palouse.

"We also had for a guide a halfbreed, Charley Connors. He was killed on the hill yonder the night before we escaped. On the evening we made our escape many of the soldiers thought faithful Timothy was playing traitor. We supposed we were surrounded, and Timothy asked to be sent to find a gap through which we could escape. Some of the men feared he was going over to the hostile Indians.

"But Colonel Steptoe believed in Timothy. Besides we were not taking many chances, as our ammunition was exhausted and we should have soon been massacred anyway, with no help nearer than Walla Walla. Even when Timothy returned and reported that we could escape some feared that we were being led into an ambush.

"We left our tents standing, and our campfires brightly burning, and by daylight we were far on our way.

"When we reached the Snake Timothy called over fifty of his braves and stationed them as sentinels during the night, while we got our first good rest for several nights."

J. J. Rohan of Walla Walla, who was erroneously reported dead several weeks ago, was a guest of the day and occupied the speakers platform. Mr. Rohan was with Colonel Wright's command and was one of the company which was sent in the fall of 1858 to remove the bodies of the dead soldiers from the old battle ground.

The program was interspersed with music by the Colfax band and vocal selections by the Rosalia chorus. The renditions by the band were pleasing, and the work of the chorus was highly complimented.

The Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting immediately following the program and transacted their regular routine of business. The old officers were re-elected for another year

but no other business was transacted, owing to the lateness of the hour and the desire to be at the special trains to bid the visitors "God Speed."

At 4:30 the troops, headed by the drum corps marched through the streets and then boarded the train for Spokane. At 5 o'clock the special Colfax and Spokane trains departed, and many more visitors went out on the 5:30, 6:45 and 9:00 o'clock trains.

Governor Mead left this city for a cross country auto trip, visiting Oakesdale and Tekoa. Mrs. Mead remained in this city until Tuesday, and was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Wilmer. J. J. Rohan of Walla Walla also remained as a guest at the Wilmer residence.

Thos. J. Beall remained here as a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Ralston McCaig and went over to Waverly Tuesday to locate a point of interest on the old trail traveled by Colonel Steptoe's command.

Many visitors stayed over until Tuesday and were the guests of local people. In the evening the younger set enjoyed a social dance in Tumley's Hall, about fifty couples being present.

"Old Glory" now waves from the flagpole in Steptoe Memorial Park and marks the spot where the conquering whites lost one of their last battles to the vanquished red man. A few years hence a marble shaft will mark the spot on the hillside where the flag waves and as the trains on three different systems roll by through the valley below, travelers will be told the story of brave Timothy, the Nez Perce chief, who was faithful to his trust and saved the Steptoe command. The body of Timothy now lies in a grave near Lewiston, Idaho, unmarked and unnoticed and the sentiment has been expressed that the field that proved the loyalty of Timothy would be a fitting last resting place for his remains.

Mr. Beall located the place where five Indians were hung by order of Colonel Wright. According to Mr. Beall the punishment of the Indians took place where the old Kaintuck trail crosses Hangman Creek several miles north of Waverly. Four of the Indians that were hung were of the Umatilla tribe and were hung on general principles. The fifth Indian was of the Yakima tribe and was known as Qual-Shon. He was hung for the murder of Indian Agent Bolon.

The following letter was received by the local committee on Wednesday from Mrs. M. A. Phelps, former State Regent of the D. A. R. and chairman of the Steptoe Committee:

I have only a few minutes in which to write, but I cannot let the day pass without telling you and your good friends and neighbors in Rosalia, how absolutely delightful all their arrangements were and how loud in their praise everyone was.

One of our Esther Reed women called me up this morning and said: "I tell you Mrs. Phelps, that was one of the most glorious days our Chapter will ever experience and I shall never hear the word Rosalia, without feeling a warm glow at my heart."

That is the way we all feel.

And the soldiers were so happy—one of them said: "We have never before been treated so well as we were at Rosalia, and if you've any more monuments to dedicate, just call on us."

Will you express to all your townspeople the sincere and hearty thanks of the women of Esther Reed Chapter of the D. A. R?

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

NETTA W. PHELPS.

—The Rosalia Citizen.

Rosalia, Washington,

19 June, 1908.

DOCUMENTS.

[The editor would be pleased to receive manuscript documents bearing on the history of the Pacific Northwest for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Beginning of the San Juan Dispute.

Harry K. Struve, of Seattle, in an examination of the papers left by his distinguished father, the late H. G. Struve, came upon the following important and interesting document and promptly presented it to the Washington University State Historical Society. The signature was submitted to the inspection of R. E. Gosnell, Provincial Archivist of British Columbia, who pronounced it genuine. Mr. Gosnell is the author of the volume on Sir James Douglas about to appear in the "Makers of Canada" series. He is therefore probably the best living authority on the writings and history of Douglas.

To His Excellency
Governor Stevens
&c. &c. &c.
Sir

Victoria, Vancouver's Island
26th April 1855.

I have received a communication from Mr. Charles Griffin a British Subject, residing on the Island of San Juan, giving information to the effect that an armed party of American citizens ostensibly acting under the direction of a person named Barnes, who styles himself Sheriff of Whatcomb County, landed on the Island of San Juan, and demanded from the said Charles Griffin certain monies in payment of Taxes, on behalf and in the name of the United States of America, a demand which as a British subject, acknowledging no authority except that emanating from his own Government, he refused to pay.

Mr. Barnes and his followers during Mr. Griffin's absence, and while his servants were with one or two exceptions, dispersed at their several occupations did abstract a number of valuable sheep, which they put into boats, and were about to depart with the same when Mr. Griffin returned and demanding restitution of his property was menaced with violence and put in danger of his life.

I have taken the liberty of calling your excellency's attention to that matter for the purpose of learning from you if the said Mr. Barnes' proceedings were in that instance authorized or sanc-

tioned in any manner by the Executive Officers of Washington Territory. His own verbal statements induced Mr. Griffin to believe that he had authority from you to levy Taxes on British subjects residing on the Island of San Juan, but I am conscious that it would be doing you a great injustice to assume, without better evidence, the truth of such statements; and also prove an ungracious requital for the kindness with which you generously vindicated, at Washington, the cause of truth and justice when a groundless charge was brought against the character of this Government.

Should Mr. Barnes have acted under the orders of the Executive Officers of Washington Territory, it is the intention of the persons, who have been plundered of their property to bring forward a claim for damages, as against the United States, but on the contrary if acting in a lawless manner, without due authority they will proceed by criminal action against the parties as for a felonious carrying away of the property of British subjects on the Territory of Great Britain.

I trust your Excellency will take measures to prevent the repetition of such acts of violence on the part of American citizens, which must ultimately lead to dissension and bloodshed, an event which all would have cause to deplore.

The Island of San Juan has been in the possession of British Subjects, for many years, and it is with the other Islands of the Archipelago de Arro declared to be within the Jurisdiction, of this Colony, and under the protection of British Laws. I have also the orders of Her Majesty's Ministers to treat those Islands as part of the British Dominions.

If our claims be unfounded, the fact must be proven by other means than by acts of violence, which from the nature of the question at issue, must be at once a fruitless and mischievous waste of energy, as they can neither add force to the claims of the United States, nor detract from those of Great Britain, founded on Treaty stipulations, by which the Governments of both nations have agreed to abide.

Wisdom and sound policy enjoin upon us the part of leaving the question to the decision of the Supreme Governments, and of abstaining from enforcing rights, which neither party is disposed to acknowledge.

Any other course must eventually lead to dissension and be productive of the most serious evils. Our united force when exerted in the common cause of humanity is hardly sufficient to restrain the wily savage from deeds of Blood, and that influence must, in a great measure, cease with our friendly relations, and both countries will suffer from the absence of that wholesome controul, which now holds the native Indian Tribes in check.

I trust your Excellency continues to entertain the sentiments in respect to this question, which you expressed at our last interview and that every exertion will be made on your side, as well as on ours to prevent disorders, which will complicate, and render the question more difficult of settlement.

This Government will be responsible for the acts of British Subjects and punish all offences committed by such on the Arro Islands, and I trust your Excellency is disposed to exercise the same vigorous controul in that quarter over the conduct of citizens of the United States.

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's
most obedient

humble Servant

JAMES DOUGLAS

Governor

Vancouver's Island.

Reply From Governor Stevens.

That Governor Stevens knew the case was important is shown by two events. In the first place he had the letter from Governor Douglas transcribed into his official records where it may still be seen in the archives in the capitol at Olympia. In the next place he replied in a firm and dignified manner. His reply is copied in the same volume. These two copies were found by Ashmun N. Brown, former Secretary to Governor Mead, and were made by him the basis of a valuable and interesting article in which he took occasion to call attention to the fact that this diplomacy over the sheep should supplant or be added to the old familiar pig story as being the foundation of the San Juan dispute. From Mr. Brown's article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer for January 7, 1906, the reply by Governor Stevens is taken as follows:

Olympia, Washington Territory,
May 12, 1855.

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of April 26, in which you state that information has been received by you "to the effect that an armed party of American citizens ostensibly acting under the direction of a person named Barnes, who styles himself sheriff of Whatcom county, landed on the island of San Juan and demanded from Charles Griffin certain moneys in payment of taxes on behalf and in the name of the United States of America. A demand which as a British subject, acknowledging no authority except that emanating from his own government, he refused to pay;" that Mr. Barnes and his followers "abstracted a number of valuable sheep," and that upon Mr. Griffin's demanding restitution he was menaced with violence and put in danger of his life.

Of the matters detailed by you I have no official information save from your communication. It is known, however, that Mr. Barnes is the sheriff of Whatcom county. You further state that you have called my attention to the same for the purpose of ascertaining "if the said Mr. Barnes' proceedings were in that in-

stance authorized or sanctioned in any manner by the executive officers of Washington territory."

The sheriffs of the various counties come under the supervision of the executive in the exercise of the pardoning power, and in the case of a resistance of the laws they act under certain prescribed laws, and to these laws they are responsible for a proper discharge of their duties.

By the act of the legislative assembly of the territory of Oregon, previous to the separation therefrom of the territory of Washington, the boundary line as between the two governments was held to run through the Canal de Arro, and by the act of the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington, "to organize the county of Whatcom," the island of San Juan is included within the bounds of that county.

The sheriff in proceeding to collect taxes acts under a law directing him to do so. Should he be resisted in such an attempt, it would become the duty of the governor to sustain him to the full force of the authority vested in him.

You say, "The island of San Juan has been in the possession of British subjects for many years, and it is with the other islands in the Archipelago de Arro declared to be within the jurisdiction of this colony and under the protection of British laws. I have also the orders of her majesty's ministers to treat those islands as part of the British dominions."

The acts before referred to have declared these islands to be within the jurisdiction, formerly of the territory of Oregon, now of the territory of Washington, and the general laws of those territories, so far as they may be applicable have thereby extended over them.

The ownership remains now as it did at the execution of the treaty of June 15, 1846, and can in no wise be affected by the alleged "possession of British subjects."

The contemporaneous exposition of the treaty as evinced by the debates in the United States senate shows the Canal de Arro to be the boundary line as understood by the United States at that time, and the doubt of the British government as to any claim beyond that line is plainly manifested by the note of Mr. Crampton, the British minister, to Mr. Buchanan, secretary of state of the United States, dated January 13, 1848. Indeed in Arrow-smith's map of Vancouver island and the adjacent coast, published in London April 11, 1849, the boundary line is laid down as running through the Canal de Arro.

The map is compiled from the surveys of Vancouver, Killett, Simpson and others, and would seem to establish that even as late as some three years subsequent to the treaty, the great English navigators and hydrographers, as well as the American government, considered the Canal de Arro, as in the terms of the treaty, the channel which separated the continent from Vancouver island.

I shall take the earliest opportunity to send a copy of your communication and of this reply to the secretary of state of the

United States, and in the meantime I have to reciprocate most earnestly your hope that nothing may occur to interrupt the harmony and good feeling which should characterize the relations of neighboring states.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant

ISAAC I. STEVENS

Governor of Washington Territory.

To His Excellency

James Douglas

Governor Vancouver Island.

Establishing the Navy Yard, Puget Sound.

The following letter from Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff and the accompanying documents will be useful to the future historians. The originals of the documents have been placed in the library of the University of Washington:
Branch Hydrographic Office.

Port Townsend, Wash.,
November 20th 1907.

Sir:—

I take pleasure in mailing you copies of orders and letters in relation to the starting of the Navy Yard, Puget Sound. The original name was "Puget Sound Naval Station," but some years since Congress changed the name to Navy Yard, Puget Sound, because of its increasing importance. "Bremerton Navy Yard" is a mis-nomer, without official sanction, and should never be used.

The first official act in connection with this navy yard was an Act of Congress in 1888 directing the appointment of a commission of three naval officers to examine the coast north of the 42nd parallel of north latitude in Oregon, Washington and Alaska for a suitable site for a navy yard and dry-docks.

Hon. W. C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, appointed Capt. A. T. Mahan, Commander C. M. Chester and Lieut.-Comd. C. H. Stockton and they recommended several sites on Puget Sound and Lake Washington, June 30th, 1890, Congress authorized a second commission to consist of two civilians, two naval officers and one army officer to select a site for a dry dock at some point on the shores of the Pacific ocean, or the waters connected therewith, north of the parallel of latitude marking the northern boundary of California, including the waters of Puget Sound, and also Lakes Washington and Union in the State of Washington. The commission appointed was Hon. Richard W. Thompson, ex-secretary of the navy, ex-senator T. C. Platt, Col. Geo. Mendell, U. S. A., Capt. T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N. and Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N. The report was made Dec. 23rd, 1890, and favored a site on Port Orchard as first choice.

Senator John B. Allen secured an amendment to the naval appropriation bill authorizing the Sect. of the Navy to acquire for

the purposes of a dry dock a tract of land not exceeding 200 acres on Port Orchard, Puget Sound, appropriating \$10,000 to pay for said land, and instructing the Sect. of the Navy to cause to be erected on said land, for naval and commercial purposes, a dry dock not less than 600 feet in length, not less than 70 feet wide at bottom of entrance and capable of admitting vessels drawing 30 feet of water, the cost of said dry dock not to exceed \$700,000. This amendment finally passed Congress March 2nd, 1891.

I enclose a copy of my orders of March 17th 1891, After selecting and purchasing most of the lands I was ordered to assume command of "The Puget Sound Naval Station" and on September 16th 1891, in the presence of many of the inhabitants of Kitsap County, I read my orders and the flag was hoisted for the first time by my daughter Selah Wyckoff. I presume that this was the first birthday of the navy yard. After making many borings I selected the site of the present dry dock. The contract for the dry dock was let to Byron Barlow & Co. of Tacoma for \$491,465, but owing to an increase in the length of the dock of fifty feet, and other changes, the final expense was \$610,000. The beginning of work on the dry dock was Dec. 10, 1892, when my daughter Mary E. Wyckoff dug the first spade full of earth.

In May 1892 I was ordered to command the U. S. S. "Nipsie" in addition to my duties as Commandant. The first vessel to enter the dry dock was the U. S. Monitor "Monterey," April 22nd 1896. A number of battle ships and the S. S. "Dakota" have also been docked in it, and the most careful measurements have never shown any settlement.

The above I think covers everything in connection with the beginning of the navy Yard, Puget Sound.

A. B. WYCKOFF
Lieut. U. S. N. (Ret'd)

(Copy)

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

Washington, March 17th, 1891.

Sir:—

You are detached from duty in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and assigned to special duty connected with that Bureau.

You will proceed to Seattle, Washington, and then to Port Orchard, in the County of Kitsap, on Puget Sound, where you will select a tract of land, not exceeding two hundred acres in extent, suitable for the purposes of a dry-dock. You will furnish the Department with a plan of the site you may select, and report the lowest price per acre for which it can be purchased.

In the prosecution of this duty, you will be allowed all expenses which may be incurred in the thorough examination of lands, preparation of papers, etc., including office rent, and you are authorized to make such journeys as may be necessary. You will keep a strict account of all expenses incurred and travel performed.

This employment on shore duty is required by the public interests, and such service will continue until September 15th, 1891, unless it is otherwise ordered.

Very respectfully,

B. F. TRACY.
Secretary of the Navy.

Lieutenant

A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N.
Bureau of Yards and Docks,
Navy Department.

Puget Sound Naval Station.
Sidney, Wash., June 11, 1892.

Hon. B. F. Tracy.

Secretary of the Navy.

Sir:—

I have the honor to submit my final report, under the Department's order of March 17th, 1891, to select a body of land, not exceeding two hundred acres, suitable for the purposes of a dry-dock, on Port Orchard in the County of Kitsap, State of Washington. The lands selected embrace one hundred and ninety acres, according to the survey of Civil Engineer T. C. McCollom U. S. N., a copy of which is enclosed, and have a frontage on tide water of one and one-fourth miles. The site lies on the North side of Sinclair's Inlet and includes the only two basins of level land of any extent, with accessible water front, in Port Orchard. The center of the reservation rises in two ridges to elevations above one hundred feet, furnishing excellent and healthful locations for residences, marine barracks and hospital grounds. The tide lands, donated by the State of Washington, embrace about thirty-five acres, a portion of which can readily be filled in from the adjacent bluffs. Sinclair's Inlet can furnish secure anchorage, with excellent holding ground in from six to eight fathoms, to at least fifty men-of-war, and the tidal current along the North side is scarcely perceptible. One hundred and forty-five and one fourth acres were purchased in September 1891; and five acres in March 1892. A suit was begun in September 1891, in the U. S. District Court, for the condemnation of forty acres of land lying near the center of the reservation, to which a clear title could not otherwise be obtained. Owing to various delays in the legal procedure, the final payments were not made until May 1892.

The one hundred and ninety and one fourth acres were purchased for \$9,512.50; and the cost of abstracts, recording deeds etc. was \$374.75, making a total of \$9,587.25.

Very respectfully,

A. B. WYCKOFF,
Lieut. U. S. N.
Commandant.

No/ 1912.

(Copy)

Bureau of Yards and Docks.
Navy Department,
Washington, D. C., June 22, 1892.

Sir:

The Bureau begs to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 11, 1892, forwarding your final report of the selection of lands for the site of a dry-dock on Puget Sound, Kitsap Co., Washington, together with Copy of the Survey made by Civil Engineer T. C. McCollom, U. S. N.

The Report of Survey has been forwarded to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy.

The Bureau, on its part, desires to thank and congratulate you upon the successful manner in which you have accomplished the work assigned you by the Department.

Please forward your account current for month of June as soon as practicable.

Very respectfully.

N. H. FARQUHAR,
Chief of Bureau.

To

Lieut. A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N.
Commandant,
Naval Station,
Puget Sound, Wash.,

(Copy)

New York, July 15th, 1893.

Hon. H. A. Herbert.
Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

Understanding that Lieutenant A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. Navy, is shortly to be ordered up for examination, and that no paper is on file in the Navy Department touching his services in connection with the establishment of the Puget Sound Naval Station, I desire to state that the work of the establishment of this station, requiring great judgment and energy on the part of Lieutenant Wyckoff, was performed by him to my entire satisfaction, and it gives me pleasure to express to you this opinion of the value of his services in order that it may be spread upon the records of the Department.

Very respectfully,

B. F. TRACY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions: America.
Edited by J. David Thompson. Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 39. (Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution, June, 1908. 592 pp.)

One of the first projects approved by the trustees of the Carnegie Institution was the publication of a handbook of learned societies, this being regarded as a necessary preparation to almost any kind of careful research. Beginning in 1902, grants of money were made for the purpose, the supervision and expenditure being entrusted to the Librarian of Congress. Material has now been collected upon all publishing societies of the world, the present volume being limited to North and South America and adjacent islands. Exception has been made of a few classes of societies which are mentioned in the introduction to the Handbook with reasons for their omission.

As is well known, there is a great wealth of material in the publications of societies which have been formed for the promotion of study in special fields of knowledge. For the student along special lines of work, there is almost no source of information so fruitful as the literature of these publishing societies. The completion of an accurate and up-to-date check-list of the learned societies of the Western Hemisphere is a significant event in the history of scientific progress.

Within the field covered, it is now possible to obtain reliable information upon all publishing societies, together with colleges, universities, museums and laboratories which issue contributions to knowledge. Full information is given including name of society, permanent address, history, object, time and place of meetings, membership, regular and special publications, research funds and prizes. Facts are also given in regard to distribution of publications,—conditions under which exchanged, price and place of sale. While the exact titles of the various serial publications are given, it should be noted that the volumes are not analysed for contents. That would of course be out of the question in a one volume work covering so broad a field.

The arrangement is primarily by countries. Under countries, there is a list of national societies alphabetted by official name,

followed by a mixed alphabet of local societies arranged under city and state. This arrangement seems likely to prove confusing. Fortunately, there is an excellent index where names of societies and institutions, serial publications, cities, counties and states, are arranged together in a single alphabet.

—CHARLES W. SMITH.

Bibliography of American Historical Societies. By A. P. C. Griffin. Edition 2, revised and enlarged. Annual report of the American Historical Society for the year 1905, volume 2. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, 1374 pp., \$1.)

This revised edition of Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* has seemed long in coming. It was announced for the second volume of the Report of the American Historical Association for 1905 and as such it now makes its appearance in the year 1908, although bearing the imprint date of 1907.

It is a large volume, well printed and well indexed, and is in itself an ample justification for any delays in its preparation. It covers the publications of all publishing historical societies of the United States and Canada, bringing the record down in most cases to the close of the year 1905. The arrangement is geographical and chronological with a full author and subject index to which is added also a biographical index and an index of societies. These indexes add immensely to the working value of the book.

The work as now issued is easily the most important one volume bibliography in the field of American history. Like many another work of its kind, it has gradually developed from smaller beginnings.

In the Report of the American Historical Association for 1890, pp. 161-267, appeared the first installment of Mr. Griffin's *Bibliography of American Historical Societies*. A second and final installment came out in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1892, pp. 305-619. The completed bibliography listed the publications of 282 societies and covered 418 pages. It was not indexed except as the items were brought out by the indexes to the volumes in which it was contained. It proved very helpful even in this form but was not convenient to use.

In the Report of the American Historical Association for 1895, pp. 675-1236, there was published an enlarged and consolidated bibliography covering the same field and by the same author

as the preceding one. This listed the publications of 313 societies, covered 561 pages and contained a 77-page index. This was a distinct step in advance but the index was far from complete.

In the present edition, occupying a whole volume, the publications of some 500 historical societies are listed, covering 1,374 pages and containing 341 pages of index. The main index is by author and subject, followed by a biographical index and an index of societies. Each item as listed is given a serial number and the index refers to this number—a very satisfactory time-saving device from the standpoint of the user.

A key to the contents of all publications of the historical societies of North America is a reference work of unusual value. Too high praise cannot be given to the patience and persistence which were employed toward making this bibliography complete. Although covering so broad a field, it should prove of great value to students of the Pacific Northwest. A glance at the index reveals twelve items under the State and Territory of "Washington" and fifty-four items under the word "Oregon." As an illustration of the way in which an exhaustive bibliography of this kind brings up out-of-the-way information, the following may be of interest. In the index of this bibliography under "Seattle" and under "Yesler," reference is made to an article upon Henry L. Yesler, the founder of Seattle. Reference from the index to the article in question shows it to be a "Denkschrift uber Henry L. Yesler, Grunder d. Stadt Seattle," by A. E. Schade, published in the seventh annual report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Baltimore, 1893. Even the most careful student of Seattle local history would be likely to miss an item of this kind, but for some such general bibliography.

—CHARLES W. SMITH.

Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646. Edited by William T. Davis. [Original Narratives of Early American History, edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Vol. VI.] New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. VII, 419.)

Bradford's History is the latest volume in the series of Original Narratives which are being reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and like its predecessors is a reprint in convenient and well-edited form of a valuable historical narrative. This volume deals with the history of Plymouth Plantation down to 1646.

The Bradford manuscript has had a curious history. Bradford left it to his son and for some years it continued in the possession of the Bradford descendants, but after having been used by three or four early historical writers it disappeared. In 1855 it was discovered in the library of the Bishop of London, probably having been carried to England by Governor Hutchinson, who was using it in the preparation of his history of Massachusetts Bay.

A copy was made for the Massachusetts Historical Society and edited by Charles Deane, was printed in the collections of that society in 1856. In this form it has long been known to historical students having access to the larger libraries. The State of Massachusetts made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the manuscript, but was not finally successful until 1897, and in the following year the manuscript and an account of the proceedings incident to its delivery were published by the State.

The present volume is based on the Massachusetts reprint and has the advantage of Mr. Davis' careful editing and an interesting introductory chapter. It is hardly necessary to comment on the importance of Governor Bradford's history for "without it the history of the Plymouth Colony, now so complete, would have been, so far as its early years are concerned, involved in mystery." The story is interestingly and quaintly told by Bradford, and we are fortunate in having it now in usable and convenient form and at a price within the reach of all.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

Alexander H. Stephens. By Louis Pendleton. [The American Crisis Biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1908, pp. 406.)

One who expects to find in this volume a new life of Alex. H. Stephens is destined to disappointment. The volume is a scissors-and-pastepot condensation of two earlier biographies of Stephens, together with a few selections or condensations from Stephens' "War Between the States." Practically the only parts contributed by the author are three chapters in which, as "a fellow Georgian," he tells the reader some things he thinks the reader ought to know, not that they have any direct bearing on Stephens' character or actions, but apparently on the theory that they should be known.

The first biography of Stephens came from the pen of Henry Cleveland in 1866, and is a meagre account, chiefly valuable for

the letters and speeches it contains. This was followed by a better and longer sketch, written by Stephens' two friends Johnson and Browne, and like the earlier volume, was written while Stephens was living. In fact, the first edition of Johnson and Browne was read in manuscript by Stephens. A later edition (1878), after his death, is substantially the same work with supplementary chapters dealing with his last years, his death, and the eulogies delivered in that connection. Manifestly these volumes have little value in giving a perspective estimate of the man, and are more eulogistic than discriminating.

In a work appearing a generation after Stephens' death we have a right to expect that these faults be eliminated, but this volume in no sense meets the expectation. It is almost within the bounds of truth to say that this work is simply a brief rehash of Johnson and Browne's volume. The author seems utterly ignorant of the fact that the Missouri Compromise had no bearing on territory acquired after the compromise was made, for in his view the Wilmot proviso "openly violated the covenant of the Missouri Compromise" (92). In answer to the complaints made at the time that the Kansas-Nebraska bill "abrogated the Missouri Compromise" we are informed that that compromise "was abrogated, though the fact was not officially stated, when the compromise measures of 1850 were adopted through the influence of Clay and Webster" (132).

To judge by this book alone Mr. Pendleton has no conception of the canons of historical writing. Time after time letters of Stephens' are summarized, no reference is given, and the reader is left to conclude that the letters themselves have been consulted. One has only to turn to the older works on Stephens to find the same letters summarized in almost exactly the same words. A letter quoted (99) from Waddell's *Life of Linton Stephens* is given in Johnson and Browne (251) in a distinctly different form and one is tempted to believe that Mr. Pendleton did not see any of Stephens' letters, but has copied them bodily from other sources in many cases without due credit. In this connection it is worth noting that not a single reference is made to the *Congressional Globe* for Stephens' speeches, all of them being cited from the older biographies which are out of print.

The three chapters not compiled from the older biographies of Stephens are chapters VII, XI and most of XII. The seventh deals with "nullification at the North," in which the author sets forth at length the practical nullification of the Fugitive Slave Act by the various Northern States, and shows that the radical

abolitionists were opposed to the constitution and the Union. Chapter XI, entitled "Seventy Years of Dis-union," is a defense of secession, in which the author, beginning with the colonial period, traces the growth of centralization and cites abundant evidence to show that the fathers held the view that the Union was composed of sovereign States and that the constitution was a compact under which each State reserved its sovereign rights. The Virginia and the Kentucky resolutions, the New England conspiracy of 1803-4, Burr's conspiracy, the Hartford convention, Georgia's defiance of the Federal government, and other less important instances of like character are discussed to prove that secession and nullification were contemplated by many persons and sections before the Southerners made the final attempt following Lincoln's election. The thirteenth chapter deals with the "South's handicaps in the war" and shows that one of these was Stephens himself. His opposition to Davis' policies grew as the war went on and was the outgrowth of his constitutional opposition to the centralization of power in Davis' hands, and to what Stephens believed to be unwise and illegal action of the government in carrying out its war policy. Mr. Pendleton has made an endeavor to throw new light on Stephens' character by a search in the contemporary newspapers of Georgia, but no important information has been discovered.

On the whole the publishers have a certain justification in reprinting the most important parts of the earlier lives of Stephens which are now out of print, but it would have been better to have called this volume a reprint or condensation with notes by Mr. Pendleton. In any other guise the book is sailing under false colors. The bibliography appended is worthless.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

Stephen A. Douglas: A Study in American Politics. By Allen Johnson. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. 503.)

When Stephen A. Douglas died in Chicago forty-seven years ago the Chicago Tribune said editorially, "That the place which the departed statesman occupied in the National Councils can not, in any true sense, be filled, all will agree." Four days later in an estimate of him the same paper said, "No man has died in many a decade whose death will be so widely felt as that of him whose body was yesterday borne through our streets. * * * He was the Democratic party of the North. * * * His under-

takers should have buried his mantle with him—there is no one to wear it.” This is certainly a remarkable tribute when one remembers that it came from the pen of Douglas’ ablest editorial opponent.

Yet, in spite of the high regard in which Douglas was held by the friends and foes of his day, it has required nearly a half century to raise up a competent historical scholar to do justice to his memory. His great opponent, Lincoln, the only man who ever overcame Douglas in debate or politics, has so completely overshadowed him that we are tempted to forget there ever was such a man as Douglas much less remember that it required the best efforts of the greatest man America has produced to vanquish him.

But, there is abundant compensation in waiting for Prof. Johnson’s book for he has done an admirable piece of work. An equally competent scholar could have done it years ago, however, for Prof. Johnson has unearthed no material of importance that has not long been known. Douglas left practically nothing of value in the form of manuscripts except an autobiographical sketch of his early years, and a collection of letters to his friends and political lieutenant, Chas. H. Lanphier, editor of the Illinois State Register. The great bulk of the material concerning him is, so far as discovered, in the well known printed sources.

Prof. Johnson has made excellent use of this material, and is peculiarly fitted to interpret Douglas’ career. Like Douglas he was born in New England and later came in touch with the virgin democracy of the Middle West which has enabled him admirably “to interpret the spirit of that region which gave both Douglas and Lincoln to the nation.” Interpretation is the strongest feature of the book. No new facts of importance are revealed but the known facts are handled so well that we are no longer at a loss for a just and adequate understanding of the aims and ambitions of the great Northern Democrat “whose life spans the controversial period before the Civil War.”

The volume is divided into three parts. The first, entitled “The Call of the West,” carries the narrative through 142 pages to the acquisition of the Mexican Cession. The second part of 164 pages deals with the measures of adjustment growing out of the Mexican Cession, and the introduction and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and closes with the testing of popular sovereignty in Kansas. The last part continues the narrative from the revolt of Douglas, through the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the

campaign of 1860, and the beginning of Civil War, to the death of Douglas on June 3, 1861.

No detailed examination of Prof. Johnson's pages can be presented here. It is sufficient to say that he has avoided all attempts at vindication of Douglas' views or policies. He holds a brief for no man or party but has conscientiously aimed to present the situation as it appeared to Douglas and his contemporaries. The book is abundantly supplied with foot-notes, is well printed, neatly bound and adequately indexed. It will take front rank with the best products of modern historical scholarship.

—EDWARD McMAHON.

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

The Maitland Memorial.

Notice has been received in this state of a movement to establish a memorial to the late Professor Frederic William Maitland of Cambridge University, England. The committee appointed to raise funds for this purpose includes the Lord Chief Justice of England and many of the most noted lawyers, historians and economists of Great Britain, as well as a number of distinguished professors and publicists in France, Germany and the United States. Among the Americans appointed are Joseph H. Choate, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Professor Nathan Abbott of Columbia (formerly of Stanford) and Dean Ames and Professor Gross of Harvard. More than two thousand pounds has already been promised. A small part of this amount will go to defray the expense of a bust of professor Maitland and the remainder will constitute a memorial fund for the promotion of research and construction in legal history at Cambridge.

The success which is attending the movement serves as an index to the respect with which the name and labors of the deceased professor are regarded on both sides of the Atlantic. He is remembered by Cambridge men for his remarkable ability to inspire students with a love for the study of early English law. Those who met him when he visited the United States recall his kindness and genial nature. But it was the genius for investigation shown in his works on the medieval English law and constitution which gained for him his international reputation. From 1884, when, after several years' practice as a barrister, he became an instructor in his alma mater, until his death in 1906, he was a prolific author and editor. His editions of English plea rolls have made possible to the ordinary student an intimate acquaintance with procedure in English courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His volume entitled "Domesday Book and Beyond" did more to explain English institutions in the Anglo-Saxon period than any other work for nearly seventy-five years, and his "History of the English Law," written in co-operation with Sir Frederick Pollock, stands beside the work of Bishop Stubbs as an indispensable guide. Since much of the interest and research in early English constitutional history at the present time springs from the impulse given by Frederic William Maitland, his memorial will interest students of Anglo-Saxon legal institutions in all lands.

The Fraser River Centenary.

The newspapers of the civilized world have been recording in generous space the great pageant in Quebec where the tercentennial of the founding of Canada has been celebrated. With similar enthusiasm our neighbors in British Columbia are preparing to celebrate the centennial of the discovery of Fraser River. The following is taken from the *Daily Times*, of Victoria, British Columbia, of June 6, 1908:

A hundred years ago last month, Simon Fraser, the intrepid fur-trader and traveler, began his voyage of exploration down the Fraser River from Fort George, a tiny fur-trading post hidden in the heart of the wild region of the Cariboo range of mountains. Fraser, it is curious to note, began his journey under a misapprehension as to the identity of the river he was about to explore. It had been known for some time that a great river emptied itself into the Pacific about the latitude of the Columbia, the mouth of which river was finally discovered by Bruno Heceta in 1775. The estuary of the Fraser was not discovered by Galiano until some seventeen years later. In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie discovered and traversed the upper waters of the Fraser, which he mistook for and reported as the river that poured its waters into the Pacific at the point discovered by Bruno Heceta. It then came about that Fraser, following partly in Mackenzie's footsteps, arrived, via the Peace River country, in the neighbourhood of the upper waters of the Tacouche Tesse, as the Fraser was originally called, in 1805. He explored the district and entered into trade with the local Indians, building several forts, some of which are still used by the fur-traders. Three years later he received orders from the North-West Company, his employers, to explore the Tacouche Tesse to its mouth in the hope of its being navigable, and so saving the expense of overland transport to the western fur country.

The Fraser ranks next in importance to the Columbia among the rivers of the Western coast. It rises near Mount Seikie, in the Rockies, and in its course of 695 miles receives a number of tributaries, of which the Thompson, with its two branches, is the largest. In common with the other British Columbia rivers, the Fraser bends upon itself, flowing northwest from its source and then turning suddenly southward. This is due to the peculiar formation of the Pacific Slope, which consists of gigantic ridges of mountains running approximately north and south. Between the peaks lie long, narrow valleys, through which the great rivers wind until they break away to the sea.

Fraser began his voyage of discovery on May 28, 1808, from Fort George, with nineteen voyageurs, two Indian guides, and Stuart and Quesnel as lieutenants. Some fifteen miles below Fort George they encountered the first of the many awe-inspiring canons through which the river passes. Here one of the canoes was nearly wrecked against the rocky banks. On the following day, the canoes having been lightened, the Cottonwood canon was passed safely, and the party camped at the junction of the Quesnel

with the Fraser, at the spot where the town of Quesnel now stands. During the course of the next day or so Fraser encountered some Indian tribes, who informed him that "the river below was but a succession of falls and cascades, which we would find impossible to pass, not only on account of the difficulties of the channel, but from the extreme ruggedness and the mountainous character of the surrounding country."

By no means disheartened, the explorer procured a guide and pursued his course down stream. He soon found that the Indians had by no means exaggerated the difficulties which the voyage presented; canons, cascades and rapids followed one another in rapid succession, and a score of times a day Fraser and his devoted followers risked their lives in the whirling, rushing waters. Some of the Indians advised Fraser that by making a journey to the eastward beyond the mountains that lined the gorge through which the river flowed he could obtain pleasant traveling to the sea; but he was determined to carry out his mission, and his answer was, as he himself records it, that "Going to the sea by a direct way was not the object of the undertaking; I therefore would not deviate, and continued our route according to my original intention."

Fraser's own description of a canon passed by the expedition near what is now known as Kelly Creek gives a vivid description of the dangers braved and hardships endured: "Here the channel," he says, "contracts to about forty yards, and is enclosed by two precipices of immense height, which, bending toward each other, make it narrower above than below. The water which rolls down this extraordinary passage in tumultuous waves and great velocity has a frightful appearance. However, it being absolutely impossible to carry the canoes by land, all hands without hesitation embarked as it were a corps perdu upon the mercy of this awful tide. Once engaged, the die was cast; our great difficulty consisted in keeping the canoes within the medium, or fil d'eau—that is, clear of the precipice on one side and from the gulfs formed by the waves on the other. Thus skimming along as fast as lightning, the crews, cool and determined, followed each other in awful silence, and when we arrived at the end, we stood gazing at each other in silent congratulation at our narrow escape from total destruction. This afternoon the rapids were very bad; two in particular were worse, if possible, than any we had hitherto met with, being a continual series of cascades intercepted with rocks and bounded by precipices and mountains that seemed at times to have no end. I scarcely ever saw anything so dreary and dangerous in any country, and at present, while writing this, whatever way I turn my eyes, mountains upon mountains whose summits are crowned with eternal snow close the gloomy scene."

Shortly after this the exploring party were obliged to continue their journey by land in many cases, but they always hugged the course of the river, and so the indomitable Scotsman was able to carry out the spirit, if not the letter of his instructions. He at length reached Hell Gate, a point in the Big or Black Canon of the Fraser, some twenty miles above Yale, at which an enormous

rock had fallen from the cliffs and all but blocked the path of the waters. Stuart "reported that the navigation was absolutely impracticable," and no way of advance remained but by land. Writing of the difficulties of this portion of the expedition, Fraser says: "We could scarcely make our way even with only our guns. I have been for a long period among the Rocky Mountains, but have never seen anything like this country. It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human being should venture; yet in these places there is a regular footpath impressed, or rather indented, upon the very rocks by frequent traveling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder or the shrouds of a ship, by poles hanging to one another and crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top to the foot of immense precipices and fastened at both extremities to stones and trees, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the natives; but we, who had not had the advantage of their education and experience, were often in imminent danger when obliged to follow their example." By July 1st he had reached tidal water, and found that the tide rose two and one-half feet. At a spot "where the river divides into several channels," which would be a short distance above the City of New Westminster, Fraser began to be much annoyed by Indian tribes, who became very pugnacious. He pushed on, however, until he came in sight of a gulf or bay of the sea called by the Indians "Pas-hil-roe," and landed at a place called "Misquiname," which is now identified as the Musqueam Indian reserve on the north arm of the Fraser. Here, owing to the shortness of his provisions and the hostile attitude of the natives, he was compelled to abandon his purpose of reaching the open sea. It was not until this time that, on making an observation, it dawned upon Fraser that the river he had explored was not the Columbia. Upon this matter his journal says: "The latitude is 49 deg., nearly, while that of the entrance of the Columbia is 46 deg. 20 minutes. The river is therefore not the Columbia; if I had been convinced of this when I left my canoes I would certainly have returned."

Fort George was reached on the return journey on August 6th, so that the descent of the river occupied thirty-five days and the ascent thirty-four days.

Simon Fraser was in his thirty-second year when he led the memorable expedition through all the dangers of this exacting voyage without losing a man. He was born at Bennington, Vermont, but on the outbreak of the Revolution his father joined the Royal standard and served as a captain in Burgoyne's army. The elder Fraser was captured and confined in Albany jail, where he died from the rigorous treatment of his captors. His family then settled in Canada, and Simon, who was the youngest, was sent to Montreal to school. At the age of sixteen he became an articulated clerk of the Northwest Fur Trading Company, and at the time of his exploration in the West had been promoted to the position of a bourgeois, or partner.

The British Columbia government are this year making arrangements to perpetuate his memory by an exhibition of some personal relics of the great explorer.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

[Continued From Last Quarterly.]

PART II.

TRAVELS ACROSS THE GREAT WESTERN PRAIRIES AND THROUGH OREGON.

With a description of the line of route, and the distances between the intermediate points from Missouri to the Pacific Ocean.

Also, a full description of the characteristics, capabilities and present condition of the North Western Territory, prepared from the Journal of a member of the recently organized

OREGON LEGISLATURE.

CHAPTER I.

The Start—Arrival at the Rendezvous—The Features of the Gathering—The Rival Fat Gentlemen—The Humors of an Evening in the Camp.

It is not necessary to the object in view, that the writer of this journal should furnish the reason which induced him to turn his face towards the wilderness. Let it suffice that on the morning of the 17th of May, 1843, I (to drop the third person) mounted my horse in Independence, Missouri, and set out for the general rendezvous. This was situated in a small spot about twenty miles distant, in a southeast direction. I did not start alone. A family of the name of Robbins, from the northern part of Pennsylvania, were my companions. This party consisted of a husband and wife, two chubby boys, one six and the other eight years of age, and a bouncing baby of eighteen months, or thereabouts.

After having examined for the twentieth time if all the necessities required for the journey were properly stowed in the wagon, and after having, for the last time, jerked at a trace, settled this and that portion of the harness, looked under the horses, passed his hand over the near one's flank, and walked completely around the whole concern, John Robbins mounted his seat, gave a sonorous ahem! in evidence of his complete satisfaction, and describing a preparatory circle with his lash, was about bringing it down on the backs of his team, when a little circumstance in the body of the wagon interrupted his purpose, and softened the threatening sweep of the gad into an oblique flourish, that spent its elegance in a faint snap near the ground.

He had turned his head for the **twenty-first** time to see that all was right in the canvas domicile behind, when he discerned that Mrs. Robbins was yielding to the weakness of her bosom

at the separation of the last link that bound her to the associations of early youth, and to the ties of friends and home. The husband kissed away the tears that were tumbling over her full and rosy cheek, spoke a word of encouragement in her ear, and then, with a moistened eye himself, turned hastily to his place, brought the whip sharply down, set his features as rigid as a decemvir's, and rattled off at a pace that soon jolted off every vestige of sadness or depression, amid the cheers of a large circle of friends and well-wishers, who had gathered to see us off, and whose benizons floated after us upon the air, as if they were unwilling to resign this living evidence of their continual guardianship.

The morning was magnificent. The soft, fresh breeze was both bracing and bland, and the sun poured down his brightness with such superior glory that his rays seemed to stream through our very hearts, and to change every doubt and dark foreboding into cheerful hope. As I gazed out upon that lovely landscape and saw every blade and leaf quivering in gold, I ceased to wonder that the savage turned his face above to look for God.

Our course, as I remarked before, lay southwest, along the Santa Fe trail. After we had proceeded on our way for about three hours, the fresh morning air served its challenge on our appetites, and we made a halt in answer to its summons. In compliment to the smooth green sward, the Robbins family tumbled out of the wagon and spread their cloth upon it. Then followed the tin cups and tin plates, and then the edibles. Of the last, we made most speedy disposal. Mrs. Robbins had recovered from her momentary depression, and was now chatting away in high glee, only pausing occasionally to tickle the baby in the neck, to knead its stomach with her fists, or to roll it over and over on the grass. The two boys had left the meal with their cheeks yet full, and were now scampering away after each other in a race over the fields, while one other member of the party, whom I must apologize for having overlooked, sat beside the hearty John Robbins, looking like the impersonation of Gravity itself. This was a large white dog, named Jack, who I understood had long been a member of the family. He appeared to perfectly understand his social position, for though there was no evidence of improper levity in his character, or any indication of intemperate importunity in his manner, one might see the decided cock of his head, and the equally decided interest he bestowed upon every movement of John Robbins' knife and fork, that he knew his rights to a hair. His calculations were not disappointed, and his lunch finishing the meal, I mounted my horse, the Robbins stowed themselves away under the canvas canopy, and off we jogged once more, to the great delight of Jack, who went gamboling away before us.

We had not proceeded far before we were met by a wagon returning from the rendezvous to Independence.

[To be continued.]

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